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*** Current Classification *** *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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DOC_NBR= 88JERUSA03514

FILM= D880947-0743

DATE= 25 OCT 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= JERUSALEM

DRAFTER= n/a

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SUBJECT= WEST BANKERS WELCOME AQABA SUMMIT

REFERENCE= 88 JERUSALEM 3509

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ERRORS≈ N/A

CONCEPTS= AGREEMENT, CONFEDERATION, APPROVAL, PEACE PLAN

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, ASEC, IS, JO, EG

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03514 01 OF 02 251503Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01 /055 W

O 251500Z OCT 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3824
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

ECTION 01 OF 02 JERUSALEM 03514

E.O. 12356; DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, KPAL, ASEC, IS, JO, EG

SUBJECT: WEST BANKERS WELCOME AQABA SUMMIT

REF: JERUSALEM 3509

1.

2. SUMMARY. MAINSTREAM WEST-BANK POLITICAL FIGURES GENERALLY SUPPORT THE AQABA SUMMIT AS A STEP TOWARD PALESTINIAN-JORDANIAN COOPERATION IN THE PEACE PROCESS. THE MAJORITY OF PALESTINIANS HERE, REFLECTING THE PRAGMATIC AND TACTICALLY SOPHISTICATED TREND THAT HAS EMERGED SINCE THE INTIFADA BEGAN, UNDERSTAND THAT THE PALESTINIANS CANNOT MAKE PEACE WITH ISRAEL WITHOUT JORDAN.

HOWEVER, THEY INSIST THAT JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN COOPERATION BE ON AN EQUAL BASIS AND BELIEVE THAT KING HUSSEIN'S DISENGAGEMENT POLICY NOW MAKES THIS POSSIBLE. WE WILL BE WATCHING CLOSELY THE NEXT INTIFADA LEAFLET TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE COVERT LEADERSHIP OF THE INTIFADA

SHARES THE VIEWS OF THE OVERT, INFORMAL PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP. END SUMMARY.

WEST BANKERS GENERALLY WELCOME THE ARAFAT-MUBARAK-HUSSEIN SUMMIT AT AQABA AND THE REPORTED AGREEMENT ON A PALESTINIAN-JORDANIAN CONFEDERATION. PRO-FATAH NABLUS BUSINESSMAN SUMMARIZED THE PREVAILING ATTITUDE BY CALLING THE SUMMIT THE FIRST STEP IN A LONG JOURNEY TOWARD JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN RECONCILIATION. THIS RECONCILIATION, HE ADDED, WOULD FIND FINAL EXPRESSION IN JORDANIAN AND PLO AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE TOGETHER IN A JOINT ARAB (BUT NOT JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN) DELEGATION TO AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. HE TERMED THE SUMMIT A SIGNAL OF PLO MODERATION SENT TO PALESTINIANS, ARABS, ISRAELI VOTERS, AND THE U.S., AND PREDICTED THAT A SENIOR PLO OFFICIAL WOULD SHORTLY HOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE TO ENDORSE EXPLICITLY A TWO STATE SOLUTION.

4. ENTHUSIASM WAS SHARED TO A LESSER

POSITIVE." HE SAID THE PALESTINIANS NEEDED AND WANTED GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE JORDANIANS PROVIDED THE PALESTINIANS CONDUCTED THESE

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RELATIONS ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH THE JORDANIANS. HE BELIEVES THE KING'S JULY 31 SEPARATION FROM THE WEST BANK AND GAZA PROVIDED SUCH STATUS, AND THAT THE AQABA SUMMIT WAS CONDUCTED AS A MEETING OF THREE EQUALS. CONSEQUENTLY, THE PALESTINIANS HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR FROM A CONFEDERAL ARRANGEMENT WITH JORDAN.

5. THE EAST JERUSALEM ARAB PRESS (REPORTED REFTEL) WAS SUPPORTIVE, AS WELL. MODERATE PRO-PLO AL-QUDS, WHICH TERMED THE SUMMIT A "SUCCESS" WITH BANNER RED HEADLINES, SAID THE MEETING DEMONSTRATED THE PLO'S "FUNDAMENTAL ROLE" IN ARAB PEACEMAKING AND ALLOWED ARABS TO REPLACE INFIGHTING WITH A UNIFIED ARAB POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL. PRO-PLO AL-FAJR SAID A PALESTINIAN STATE WOULD BE A "CORNERSTONE OF ARAB UNITY" AND ENCOURAGED FORMATION OF A JOINT POLICY. PRO-JORDANIAN AN-NAHAR ŞAID THE SUMMIT

DEMONSTRATED THE NECESSARY JORDANIAN AND EGYPTIAN ROLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS.

6. OTHER WEST BANKERS CONTACTED BY THE CONGEN NOTED THAT, HAVING ACHIEVED THEIR INDEPENDENCE WITHIN THE ARAB WORLD THROUGH THE INTIFADA, THE PALESTINIANS WERE READY TO SEIZE ANY AVAILABLE MEANS TO TRANSLATE THE INTIFADA INTO POLITICAL GAINS. TWO YOUTH LEADERS FROM THE NORTHERN WEST BANK REACTED VERY POSTIVELY TO THE SUMMIT AND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT JORDAN MUST PLAY A ROLE IN BRINGING PEACE TO THE REGION. OTHER PALESTINIANS POINTED OUT THAT THE SUMMIT

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01 /055 W

O 251500Z OCT 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3825
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

BECTION 02 OF 02 JERUSALEM 03514

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, KPAL, ASEC, IS, JO, EG

SUBJECT: WEST BANKERS WELCOME AQABA SUMMIT

FOLLOWED THE TRADITIONAL ARAB SCENARIO FOR SETTLING DISPUTES, WITH PRESIDENT MUBARAK PLAYING THE ROLE OF INTERMEDIARY. OTHERS REPEATED THE RUMOR THAT ARAFAT'S ACTIONS WERE BASED ON AN AMERICAN GUARANTEE, PROVIDED THROUGH THE EGYPTIANS, THAT BY IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH HUSSEIN AND ACCEPTING THE PRINCIPLE OF CONFEDERATION WITH JORDAN, THE PLO WOULD GAIN U.S. RECOGNITION.

7. COMMENT. EXCEPT FOR A SMALL PRO-JORDANIAN MINORITY, MOST WEST BANKERS WELCOMED KING



HUSSEIN'S JULY 31 DISENGAGEMENT ANNOUNCEMENT AND OPPOSE A RETURN TO RULE BY JORDAN. HOWEVER, MOST SERIOUS PRO-PLO MAINSTREAM POLITICAL FIGURES WE KNOW, INCLUDING THOSE CLOSE TO THE YOUNG INTIFADA LEADERSHIP, UNDERSTAND THE PRACTICAL IMPERATIVE OF PALESTINIAN-JORDANIAN COOPERATION IN THE PEACE PROCESS. MANY ALSO ACCEPT THE IDEA OF A CONFEDERATION, PROVIDED THE PARTNERSHIP IS BASED ON JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN EQUALITY. AT THE SAME TIME, THERE IS CONTINUING SUSPICION OF JORDAN'S MOTIVES. IN ANY CASE, THE AQABA SUMMIT, WHICH MANY PALESTINIANS HERE HAVE HOPED FOR SINCE THE KING'S JULY DECISIONS, IS SEEN AS A WELCOME AND NECESSARY STEP TOWARD COOPERATION.

8. COMMENT CONTINUED. PRESS REPORTS INDICATE THAT THE PFLP'S GEORGE HABASH HAS PUBLICLY ATTACKED THE AQABA SUMMIT. THE NEXT INTIFADA LEAFLET--DUE OUT THE BY THE END OF THE WEEK--MAY INDICATE WHETHER THE COVERT UNIFIED LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING, WHICH IS FINELY BALANCED BETWEEN THE PFLP, DFLP, AND COMMUNISTS AS WELL AS FATAH, TAKES THE SAME POSITIVE LINE TOWARD THE SUMMIT THAT THE OVERT WEST BANK LEADERSHIP HAS ADOPTED. END COMMENT. WILCOX

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E.O. 12356:

DECL : OADR

TAGS: Subject: PREL, JO, US

BIN SHAKIR'S QUESTION

REF: AMMAN 01982

2. AS YOU WILL SEE FROM SEPTEL, PHIL, WAT AND I SPENT TWO NOURS WITH PRINCE BANBAR, EVERING MARCH 10, WITH MUCH OF that time being spent making clear to him the necessary FFERENCE BETWEEN THE BASIS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IT BE COMMON TO ALL THE PARTIES -- AND THE MEGOTIATING RE OFFIELS HE ANDEMSLOOP position of any of the parties. OUR POINT BUT IT REMAINS TO SE SEEN WHETHER THE SAUDIS WILL BACK AWAY FROM THIS EFFORT TO HAVE HUSSEIN ACCEPT THE FEI COMMUNIQUE AS THE "DASIS" OF HIS ENTRY INTO THE TENTATIVELY, WE THINK BANDAR WILL CONVEY PEACE PROCESS.

TO KING FAND THAT THIS IS A NURSYERTER. The SHOULD TRUL



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BIN SHAKIR THAT WE BELIEVE, WITH KING MUSSEIN, THAT THE OBJECTIVE OF THE MEGOTIATIONS IS PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB MEIGHBORS AND THAT THE AGREED BASIS FROM WHICH THAT OBJECTIVE IS TO BE ACHIEVED IS WASC RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. IT IS OBVIOUS THE OPENING MEGOTIATING POSITIONS OF THE PARTIES TO THE MEGOTIATIONS CAN BE WHATEVER THE PARTIES WISH. IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT THE ARAB SIDE MIGHT WISH TO MAKE SOME REFERENCETO THE FEZ COMMUNIQUE, THOUGH WE WONDER IF KING MUSSEIN WOULD WANT TO ADOPT IT, WHOLE CLOTH, SINCE IT WOULD-COMMIT-HIM TO SEEK THE PALESTINIAN STATE.

3. YOU SHOULD MAKE SURE HUSSEIN UNDERSTANDS THAT THERE IS NOTHING IN THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO KING FAMD WHICH CAN BE INTERPRETED AS DISCOURAGING KING HUSSEIN FROM AMNOUNCING HIS ENTRY ON THE BASIS OF THE REAGAN INITIATIVE AS WELL AS UNSC RESOLUTIONS 242/330. INDEED, THIS WOULD BE IDEAL AND WE WOULD WORK HARD TO GET SAUBIS TO BE FULLY SUPPORTIVE. KING SHOULD ALSO ENGO WE HADE IT CLEAR TO BANDAR THAT SAUDIS MUST NOT USE THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO TRY TO LEVER HUSSEIN AWAY FROM AGREEING WITH W.S.- POLICY. FINALLY, AS YOU WILL RECALL FROM OUR LONDON HEETING WITH MIM, HUSSEIN TOLD US THAT HE HAD ARAFAT'S AGREEMENT TO MUSSEIN'S ENTRY ON THE BASIS OF 242/336 AND THE REAGAN INITIATIVE.

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EXCISE

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SUBJECT= PNC REPORTEDLY WILL DECLARE STATE, - IMMEDIATE CONFEDERATION WIT JORDAN :

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

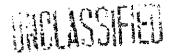
ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= CONFEDERATION, LAWYER, PALESTINIANS, SOVEREIGNTY, RECOGNITION

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, KU, PLO

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 PM-10 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 C-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /073 W

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P 220835Z OCT 88
FM AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3914
INFO ARAB LEAGUE COLLECTIVE
USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL

SECTION 01 OF 02 KUWAIT 06101

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: KPAL, PREL, PLO

SUBJECT: PNC REPORTEDLY WILL DECLARE STATE,
- IMMEDIATE CONFEDERATION WITH JORDAN

REF: FBIS AMMAN JN-1910172488

1.

2. SUMMARY. A PALESTINIAN LAWYER IN KUWAIT, WHO CLAIMS TO HAVE PROVIDED LEGAL ADVICE TO THE PLO, OCTOBER 19 SAID A MAJOR AIM OF THE UPCOMING PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING WILL BE TO PRECIPITATE U.S. RECOGNITION OF THE PALESTINIANS' RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. A STATE WILL BE DECLARED, FOLLOWED BY A SECOND DECLARATION OF CONFEDERATION WITH JORDAN. END SUMMARY.

PALESTINIAN LAWYER
LIVING IN KUWAIT (PLEASE PROTECT), OCTOBER 19 PROVIDED
POLCHIEF WITH AN OUTLINE OF WHAT HE EXPECTS WILL BE AN
"HISTORIC" UPCOMING PNC SESSION.

OF THE PNC OR ASSOCIATED WITH THE PLO IN ANY OFFICIAL

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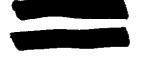
CAPACITY, HAS BEEN SOUGHT OUT BY THE PLO FOR LEGAL ADVICE. HE WAS ONE OF THREE PROMINENT PALESTINIAN LAWYERS, ACCORDING TO THE PRESS HERE, CALLED ON TO FORMULATE LEGAL OPTIONS FOR THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO STUDY IN THE WAKE

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OF KING HUSSEIN'S DECISION TO CUT TIES WITH THE WEST BANK. HE WAS ALSO INVOLVED IN THE LEGAL WORK ON THE U.S. CASE CONCERNING POSSIBLE CLOSURE OF THE PLO MISSION IN NEW YORK. HE APPEARED TO SPEAK FROM A POSITION OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE STRATEGY AND AIMS OF THE UPCOMING PNC SESSION.

4. SAID A MAJOR AIM OF THE PNC SESSION WILL BE TO PRECIPITATE U.S. RECOGNITION OF THE PALESTINIANS' RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. HE SAID THE POLITICAL THINK-ING OF THE LEADERSHIP HAD ADVANCED A GREAT DEAL. IN RESPONSE TO POLCHIEF'S QUESTIONS, HE SAID THE STRATEGY HE OUTLINED WAS BACKED NOT ONLY BY ARAFAT AND FATAH, BUT ALSO BY PFLP LEADER GEORGE HABASH, DFLP LEADER NAYEF HAWATMEH, POPULAR STRUGGLE FRONT CHIEF SAMIR GHOSHEH, AND THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT, HAMAS. ONLY THE PRO-SYRIAN GROUPS, NOTABLY AHMED JIBRIL'S PFLP-GC (HE DISMISSED ABU MUSA AS INSIGNIFICANT), OPPOSED THE PLAN OF ACTION. THE OTHERS WOULD PROCEED WITHOUT THEM.

5. A STATE WILL BE DECLARED AND THE JURIDICAL BASIS FOR IT WILL BE ACCEPTANCE OF U.N. RESOLUTION 181. BY DOING SO, THE PNC WILL BE ACCEPTING A RESOLUTION THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS ALSO ACCEPTED, WILL BE RECOGNIZING ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST -- IN TANDEM WITH ITS OWN RIGHT TO EXIST -- AND ACCEPTING A TWO-STATE SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT. SAID THERE WOULD BE LANGUAGE MAKING CLEAR THAT THE BOUNDARIES WOULD BE THE TERRITORIES



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OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL IN 1967. AS PART OF THE PACKAGE, THERE WILL BE A FORMULA FOR ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTION 242 AND THERE WILL BE A RENUNCIATION OF TERRORISM, A LA ARAFAT'S 1986 CAIRO DECLARATION.

6. SAID NO-GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE OR PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT WOULD BE DECLARED, ALTHOUGH AUTHORITY WOULD BE VESTED IN THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE PALESTINE CENTRAL COUNCIL, TO TAKE SUCH ACTION AT SOME FLITURE POINT IF NECESSARY. MOST INTRIGUING, HOWEVER, WAS DETAITEMENT THAT A DECLARATION OF CONFEDERATION WITH JORDAN WOULD FOLLOW THE DECLARATION OF THE STATE. SINCE THAD STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE U.S. RESPONSE, POLCHIEF ASKED IF THE FIRST DECLARATION WOULD BE MADE, AND THE SECOND ONLY AFTER THE PRESUMED U.S. REACTION, OR, WHETHER THE TWO WOULD FOLLOW IN QUICK SUCCESSION, WITH THE PALESTINIAN STATE "EXISTING," SAY,

ONLY THREE MINUTES APART FROM JORDAN, AND THE U.S. RESPONSE COMING LATER. SAID THE LATTER, "THREE-MINUTE" OPTION WAS THE CASE. HE SAID ARAFAT WOULD BE TRAVELING TO JORDAN SOON TO WORK OUT THE DETAILS OF THIS VERY ISSUE. (THERE IS SOME INDIRECT EVIDENCE CORROBORAT-ING THIS SCENARIO, FROM THOSE WHO OPPOSE IT -- THE PFLP-GC. PER REF FBIS REPORT, TALAL NAJI, ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PFLP-GC, IS QUOTED IN THE OCTOBER 18 ISSUE OF THE KUWAITI DAILY AL-QABAS AS FOLLOWS: "WHAT JHEY ARE DISCUSSING NOW IS NOT A FREE, INDEPENDENT, AND SOVEREIGN STATE. THEY ARE TALKING ABOUT A PALESTINIAN ENTITY WHICH WILL BE FORCED IN ADVANCE TO ESTABLISH CON-FEDERAL TIES WITH THIS OR THAT STATE, PARTICULARLY JORDAN. SUCH AN ENTITY WILL NOT BE FULLY FREE AND SOVEREIGN OVER ITS TERRITORY AND THOSE IN CHARGE OF IT WILL BE FORCED TO MAKE A HISTORICAL CONCESSION TO THE

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PAGE 01 KUWAIT 06101 02 OF 02 220841Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 PM-10 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 C-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /073 W

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P 220835Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY KUWAIT TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3915 INFO ARAB LEAGUE COLLECTIVE USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL

SECTION 02 OF 02 KUWAIT 06101

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR



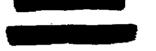
TAGS: KPAL, PREL, PLO

SUBJECT: PNC REPORTEDLY WILL DECLARE STATE.

REST OF PALESTINE.")

7. POLCHIEF ASKED WHAT WOULD COME AFTER THE PNC MEETING, APART FROM AWAITING THE U.S. RESPONSE. HE SAID NEXT STEPS WOULD COME WITH JORDAN, AS THE TWO SIDES WORK OUT THE DETAILS OF THE NEW RELATIONSHIP. SPECIFIC AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE REACHED REGARDING SEPARATION OF POWERS AND AUTHORITY. THE PALESTINIANS HAD HAD SOME VERY BITTER EXPERIENCE WITH HASHEMITE RULE. AN "ABSOLUTE RED LINE," AGREED BY ALL PALESTINIAN GROUPS, WAS THAT NO OTHER ARAB COUNTRY WOULD NEGOTIATE ON BEHALF OF THE PALESTINIANS FOR PALESTINIAN TERRITORY. KASSIM SAID THE INTIFADA HAD RESTORED THE HOPE OF THE PALESTINIANS FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 40 YEARS THAT A SETTLEMENT WAS POSSIBLE. THERE WOULD BE NO MORE TALK OF A RETURN TO JAFFA AND HAIFA.

8. COMMENT. EVEN IF THERE IS AGREEMENT ON THE SCENARIO



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OUTLINED BY MUCH WILL HINGE ON THE OUTCOME OF AN ARAFAT-HUSSEIN MEETING, WHICH IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD BE AN ESSENTIAL PRELUDE TO ANY PNC MEETING. THE KEY ELEMENT IN THE PLAN IS THE IMMEDIATE MOVE TO CON-FEDERATION WITH JORDAN. BASED ON ACCOUNT, THE PNC STRATEGY WOULD CLEARLY BE AIMED AT ALTAYING U.S. CONCERNS THAT SELF-DETERMINATION IS A CODEWORD FOR AN INDEPENDENT STATE. IF 6 ON THE MARK, THE PNC ENDGAME COMES INTO FOCUS: RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST BY MEANS OF 181, TOKEN INDEPENDENCE WITHIN THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967, FOLLOWED BY IMMEDIATE CONFEDERATION WITH JORDAN UNDER TERMS TO BE NEGOTIATED. AND ALL LEADING TO THE BIG PRIZE: U.S. RECOGNITION OF THE PALESTINIANS: RIGHT TO "SELF-DETERMINATION." END COMMENT. HOWELL



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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** NOFORN

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SUBJECT= INTSUM 203, OCTOBER 19, 1988

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ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENT, JEWS, VOTING, PEACE PLAN, ECONOMIC PROPOLITICAL TREND

TAGS= KPAL, PINR, EG, IS





PAGE 01 STATE 341803 ORIGIN INR-10

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 EUR-00 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 H-01 IO-19 NEA-06 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /072 R

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E.O. 12356: DECL: -OADR TAGS: EG, IS, PINR, KPAL

PAGE 02 STATE 341803

INTSUM 203, OCTOBER 19, 1988

USDEL MBFR VIENNA FOR AMBASSADOR



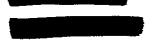
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PARIS FOR WINN
ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN AND FOR MFO DG CONSTABLE
DOD/ISA FOR NESA
CINCEUR FOR POLAD
CINCUSNAVEUR FOR INTAF
NSC FOR RODMAN
NSA FOR CHIEF G GROUP
OTHER ADDRESSEES FOR CHIEFS OF MISSION

--WARNING NOTICE: SENSITIVE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED --NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS

ISRAEL: LIKUD AND LABOR WILL PROBABLY RENEW VOWS

1. THE ISRAELI ELECTION IS STILL TOO CLOSE TO CALL. IF LIKUD SHOULD SCORE A TINY PLURALITY, PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR WOULD PROBABLY OPT FOR A LIKUD-DOMINATED NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT OVER A LIKUD-LED COALITION OF RIGHT-WING AND RELIGIOUS PARTIES, DESPITE PRESSURES FROM THE RIGHT IN HIS OWN PARTY. IF LABOR LEADER PERES CANNOT FORM A COALITION OF THE LEFT, HE TOO MAY SEE ANOTHER PARTNERSHIP WITH LIKUD AS THE WAY TO THWART THE TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS OF THE EXTREME RIGHT.

2. STILL UNDECIDED JEWISH VOTERS (REPRESENTING UP TO FOUR KNESSET SEATS) ARE LIKELY TO DETERMINE WHICH MAJOR PARTY WILL WIN A PLURALITY. THE



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PLETHORA: OF SPLINTER PARTIES IN THE CONTEST, AND THE VOLATILITY OF THE ISRAELI ELECTORATE, ADD TO THE DIFFICULTY OF MAKING A CALL. MOREOVER, ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION POLLING ON PARTY PREFERENCES IS INHERENTLY WEAK: ISRAELI ARABS, ULTRA-ORTHODOX JEWS, KIBBUTZ MEMBERS AND SOLDIERS ON ACTIVE DUTY ARE NOT SURVEYED--AND IN THE PAST HAVE BEEN UNPREDICTABLE IN VOTING BEHAVIOR.

TACTICS AND LONG-TERM INTERESTS

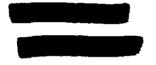
3. PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR HAS PLEDGED REPEATEDLY IN THE CAMPAIGN TO CRUSH THE UPRISING AND STEP UP SETTLEMENT CONSTRUCTION IN THE TERRITORIES IN

THE EVENT OF A LIKUD VICTORY. BUT THIS IS PROBABLY MORE AN IMMEDIATE RESPONSE TO SHORT-TERM PUBLIC DEMANDS FOR ACTION TO QUELL THE VIOLENCE THAN A REFLECTION OF WHAT SHAMIR BELIEVES NECESSARY TO SERVE ISRAEL'S LONG-TERM DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS.

SHAMIR'S OPTIONS

4. EVEN IF LIKUD WERE TO CAPTURE THE MOST KNESSET SEATS ON NOVEMBER 1, A SHAMIR-LED LIKUD PLURALITY WOULD IN THE FIRST INSTANCE SEEK ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT WITH LABOR, FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS:

ECONOMIC DECISIONS



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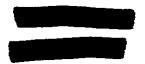
5. SHAMIR WOULD WANT TO ENSURE LABOR'S STAKE IN THE TOUGH ECONOMIC DECISIONS FACING THE NEXT GOVERNMENT. SINCE THE START OF THE UPRISING, ISRAEL'S ECONOMY HAS UNDERGONE A MARKED DETERIORATION. GDP GROWTH THIS YEAR IS EXPECTED TO DROP TO LESS THAN TWO PERCENT, DOWN MORE THAN THREE PERCENTAGE POINTS FROM LAST YEAR, OWING TO ECONOMIC LOSSES ARISING FROM THE INTIFADAH AND A SLOWDOWN IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION. TOURISM REVENUES, WHICH ACCOUNT FOR FOUR PERCENT OF GDP, ARE DOWN DOLS. 38 MILLION A MONTH. THESE AND OTHER RELATED ISSUES NEED TO BE ADDRESSED AND REQUIRE BROAD POLITICAL AND PUBLIC SUPPORT.

REINING IN EXTREMISTS

6. SHAMIR HAS AN INTEREST IN KEEPING THE RADICAL RIGHT--WHICH FAVORS MASS EXPULSION OF ARABS FROM, AND ANNEXATION OF, THE TERRITORIES--FROM DETERMINING A LIKUD GOVERNMENT'S AGENDA. YESTERDAY'S RULING BY ISRAEL'S SUPREME COURT FORBIDDING KACH PARTICIPATION IN THE PARLIAMENTARY RACE MEANS THAT, AT A MINIMUM, KAHANE'S VOTES--IF HIS SUPPORTERS IN FACT VOTE IN SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS--WILL BENEFIT PARTIES TO

THE RIGHT OF LIKUD, PUTTING ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON SHAMIR TO KEEP EXTREMISTS AT A DISTANCE.

DEFENSE MINISTER



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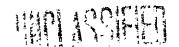
7. SHAMIR WILL NOT WANT TO TURN THE DEFENSE MINISTRY OVER TO A HARD-LINER LIKE ARIEL SHARON. SHAMIR APPEARS SATISFIED WITH RABIN'S PERFORMANCE--RABIN'S LAW-AND-ORDER APPROACH COMBINED WITH ADVOCACY OF A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE UPRISING DO NOT DIFFER SIGNIFICANTLY FROM SHAMIR'S REFUSAL TO SPEAK WITH PLO-AFFILIATED PALESTINIANS AS VIOLENCE RAGES IN THE TERRITORIES. SHAMIR ALSO WOULD PROBABLY NOT WANT TO PROVOKE US AND IŞRAELI OPINION BY NAMING A CONTROVERSIAL FIGURE--SUCH AS SHARON, WITH WHOM SHAMIR HAS DIFFERED PUBLICLY OVER ANNEXATION OF THE WEST BANK--TO SUCH A SENSITIVE POST.

8. COALITION BUILDING. COALITION FORMATION COULD BE COMPLICATED BY THE DEMANDS OF RELIGIOUS PARTIES, AND SHAMIR MAY WANT TO ESCHEW GRANTING CONCESSIONS--IN THE FORM OF MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS, DEPUTY MINISTERIAL POSTS AND COMMITTEE CHAIRMANSHIPS IN THE KNESSET, AND SPECIFIC PROVISIONS OF A COALITION AGREEMENT--THAT WOULD AT BEST BE UNPOPULAR AMONG THE MAJORITY OF ISRAELIS. HE PROBABLY WOULD WANT TO GIVE THE MOST IMPORTANT PORTFOLIOS TO OFFICIALS WITH A DEMONSTRATED ABILITY TO WORK WELL WITH THE UNITED STATES.

PEACE-PROCESS FLEXIBILITY

9. PRESERVING LONG-TERM FLEXIBILITY ON PEACE PROCESS-RELATED ISSUES MAY NOT BE SHAMIR'S HIGHEST PRIORITY, BUT UNRESTRAINED CREATION OF NEW SETTLEMENTS AND A DRAMATIC INCREASE IN THE USE OF LIVE AMMUNITION AGAINST PALESTINIAN PROTESTORS WOULD IMMEDIATELY RISK PROVOKING A NEW US ADMINISTRATION, AND SHAMIR IS UNLIKELY TO WANT TO DO SO. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER





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SETTLEMENTS ARE AN ATTRACTIVE OPTION FOR ANYONE EXCEPT THE MOST IDEOLOGICALLY DRIVEN ISRAELIS, WHO ALREADY LIVE OUTSIDE THE GREEN LINE.

A LAST RESORT

10. ONLY IF SHAMIR WERE UNABLE TO PUT TOGETHER ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT UNDER MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS WOULD HE WANT TO TRY A LIKUD-DOMINATED RIGHTWING-RELIGIOUS COALITION WITH A NARROW MAJORITY. EVEN THEN, SHAMIR WOULD FACE ECONOMIC, SECURITY, AND PUBLIC OPINION CONSTRAINTS, AND PRESSURE FROM ALLIES. AT A MINIMUM THESE WOULD CONDITION HIS APPROACH TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SETTLEMENTS OR AN INTENSIFICATION OF MILITARY FORCE TO QUELL THE UPRISING.

LABOR'S INCENTIVE

11. FIFTH IF PERES MANAGES TO WIN A PLURALITY FOR LABOR, HE WOULD LIKE TO FORM A COALITION OF THE LEFT.

BUT HE FINDS HIS PARTY--ALWAYS AN UNEASY AMALGAM OF HAWKS AND DOVES--IN AN UNPRECEDENTEDLY AWKWARD POSITION AS A RESULT OF THE POLARIZATION OF THE ISRAELI POLITY. PERES'S CALL FOR COMPROMISE WITH THE ARABS--ENUNCIATED ON MONDAY AT A JOINT NEWS CONFERENCE WITH LONG-TIME RIVAL RABIN AT HIS SIDE--OPENS LABOR TO FIERCE CRITICISM FROM THE RIGHT. ON THE OTHER HAND,

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THE HARD-LINE POLICIES PURSUED IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA BY RABIN HAVE ALIENATED MANY TRADITIONAL LEFT-WING LABOR SUPPORTERS, ESPECIALLY ISRAELI ARABS

12. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, PERES WOULD HAVE A DIFFICULT TIME PUTTING TOGETHER A NARROW COALITION AND MOST LIKELY WOULD CALCULATE THAT ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT--PARTNERSHIP WITH

LIKUD--WOULD BE THE ONLY WAY OF HELPING HIS LIKUD RIVAL TO PUT A BRAKE ON THE DEMANDS OF RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS. SHULTZ

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SUBJECT: COMMENTS, FOOTNOTES FOR 1988 DRAFT - HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON THE OCCUPIED

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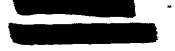
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2. INTRODUCTORY NOTE: THE FOLLOWING ANNEX TO THE 1988 DRAFT HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT SHOULD BE READ TOGETHER WITH THE REPORT (REFTEL). IT CONTAINS COMMENTS AND REFERENCES TO SOURCES FOR CERTAIN SECTIONS OF THE REPORT FOR THE DEPARTMENT'S USE. THESE ARE KEYED TO FOOTNOTES IN THE DRAFT AND ARE LISTED UNDER THE SUBJECT HEADINGS OF THE REPORT AS FOLLOWS: (NOTE THAT OCCASIONALLY FOOTNOTES ARE NOT CONSECUTIVE.)

INTRODUCTION

COMMENT: FOLLOWING THE GUIDANCE IN THE



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DEPARTMENT'S ALERTING MESSAGE (REF B), WE HAVE SUBSTANTIALLY REWRITTEN THE INTRODUCTION OF THE REPORT, AS WELL AS MANY OTHER SECTIONS BECAUSE OF THE DIFFERENT HUMAN RIGHTS ENVIRONMENT RESULTING FROM THE PALESTINIAN UPRISING. AS IN



1987, THE INTRODUCTION IS TWICE AS LONG AS THE RECOMMENDED ONE PAGE LIMIT, IN ORDER TO ACCURATELY DESCRIBE THE UNIQUE FACTORS OF THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DISPUTE. FOOTNOTES FOLLOW.

- 1. THIS REFERENCE TO THE EXPECTATION OF THE U.S. THAT THE OCCUPATION SHOULD BE ENDED BY NEGOTIATION UNDER 242 AND 338 IS ADDED FOR CONTEXT TO SHOW THAT THE U.S. ANTICIPATES ISRAEL'S WITHDRAWAL IN RETURN FOR A SECURE PEACE.
- 2. THIS LANGUAGE IS PARAPHRASED FROM A DESCRIPTION OF THE GOI'S POSITION TOWARD THE FOURTH GENVA CONVENTION IN COMMENTS ON THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE'S 1987 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, BY MINISTRY OF DEFENSE LAWYER JOEL SINGER, P. 2, (HEREAFTER "GOI COMMENTS ON 1987 REPORT")
- 3. GOI COMMENTS ON THE 1987 REPORT CRITICIZES THE STATEMENT THAT MILITARY ORDERS OVERRIDE SUBSTANTIAL PORTIONS OF JORDANIAN AND MANDATE LAWS, ON THE GROUND THAT THE OCCUPYING POWER HAS THE RIGHT TO CHANGE LAWS FOR THE WELFARE OF THE INHABITANTS. WITHOUT COMMENTING IN THE TEXT ON WHETHER CHANGES IN THESE LAWS HAVE BENEFITED THE INHABITANTS, A POINT PALESTINIANS CONTEST, WE NEED TO NOTE THAT MILITARY ORDERS HAVE

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SUBSTANTIALLY CHANGED EXISTING LAWS. MILITARY ORDERS ARE ISSUED FREQUENTLY. THE LATEST ORDER IS NUMBERED SOMEWHERE BETWEEN 1200 AND 1300.

- 4. THIS DESCRIPTION OF THE GOVERNMENT APPARATUS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND THE ABSENCE OF SELF GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN MOVED UP BECAUSE OF ITS RELEVANCE TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION, FOLLOWING THE GUIDELINES.
- 5. THIS PARAGRAPH HAS BEEN REVISED SUBSTANTIALLY. IT DESCRIBES MORE CLEARLY THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN NATURE OF THE CONFLICT AND THE UNDERLYING POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS AMONG PALESTINIANS AND ISRAELIS WHICH ARE IMPORTANT TO CLEAR UNDERSTANDING.
- 6. PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY GENERAL SHAHAK, THE



DIRECTOR OF ISRAELI MILITARY INTELLIGENCE (TO THE WASHINGTON INSTITUTE FOR MIDDLE EAST POLICY), AND ABRASHA TAMIR, DIRECTOR GENERAL, OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (TO THE PRESS IN WASHINGTON), AS WELL AS PALESTINIAN SOURCES CONFIRM POPULAR PALESTINIAN SUPPORT FOR THE PLO. WE DO NOT WISH TO PROMOTE THE PLO, BUT WE BELIEVE IT IS USEFUL FOR UNDERSTANDING TO NOTE ITS ROLE IN THE POLITICAL SCENE.

- 7. PER CAPITA INCOME FIGURES WERE OBTAINED FROM GOI STATISTICS.
- 8. WE HAVE ADDED MATERIAL ON INCOME AND THE

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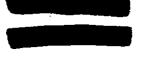
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ECONOMIC SYSTEM, AS REQUQUESTED BY THE GUIDANCE, BECAUSE OF ITS IMPORTANCE FOR UNDERSTANDING THE CONFLICT AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS ENVIRONMNT. THE GNP FIGURES ARE BASED ON CIA GNP DATA AND POPULATION DATA PROVIDED BY MERON BENEVENISTI.

9. STATISTICS AND DATA ON LAND AND SETTLEMENTS AE FROM BENVENISTI ET AL, WEST BANK HANDBOOK, 1985, SHEHADEH, RAJA, OCCUPIER'S LAW, INSTITUTE FOR PALESTINE STUDIES, WASH. D.C., 1985 WHICH CONTAIN DETAILED SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND LEGAL ANALYSIS OF THESE PROBLEMS.

10. COMPETITION FOR CONTROL OVER LAND, AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS LIE AT THE HEART OF THE ISRAELI PALESTINIAN CONFLICT. IT IS IMPORTANT TO DESCRIBE THESE FACTORS IN THE INTRODUCTION. POPULATION FIGURES ARE EXTRAPOLATED FROM 1987, DATA PROVIDED BY MERON BENVENISTI, WEST BANK



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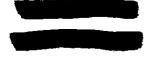
DATA PROJECT AND THE CIA'S POPULATION GROWTH RATE.

- 11. THE DUAL AND UNEQUAL SYSTEM BETWEEN ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN RESIDENTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IS A BASIC REASON FOR THE UPRISING. THE GOI'S COMMENTS ON THE 1987 REPORT CRITICIZED A REFERENCE TO A "DUAL SYSTEM OF LAWS". THIS YEAR'S REFERS TO A "DUAL SYSTEM" IN THE LEGAL, ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE. IN ANY CASE WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE GOI'S ARGUMENTS THAT THE LEGAL SYSTEMS ARE NOT "DUAL" IS CONVINCING.
- 12. THIS PARAGRAPH SUMMARIZES THE UPRISING, AS ESSENTIAL BACKGROUND.
- 12. (CON'T) THIS PARAGRAPH GIVES ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THEIR RESPECTIVE APPROACHES TO THE UPRISING AND SUMMARIZES HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, AS REQUESTED IN THE GUIDANCE. IT ACKNOWLEDGES THE UNIQUE SITUATION FACED BY ISRAEL.
- 13. THE JUDGMENT THAT ISRAEL COULD HAVE AVOIDED MANY HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY DEALING WITH GRIEVANCES WHICH CREATED THE UPRISING THROUGH POLITICAL MEANS IS AN IMPORTANT POINT. THE





UPRISING IS NOT JUST A LAW AND ORDER PROBLEM; IT IS A POLITICAL PROBLEM WHICH REQUIRES A POLITICAL SOLUTION, AS RABIN AND OTHER ISRAELI LEADERS ACKNOWLEDGE. SOME ISRAELI OFFICIALS CLAIM THE UPRISING IS A WAR, WHICH MUCH BE DEFEATED, BY WHATEVER MEANS, BEFORE ANY POLITICAL CONCESSIONS OR GESTURES CAN BE MADE.



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SOME ALSO CLAIM THAT POLITICAL CONCESSIONS ARE NOT POSSIBLE UNTIL THE LARGER ISSUES OF A FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS FOR A PERMANENT PEACE AND A SUITABLE PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATING PARTNER ARE RESOLVED. WE DISAGREE. PRE-ELECTION POLITICS HAVE PREVENTED THE GOI FROM TAKING ANY POLITICAL STEPS TO DEAL WITH THE UPRISING AND USING CARROTS AS WELL AS STICKS. THERE ARE MEASURES ISRAEL COULD TAKE ON THE GROUND AND UNILATERALLY, EVEN IN THE ABSENCE OF PEACE PROCESS NEGOTIATIONS, TO EASE TENSIONS AND ADDRESS LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCES. SUCH MEASURES. IN ADDITION TO NECESSARY MEANS TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER, WOULD HAVE MUTED THE VIOLENCE IN THE UPRISING, WHEREAS EXCLUSIVE USE OF FORCE AND POLITICAL REPRESSION SEEM TO HAVE INTENSIFIED THE CONFRONTATION.

SECTION 1 - RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON, INCLUDING FREEDOM FROM:

A. POLITICAL KILLING

- 1. CASUALTY FIGURES FROM IDF AND PALESTINIAN SOURCES ARE FREQUENTLY REPORTED IN THE ISREALI AND PALESTINIAN PRESS.
- 2. NO FIGURES ARE AVAILABLE ON INJURIES TO ISRAELI CIVILIANS BY STONES.
- 3. FREQUENT CONVERSATIONS WITH PALESTINIAN AND FOREIGN DOCTORS AND HOSPITAL OFFICIALS.



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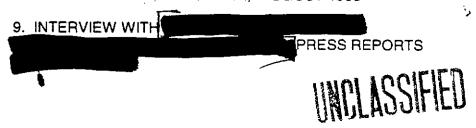
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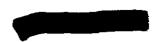
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SUBJECT: COMMENTS, FOOTNOTES FOR 1988 DRAFT

- 4. RULES OF ENGAGEMENT FOR USE OF LIVE FIRE ARE FROM MOD BASELINE DOCUMENTS AND DISCUSSIONS. MANY PRESS REPORTS AND CONVERSATIONS WITH EYE WITNESSES AND MEDICAL PERSONNEL ESTABLISH FREQUENT, INDISCRIMINATE USE OF LIVE FIRE IN VIOLATION OF IDF REGULATIONS; SEE ALSO LAWYERS COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, MARCH 10, 1988 LETTER TO PM SHAMIR.
- 6,7. RABIN AND IDF COS SHOMRON HAVE DESCRIBED IDF POLICY ON PLASTIC BULLETS IN VARIOUS STATEMENTS TO PRESS.
- 8. PRESS; LAWYERS; COMMITTEE: OP CIT. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT ON "EXCESSIVE FORCE; BEATINGS TO MAINTAIN ORDER," AUGUST 1988





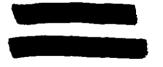


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- 10. INTERVIEWS WITH MAYOR ELIAS FREIJ, UNRWA OFFICIALS, DR. SALTI; PRESS REPORTS
- 11. PRESS
- 12.13. PRESS
- 14. BECAUSE OF THE DEPARTURE, IN PRACTICE, BETWEEN USE OF LIVE FIRE AND IDF GUIDELINES, FEW CASES OF DEATHS ARE CAREFULLY INVESTIGATED, AND DISCIPLINARY ACTION HAS BEEN RARE.
- C. TORTURE AND OTHER CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT
- 1. INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC), JERUSALEM OFFICE, AS REPORTED IN '87 JERUSALEM 4051 (DEC. 17, 1987).
- 2. DISCUSSIONS WITH ICRC
 3. DISCUSSIONS WITH ICRC; ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES
 (IDF) (TEL AVIV 7019); KNESSET MEMBER DEDI
 TZUCKER ESTIMATES 4500 IN CUSTODY BEFORE
 DECEMBER, 1987 (LETTER TO DEANS OF ISRAELI.
- 4. IDF (TEL AVIV 7019).

LAW FACULTIES, MAY 17, 1988).

- 5. ICRC (JERUSALEM 2438) (JULY 20, 1988).
- 6. ICRC (TEL AVIV 10997) (JULY 30, 1988).



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- 7. IDF, TEL AVIV 9661; MEMCON PICKERING/ZINGER/STRASCHNOW, JUNE 8, 1988.
- 8. JERUSALEM POST, JANUARY 19, 1988 (JERUSALEM 187). CONTRADICTORY SIGNALS CONCERNING THE "POLICY" OF BEATINGS WERE GIVEN BY ISRAELI LEADERS. GEN. AVRAHAM MITZNA TOLD IDF RADIO THAT BEATING AND CLUBBING PROTESTERS WAS PROVING



EFFECTIVE IN RESTORING ORDER (IDF RADIO, JANUARY 20. 1988, REPORTED IN JERUSALEM 219), BUT A REPORTER TOLD CONGEN POLOFF THAT ON BACKGROUND MITZNA HAD SAID HE WAS WORRIED ABOUT THE EFFECT OF THE POLICY ON HIS TROOPS (JERUSALEM 219). A "TOP ISRAELI MILITARY OFFICIAL" WAS QUOTED BY THE JERUSALEM POST OF JANUARY 20 AS SAYING SOLDIERS HAD BEEN TOLD TO BEAT AND CLUB PROTESTERS TO DISPERSE THEM, AND THAT THIS POLICY WAS GOOD, THOUGH IT AFFECTED INNOCENT PERSONS AND DISTORTED THE TROOPS' HUMANITARIAN VALUES. THE MINISTER OF POLICE DENIED A NEW POLICY OF BEATINGS EXISTED, APART FROM NORMAL STRICT ENFORCEMENT OF LAW AND ORDER. (ISRAEL RADIO, JANUARY 22, 1988, REPORTED IN JERUSALEM 219). IDF RESERVISTS COMPLAINED TO KNESSET MEMBERS ABOUT ORDERS BY LOCAL COMMANDERS TO BEAT PALESTINIAN PRISONERS AND ABOUT BEATINGS OF BOUND PRISONERS. (JERUSALEM POST, FEBRUARY 12. 1988, REPORTED IN JERUSALEM 503).

9. JERUSALEM POST, JANUARY 26, 1988 (JERUSALEM 271).

10. JERUSALEM 219: MANY U.S. PRESS AND U.S.

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C AND PALESTINIAN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS; JERUSALEM 233: ON CASE OF DELIBERATE ARM-BREAKING; JERUSALEM 524: INTERNATIONAL PHYSICIANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT; JERUSALEM POST JANUARY 25, 1988 ON BEATINGS AT "THE WALL" IN RAMALLAH.

11. JERUSALEM 221 AND JERUSALEM 321, PALESTINIAN AND CONSULATE GENERAL FSN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS.

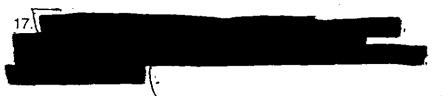
12. JERUSALEM 1254, APRIL 14, 1988. AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL (AI), "ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES: EXCESSIVE FORCE: BEATINGS TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER", AUGUST 1, 1988. IDF RESERVISTS COMPLAINED TO RABIN IN SEPTEMBE ABOUT "ROUTINE" BEATHINGS OF DETAINEES, PLACING DETAINEES IN A "DEHYDRATION FACILITY," SMASHING OF WINDOWS, PREVENTION OF CARE TO WOUNDED PALESTINIANS (JERUSALEM POST 10/17/88).

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- 13. AI, OP. CIT. CITES EIGHT SPECIFIC CASES, AND IDF TROOPS HAVE BEEN CHARGED WITH MANSLAUGHTER IN A SEPARATE CASE IN GAZA.
- 14. JERUSALEM POST, APRIL 25, 1988 AND MAY 17, 1988 (JERUSALEM 1948); AI, OP. CIT., P. 12.
- D. ARBITRARY ARREST, DETENTION, OR EXILE
- 15. DISCUSSIONS WITH ICRC
- 16. MINISTRY OF DEFENSE PAPER: ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTIONS AND DETENTION CENTERS SINCE THE ONSET OF THE UPRISING, SEPTEMBER 2, 988. CIVIL

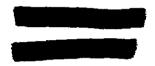


ADMINISTRATION (CIVAD) (TEL AVIV 4464).



18. MOD PAPER ON DETENTIONS; THE JUDGMENT THAT FEW DETENTION HAVE BEEN CANCELLED, AS OPPOSED TO SHORTENED, IS BASED ON CONVERSATION WITH ICRC. THE APPEALS PROCESS IS BACKED UP, AND MODIFICATIONS OF ORDERS OFTEN OCCUR MANY MONTHS AFTER INDIVIDUALS ARE DETAINED.

19. IT IS USEFUL TO DESCRIBE U.S. AND FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION POSITIONS, SINCE THEY CONTRAST.



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20. MOD PAPER ON DETENTIONS

21. THE JUDGMENT THAT MANY DETENTIONS ARE FOR POLITICAL REASONS IS BASED ON MANY CONVERSATIONS WITH PALESTINIAN AND ISRAELI JOURNALISTS, ICRC REPRESENTATIVES. LAWYERS. HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATES, FORMER DETAINEES AND FAMILIES OF DETAINEES. IT CNNOT BE PROVED, BUT THE EVIDENCE IS VERY STRONG THAT MANY DETENTIONS ARE ESSENTIALLY FOR POLITICAL REASONS. THE WIDESPREAD USE OF UNTESTED SECRET EVIDENCE SUPPORTS THIS THESIS. THE DETENTION OF THE FIELD WORKERS FOR AL HAQ, AN ORGANIZATION WHICH AVOIDS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, REINFORCES IT. IDF ADVOCATE GENERAL STRASCHNOW HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IN SOME INSTANCES EVIDENCE AGAINST THE INDIVIDUAL IS INSUFFICIENT TO OBTAIN CONVICTION IN A TRIAL (TEL AVIV 8096). SOME DETAINEES ARE NEVER TOLD THE REASONS FOR THEIR DETENTION. YITZHAK RABIN AND THE CIVAD'S RON KRUMER PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED CONDITIONING SOME RELEASES OF ADMINISTRATIVE DETAINEES ON THE GOOD BEHAVIOR OF THEIR HOME TOWNS, FBIS TA2406061488 JUNE (JUNE 27, 1988); TEL AVIV 9254. THIS INDICATES THAT THE BEHAVIOR OF OTHERS, AS OPPOSED TO THE DETAINEE'S CAPABILITY OR POTENTIAL FOR HARM. DETERMINES THE SEVERITY OF THE TERM OF DETENTION. IN ADDITION TO ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION FOR POLITICAL REASONS INDIVIDUALS CAN



3-/

BE CONVICTED UNDER MILITARY ORDERS FOR CRIMES WHICH WOULD BE REGARDED AS POLITICAL OFFENSES UNDER WESTERN JURISPRUDANCE, E.G. MEMBERSHIP IN

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03420 05 OF 07 171557Z ACTION HA-09

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NEA-06 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 L-03 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PA-01 STR-17 SIL-01 INRE-00 RP-10 USIE-00 SP-02 SR-06 PRS-01 /092 W

O 171550Z OCT 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3767
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

SECTION 05 OF 07 JERUSALEM 03420

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, IS

SUBJECT: COMMENTS, FOOTNOTES FOR 1988 DRAFT

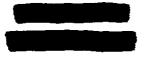
A PROSECUTED ORGANIZATION, POSSESSION OF INTIFADA LEAFLETS, DISPLAY OF THE PLO FLAG.

22. ICRC

23. PRESS REPORTS; FREQUENT DISCUSSIONS WITH UNRWA, RESIDENTS OF VILLAGES SUBJECTED TO CURFEWS. CIVAD OFFICIALS HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT CURFEWS ARE USED TO PUNISH VILLAGES, RATHER THAN STRICTLY AS MEASURES TO RESTORE ORDER. SHMUEL GOREN (TEL AVIV 13214) AND FREDDY ZACH (TEL AVIV

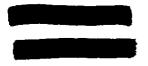
10828).

- E. DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL
- 1. PROF. DAVID KRETMER, HEBREW UNIVERSITY STATES THAT 95 PERCENT OF ALL CONVICTIONS ARE BASED ON CONFESSIONS. ATTORNEY JONATHAN KUTTAB SAYS OVER 90 PERCENT; ICRC REPS SAY CONFESSIONS ARE "THE RULE," AND THAT DETAINEES NORMALLY SIGN



CONFESSIONS AS A MEANS OF ENDING INTERROGATION.
2. LANDAU REPORT, PRESS REPORTS, CONVERSATIONS WITH AL HAQ

- 3. MOD PAPER ON DETENTION
- F. ARBITRARY INTERFERENCE WITH PRIVACY, FAMILY, HOME OR CORRESPONDENCE
- 1. PRESS, INTERVIEWS WITH ICRC, UNRWA, AL HAQ, PALESTINIANS
- 2. PRESS
- 3. INTERVIEWS WITH ICRC, UNRWA, AL HAQ, PLESTINIANS
- 4. AL HAQ, PRESS
- 5. PRESS: ICRC
- 4B. CONVERSATIONS WITH PALESTINIANS WHO RECOUNT QUESTIONING BY ISRAELI AUTHORITIES BASED ON TAPPED TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS AND EXPERIENCE IN CENSORSHIP OR CONFISCATION OF MAILED MATERIAL
- 6. CONVERSATIONS WITH PALESTINIANS, AL HAQ, PRESS SECTION 2: RESPECT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES, INCLUDING:
- A. FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS







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- 1,2,3,4. CONVERSATIONS WITH ISRAELI JOURNALISTS
 JACK KHAZMO, HANNA SINIORA, ZIAD ABU ZIAD,
 IBRAHIM KARAE'EN; ISRAELI CENSORS CENSORED
 MATERIAL FROM THE DEPARTMENT'S 1987 HUMAN RIGHTS
 REPORT
- 5. PRESS, CONVERSATIONS
- 6. PRESS; A DOMESTIC EMPLOYEE OF A CONGEN OFFICER WAS ARRESTED FOR POSSESSING A LEAFLET
- 7. LOCAL AND FOREIGN JOURNALISTS HAVE DESCRIBED INCREASING STRICT IDF POLICIES CLOSING AREAS OF THE TERRITORIES TO JOURNALISTS IN ORDER TO PREVENT COVERAGE. CONGEN OFFICERS' CARS HAVE BEEN STOPPED IN THE WEST BANK IN PLACES WHICH THERE WAS NO VIOLENCE AT THE TIME, AND ALLOWED TO PROCEED ONLY AFTER CONFIRMING THAT NO JOURNALISTS WERE ON BOARD. SOLDIERS CARRY BLANK ORDERS WHICH THEY CAN SIGN ON THE SPOT, IF JOURNALISTS DEMAND A SOURCE OF AUTHORITY, ACCORDING TO AMERICAN JOURNALISTS.
- 8. PRESS REPORTS CONCERNING WASINGTON POST AND LOS ANGELES TIMES CORRESPONDENTS
- 9. PRESS REPORTS; EMBASSY REPORTS
- 10. PRESS REPORTS; CONVERSATIONS WITH ORGANIZERS OF ALTERNATIVE INSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES IN NABLUS, BETHLEHEM

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03420 06 OF 07 171559Z ACTION HA-09

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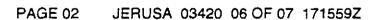
SECTION 06 OF 07 JERUSALEM 03420

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, IS

SUBJECT: COMMENTS, FOOTNOTES FOR 1988 DRAFT

11. THE MAJORITY OF STUDENTS, EVEN AT THE HEIGHT OF THE LARGE DEMONSTRATIONS, HAVE NOT PARETICIPATED IN VIOLENT ACTS. THE GOI ARGUES THAT SCHOOL CLOSURES HAVE REDUCED VIOLENCE: THIS CANNOT BE PROVED, AND VIOLENCE HAS CONTINUED AT A HIGH LEVEL NOTWITHSTANDING SCHOOL CLOSURES. YOUTHS WHO ARE NOT IN SCHOOL ARE MORE READILY AVAILABLE FOR PROTEST ACTIVITIES. SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY CLOSURES ARE VERY COSTLY AND A MAJOR GRIEVANCE OF PALESTINIANS. WE CONCLUDE THAT PUNISHMENT IS A MOTIVE BEHIND THE POLICY OF PROLONGING SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY CLOSURES LONG AFTER VIOLENCE OF OR NEAR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS HAS STOPPED. PALESTINAINS CLAIM THAT IDF AND POLICE FREQUENTLY PROVOKED VIOLENCE AT OR NEAR SCHOOLS.

12. DIRECTOR OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SHAHAK AND MFA DIRECTOR GENERAL TAMIR HAVE STATED PUBLICY



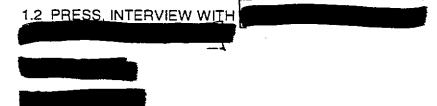
THAT MOST PALESTINIANS SUPPORT THE PLO IN SPEECHES TO AMERICAN AUDIENCES.

- B. FREEDOM OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION
- 13. MEETINGS OF THE PALESTINIAN ACADEMIC



SOCIETY FOR STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL AND AMEETING OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT GROUP WERE BANNED JUST BEFORE THEY COMMENCED. THE COUNCIL OF HIGHER EDUCATION WAS ALSO PROHIBITED FROM MEETING.

- 14. PRESS REPORTS; CONGEN REPORTS ON CLOSURE OF INASH AL USNRA, A WOMEN'S CHARITABLE SOCIETY; DISCUSSION WITH MRS. FARAH ARRAJ, WIFE OF MAYOR OF BEIT JALA AND OFFICIAL OF JERUSALEM UNION OF CHARITABLE SOCIETY, WHOSE DIRECTOR WAS DETAINED
- 15. CONVERSATIONS WITH PALESTINIANS
- 16. ASSOCIATION FOR DEFENSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN ISRAEL (JERUSALEM POST, AUGUST 19, 1988).
- 17. PRESS REPORTS, CONVERSATION WITH FEDERATION DIRECTOR ANIS AL QAQ
- C. FREEDOM OF RELIGION



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- D. FREEDOM OF TRAVEL WITHIN THE COUNTRY, FOREIGN TRAVEL, IMMIGRATION AND REPATRIATION
- 1. PRESS REPORTS, CONVERSATIONS WITH RESIDENTS OF AREAS UNDER CURFEW, UNRWA
- 2. PRESS, CONVERSATION WITH RESIDENTS AND PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS
- 3. CONVERSATIONS WITH PALESTINIANS# PRESS; CONGEN AMD EMBASSY OFFICER OBSERVATIONS DURING TRAVEL IN WEST BANK, GAZA
- 4. CONVERSATIONS SITH PALESTINIANS UNDER TRAVEL BANS;
- 5. CONVERSATIONS OF CONSULAR OFFICERS WITH PALESTINIANS



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1.



- 6. CASE OF MUBARAK AWAD
- 7. CONVERSATIONS WITH MAYOR OF BETHLEHEM AND OTHERS
- 8. EMBASSY CONVERSATIONS WITH CIVAD OFFICIALS
- 9. GOI COMMENTS ON 1987 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT

ECTION 3: RESPECT FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS: THE RIGHT OF CITIZENS TO CHANGE THEIR GOVERNMENT

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03420 07 OF 07 171600Z ACTION HA-09

INFO LOG_00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NEA-06 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 L-03 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PA-01 STR-17 SIL-01 INRE-00 RP-10 USIE-00 SP-02 SR-06 PRS-01 /092 W

O 171550Z OCT 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3769
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

SECTION 07 OF 07 JERUSALEM 03420

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, IS

SUBJECT: COMMENTS, FOOTNOTES FOR 1988 DRAFT

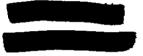
1. BENVENISTI, WEST BANK HANDBOOK



- 2. PRESS; CONVERSATION WITH MAYORS, OTHER PALESTINIANS
- 3. PRESS; BENVENISTI, WEST BANK HANDBOOK
- 4. INTERVIEW WITH JERUSALEM MUNICIPALITY OFFICIALS

SECTION 4: GOVERNMENTAL ATTITUDE TOWARD INTERNATIONAL AND NON GOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS 1,1 CONVERSATIONS WITH ICRC, AL HAQ, ARAB-AMERICAN ANTI DISCRIMINATION COMMITTEE

2. AL HAQ SECTION 5: DISCRIMINATION BASED ON RACE, SEX,



PAGE 02 JERUSA 03420 07 OF 07 171600Z

RELIGION, LANGUAGE OR SOCIAL STATUS

- 1. ANALYSIS IS BASED ON OBSERVATION OF U.S. OFFICIALS; TREATMENT OF SETTLERS COMMITING ACTS OF VIOLENCE DURING THE UPRISING HAS BEEN LENIENT, COMPARED TO TREATMENT OF PALESTINIAN VIOLATORS; EMBASSY HAS EXPERIENCED DIFFICULTY IN PERSUADING GOI TO INVESTIGATE CRIMINAL OFFENSES AGAINST PALESTINAN AMERICANS; E.G. A RECENT MURDER IN RAMALLAH.
- 2. MUBARAK AWAD CASE
- 3. DISCRIMINATION IN USE OF LAND IS A CENTRAL PROBLEM, WHICH SHOULD TO BE MENTIONED IN THIS SECTION AS WELL AS IN THE INTRODUCTION. AN EXHAUSTIVE LEGAL ANALYSIS OF THE MEANS BY WHICH ISRAELI AUTHORITIES OBTAIN CONTROL AND USE OF LAND BY DECLARING IT STATE LAND IS CONTAINED IN SHEHADAH, RAJA: OCCUPIER'S LAW, INSTITUTE FOR PALESTINIAN STUDIES, 1985; SEE ALSO BENVENISTI, WEST BANK HANDBOOK; CONGEN REPORTING AND CIA STUDIES ON SETTLEMENTS.
- 5. CONVERSATIONS WITH MAYORS
- 6.7. CONVESATIONS WITH WEST BANK HOSPITAL



DIRECTORS, DOCTORS, CIVAD OFFICIALS

- 8. FREQUENT COMPLAINTS TO EMBASSY, CON GEN FROM AMCITS
- 9. SAME: CONVERSATIONS WITH CIVAD



PAGE 03

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SECTION 6: WORKER RIGHTS

- 1. FAYEZ JABER, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, EAST JERUSALEM HISTADRUT INTERVIEW
- 2. AL HAQ, TESTIMONY TO GSPSUBCOMMITTEE; FAYEZ JABER INTERVIEW
- 3. JABER
- 4. JABER; AL HAQ, OP CIT; PRESS
- 5. BENVENISTI: WEST BANK HANDBOOK
- 6. BENEVENISTI: OP CIT
- 7. JABER

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SUBJECT= APPEAL FROM MUFTI OF JERUSALEM FOR REOPENING OF PALESTINIAN SCH AND UNIVERSITIES

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PALESTINIANS, SCHOOL, UNIVERSITY, STATUS, OPERATIONS, INTERNAL CONTROL, POLITICAL INITIATIVE, HUMAN RIGHTS

TAGS= KPAL, PHUM, IS, US

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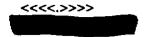
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-----116254 112047Z /72

R 111513Z OCT 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3688

SECTION 01 OF 02 JERUSALEM 03351

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PHUM, KPAL

SUBJECT: APPEAL FROM MUFTI OF JERUSALEM FOR

REOPENING OF PALESTINIAN SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

INTRODUCTION AND COMMENT: THE MUFT! OF JERUSALEM. ON BEHALF OF THE SUPREME ISLAMIC COUNCIL. ISSUED A PETITION DATED OCT 4 URGING THE REOPENING OF PALESTINIAN UNIVERSITIES WHICH HAVE BEEN CLOSED FOR THE PAST YEAR, AND SCHOOLS. WHICH HAVE BEEN CLOSED FOR MUCH OF THE YEAR. THE PETITION, ADDRESSED TO THE ISRAELI MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND "TO THE WHOLE WORLD," REFLECTS THE GROWING DESPAIR OF PALESTINIAN ACADEMICS. PARENTS AND STUDENTS OVER THE ENFORCED SCHOOL CLOSURES AND THE SEARCH FOR SOME WAY TO BRING PUBLIC OPINION TO BEAR ON THE ISSUE. SEPTEL REPORTS THAT A RECENT LEAFLET BY THE MILITANT ISLAMIC HAMAS GROUP TAKES UP THE ISSUE OF SCHOOL CLOSURES. WE UNDERSTAND ALSO THAT THE LATEST LEAFLET OF THE INTIFADA LEADERSHIP (NO. 27) URGES REOPENING OF SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES. PALESTINIAN CONTACTS TELL US THEY ARE LOOKING FOR WAYS TO RAISE THE ISSUE IN THE UN. BIR ZEIT PROFESSOR IS PLUGGING THE IDEA OF A "NON-POLITICAL" UNSC RESOLUTION THAT WOULD

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FOCUS EXCLUSIVELY ON THE SCHOOL ISSUE AND AVOID OTHER CRITICISM OF ISRAEL IN ORDER TO OBTAIN UNANIMOUS SUPPORT IN THE COUNCIL. WE TOLD HIM THAT SINCE SCHOOL CLOSURES ARE NOT A "MATTER AFFECTING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY" IT



MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO GET THE UNSC TO HATERIAN EIL SUCH AN INITIATIVE. END INTRODUCTION AND COMMENT.

2. (U) BEGIN TEXT:
IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE
COMPASSIONATE
SUPREME ISLAMIC COUNCIL, JERUSALEM
DATE: OCTOBER 4, 1988

STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE SUPREME ISLAMIC COUNCIL, ADDRESSED TO THE ISRAELI MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND TO THE WHOLE WORLD, INCLUDING ALL ORGANIZATIONS, SOCIETIES AND AGENCIES.

THE SUPREME ISLAMIC COUNCIL MET ON SEPTEMBER 29, 1988 IN JERUSALEM AND REVIEWED THE PAINFUL SITUATION PREVAILING IN THE COUNTRY. THE COUNCIL DISCUSSED SEVERAL CATASTROPHIC INCIDENTS TO WHICH RESIDENTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES ARE BEING SUBJECTED TO BY THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES, INCLUDING THE AUTHORITIES' INSISTANCE ON CLOSING DOWN SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS IN THE COUNTRY. ALSO DISCUSSED WERE COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES WHICH IGNORED ALL REQUESTS AND PROTESTS SUBMITTED BY RESIDENTS, SOCIETIES AND AGENCIES TO PERMIT THE REOPENING OF EDUCATIONAL

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INSTITUTIONS, IN ACCORDIANCE TO THE SIMPLIST HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH GRANTS CITIZENS THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION AND KNOWLEDGE.

WE RAISE OUR VOICE AND DEMAND YOU TO STOP THIS INTENTIONAL POLICY TO KEEP THE PEOPLE IGNORANT, ACCORDING TO A WELL ORGANIZED PLAN PREPARED BY YOUR ADMINISTATION, CONTRARY TO ALL CIVIL LAWS AND REGULATIONS, AS WELL AS HUMAN AND CIVIL CODES. UNIVERSITIES HAVE BEEN CLOSED FOR MORE THAN ONE YEAR DURING WHICH STUDENTS WERE UNABLE TO REACH THE CAMPUS.

THE SUPREME ISLAMIC COUNCIL WISHES TO ANNOUNCE CLEARLY THAT THE WHOLE WORLD IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS INJUSTICE FROM WHICH THE RESIDENTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES ARE SUFFERING. WHERE IS THE UNITED NATIONS AND ALL ITS STATEMENTS ON

PROTECTION OF THE FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE? WHERE ARE ALL THE INTENRATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS THE UNESCO AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS? WHERE IS THE WORLD FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITIES AND WHERE ARE ALL THE OTHER CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL SOCIETIES? WHERE IS THE FEDERATION OF ARAB UNIVERSITIES? HAVE THEY NOT HEARD THAT THERE IS A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO ARE DEPRIVED OF THE RIGHT TO ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION? PEOPLE ARE DEPRIVED FROM EDUCATION AT HOME. ANY ONE CAUGHT TEACHING STUDENTS AT HOME IS SEVERELY PUNISHED.

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 ED-04 INRE-00 /034 W

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R 111513Z OCT 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3689

SECTION 02 OF 02 JERUSALEM 03351

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PHUM, KPAL

SUBJECT: APPEAL FROM MUFTI OF JERUSALEM FOR

THE SUPREME ISLAMIC COUNCIL PRESENTS THIS HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM TO THE PUBLIC OPINION IN



THE COUNTRY AND TO THE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AND TO ALL ITS SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS, DEMANDING THEM TO INTERVENE AND LIFT OFF THIS POLICY OF KEEPING THE PEOPLE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IGNORANT. THE COUNCIL HOPES THAT ALL THE BENEVOLENT FORCES EVERYWHERE WILL POOL THEIR EFFORTS AND LIFT OFF THIS GREAT INJUSTICE. WE PLACE ALL THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE NON-IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS HUMANITARIAN DUTY ON THE WHOLE WORLD. HISTORY WILL REORD THIS AND WOE TO THOSE WHO WILL NOT ACT. WOE TO THE UNJUST FROM THE JUDGEMENT OF HISTORY AND THE CURSE OF THE GENERATIONS.

SIGNED BY SHEIKH SAAD EDDIN EL ALAMI PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME ISLAMIC COUNCIL END TEXT. WILCOX



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SUBJECT= VISIT TO TEL: THE VIEW FROM A "LIBERATED" VILLAGE					
REFERENÇE= 88	JERUSALEM 3123				
CONTROL MRD- o/o					

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ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= WEST BANK, ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, EXPORT, FOOD, POLICE FORCE

TAGS= KPAL, PHUM, IS

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JERUSA 03242 01 OF 04 301245Z PAGE 01 **ACTION NEA-11**

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01 /086 W

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SECTION 01 OF 04 JERUSALEM 03242

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PHUM, KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: VISIT TO TEL: THE VIEW FROM A

"LIBERATED" VILLAGE

REFS: JERUSALEM 3123 AND PREVIOUS

2. SUMMARY, CONGENOFF VISITED TEL VILLAGE, NEAR NABLUS, SEPTEMBER 28 TO OBTAIN A CLEARER PICTURE OF THE EFFECTS OF THE RECENT 33-DAY IDF BLOCKADE ON ITS ECONOMY AND POLITICS. WHILE THE ECONOMY OF THE VILLAGE HAS BEEN SEVERELY DAMAGED, THE MOOD OF THE PEOPLE--PARTICULARLY THE YOUNG--REMAINS DEFIANT. THE IDF DOES NOT ENTER TEL. AND THE PEOPLE CONSIDER IT A "LIBERATED" VILLAGE. THE TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE UPCOMING OLIVE HARVEST AND, DESPITE THE SWAGGER, ALL ARE UNEASY ABOUT

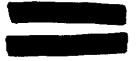
JERUSA 03242 01 OF 04 301245Z PAGE 02

THE FUTURE COURSE OF EVENTS AFTER THE PNC, THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS, AND THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. WE OFFER THIS VIGNETTE SIMPLY AS A VIEW OF WEST BANK LIFE UNDER THE OCCUPATION. END SUMMARY.



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- 3. ON SEPTEMBER 28 CONGENOFF, ACCOMPANIED BY PROMINENT NABLUS BUSINESSMAN VISITED TBL., A VILLAGE OF APPROXIMATELY 3500 PEOPLE LOCATED 3 KM SOUTHWEST OF NABLUS. TEL IS AN AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE WHICH DEPENDS FOR ITS LIVELIHOOD ON FIGS, OLIVES, AND DAIRY PRODUCTS. FROM AUGUST 13 TO SEPTEMBER 16, IT WAS SUBJECT TO AN IDF BLOCKADE WHICH PREVENTED MARKETING OF ITS FIG CROP AND DAIRY PRODUCTION (REF). ALTHOUGH TEL HAD BEEN THE SCENE OF CLASHES PRIOR TO THE ISRAELI ACTION, IT HAD NOT BEEN SINGLED OUT AS MORE RADICAL THAN OTHER VILLAGES IN THIS STRONGLY ANTI-OCCUPATION REGION. SINCE THE LIFTING OF THE BLOCKADE, IT HAS CONSIDERED ITSELF A "LIBERATED" VILLAGE.
- 4. THERE WERE NO IDF CHECKPOINTS ON THE ROAD BETWEEN NABLUS AND TEL. HOWEVER, JUST BEFORE THE ENTRANCE TO TEL, THERE WAS A CHECKPOINT MANNED BY VILLAGERS WHICH CONFIRMED THE VISITORS' BONA FIDES AND ESCORTED THEM INTO THE VILLAGE. PROMINENTLY DISPLAYED AT THE ENTRANCE TO TEL WAS A HANDWRITTEN SIGN SIGNED ISLAMIC JIHAD URGING STEADFASTNESS IN THE STRUGGLE.



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(WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE PRESENCE OF ISLAMIC JIHAD IN THE VILLAGE, THE VILLAGERS CLAIMED THAT, WHILE THERE WERE ONLY ONE OR TWO SUPPORTERS, ALL NATIONALIST VIEWPOINTS WERE WELCOME.)
PALESTINIAN FLAGS WERE HUNG PROMINENTLY FROM THE POWER LINES.

5. THE MEETING, HELD IN THE TOWN HALL, WAS ATTENDED BY A CROSS SECTION OF INFLUENTIAL VILLAGERS: THE MUKHTAR, AN AN-NAJAH UNIVERSITY BIOLOGY, PROFESSOR, AFFLUENT VILLAGERS, AND BETWEEN FOUR AND EIGHT YOUTHS. THESE LATTER KEPT NMTERING, CONFERRING AMONG THEMSELVES, AND DEPARTING. THEY WERE ACCORDED CONSIDERABLE RESPECT BY THEIR ELDERS AND WERE OBVIOUSLY ACCUSTOMED TO WIELDING INFLUENCE. IT WAS SUBSEQUENTLY EXPLAINED BY THE NABLUS BUSINESSMAN THAT THESE YOUNG MEN REPRESENTED THE COMPONENTS OF THE VILLAGE'S POPULAR COMMITTEE: FATAH, THE

COMMUNISTS, PFLP, AND DFLP. A HAMAS REPRESENTATIVE WAS ALSO PRESENT FOR MOST OF THE MEETING. THOUGH NOT PART OF THE COMMITTEE, HAMAS APPARENTLY COOPERATES WITH THE SECULAR NATIONALISTS ON MAJOR ISSUES. TO DATE, THERE HAS BEEN NO HAMAS-UNLU FRICTION, ACCORDING TO THE VILLAGERS.

LIFE UNDER THE IDF BLOCKADE

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01 /086 W

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SECTION 02 OF 04 JERUSALEM 03242

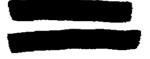
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TAGS: PHUM, KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: VISIT TO TEL: THE VIEW FROM A

6. ACCORDING TO THE VILLAGERS, TEL HAD BEEN A REPRESENTATIVE NORTHERN WEST BANK VILLAGE BEFORE THE BLOCKADE WAS IMPOSED. THERE WERE OCCASIONAL INCIDENTS WITH IDE PATROLS, THE VILLAGERS HAD FORCED OUT THE ISRAELI-APPOINTED MUKHTAR EARLY IN THE INTIFADA, AND ALMOST HALF THE YOUNG MEN HAD BEEN ARRESTED. THE RESIDENTS BELIEVE THE VILLAGE WAS SINGLED OUT FOR THE BLOCKADE BECAUSE OF ITS RELATIVE ISOLATION AND DEPENDENCE ON A SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL CROP. THE ONE ROAD INTO THE TOWN COULD EASILY BE CUT, AND PREVENTING THE MARKETING OF FIGS AND DAIRY PRODUCTS WOULD PARALYZE THE VILLAGE'S ECONOMY. (COMMENT: WHILE THE VILLAGE'S VULNERABILITY MAY HAVE MADE THE IMPOSITION OF A BLOCKADE FEASIBLE. THE ACTUAL IMPETUS WOULD PROBABLY HAVE BEEN A



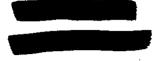
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SPECIFIC INCIDENT OR SERIES OF INCIDENTS. END COMMENT.)

- 7. AFTER AN AUGUST 12 CLASH WITH THE IDF INVOLVING STONE THROWING AND SOME ARRESTS, BUT NO SERIOUS INJURIES, THE VILLAGERS AWOKE AUGUST 13 TO FIND TEL SEALED OFF AND THE VILLAGE UNDER CURFEW. ALTHOUGH THE CURFEW, WHICH RESTRICTS RESIDENTS TO THEIR HOUSES, WAS LIFTED SHORTLY AFTER, THE TOWN REMAINED SUBJECT TO A TOTAL BLOCKADE. NO PEOPLE, FOOD, OR PRODUCTS WERE ALLOWED INTO OR OUT OF THE VILLAGE. IN ADDITION TO A SERIES OF CHECKPOINTS ON THE NABLUS-TEL ROAD, IDF PATROLS AIDED BY HELICOPTERS COMBED THE SURROUNDING ORCHARDS FOR VIOLATORS. (COMMENT: THIS OPERATION OCCURED BEFORE THE QALQILYA SEARCH-AND-ARREST OPERATION WHICH BROUGHT THIS TECHNIQUE TO PUBLIC ATTENTION. END COMMENT.) VILLAGERS REPORTED BEATINGS, ARRESTS, AND TWO DEATHS: A VILLAGER SHOT IN THE HEAD. AND A YOUNG CHILD WHO DIED OF DEHYDRATION BECAUSE OF THE WATER SHORTAGE.
- 8. THE PERIOD OF TOTAL BLOCKADE LASTED ONE WEEK, UNTIL ICRC REPRESENTATIONS INTERVENED WITH THE IDF TO ALLOW FOODSTUFFS AND WATER INTO THE VILLAGE. FROM THAT POINT UNTIL THE LIFTING OF



THE BLOCKADE, VILLAGERS WERE ALLOWED TO LIVE FAIRLY NORMAL LIVES WITHIN THE VILLAGE ITSELF. SOLDIERS REMAINED OUTSIDE THE VILLAGE, EXCEPT FOR OCCASIONAL PATROLS WHICH WERE INEVITABLY MET BY STONES. THE VILLAGERS WERE ALLOWED TO PICK THEIR FIG CROP. HOWEVER, NO VILLAGERS, FIGS, OR



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DAIRY PRODUCTS WERE ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE VILLAGE, AND NO ANIMAL FEED WAS ALLOWED IN. VILLAGERS CAUGHT VIOLATING THE ORDER BY TRANSPORTING THEIR GOODS ON DONKEYS THROUGH THE FIELDS HAD THEIR GOODS AND ANIMALS CONFISCATED. (THE DONKEYS WERE KEPT IN THE VILLAGE SCHOOL UNTIL LOGISTICAL PROBLEMS LED THE SOLDIERS TO RETURN THEM TO THEIR OWNERS.) FIGS OR DAIRY PRODUCTS FROM TEL WERE ALSO CONFISCATED IN NABLUS. ON OCCASION, PATROLS IN THE VILLAGE DESTROYED FIGS AND DAIRY PRODUCTS IN PEOPLE'S HOMES. BY THE END OF THE THIRD WEEK, VILLAGERS STARTED LIQUIDATING THEIR HERDS FOR LACK OF FEED.

9. VILLAGERS ATTRIBUTE THE LIFTING OF THE BLOCKADE TO TWO FACTORS: THE END OF FIG SEASON, AND INTERVENTION BY THE U.S. EMBASSY. HOWEVER, THEY REMAIN BITTER THAT OVER TWO-THIRDS OF THE FIG CROP WAS LOST, DAIRY PRODUCTION FOR OVER ONE MONTH WAS LOST, AND HERDS WERE REDUCED. THEY HAVE NO PLANS TO REPLACE THE LOST ANIMALS UNTIL THE SITUATION BECOMES MORE STABLE. ACCORDING TO THE AN-NAJAH PROFESSOR, THE LOSS OF ANIMALS IS THE BIGGEST ECONOMIC LOSS SUFFERED BY TEL.

A "LIBERATED" VILLAGE



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INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PHUM. KPAL. IS

SUBJECT: VISIT TO TEL: THE VIEW FROM A

10. CURRENTLY, SECURITY FORCES DO NOT ENTER TEL. OCCASIONAL PATROLS APPROACH THE ENTRANCE TO THE VILLAGE, SETTING OFF WARNINGS FROM LOOKOUTS AND THE CHECKPOINT POSTED ALONG THE ROUTE, BUT THEY DO NOT ENTER. HELICOPTERS REGULARLY FLY OVER THE AREA. DURING THE SEPTEMBER 28 MEETING, TWO IDF JEEPS--PRECEEDED BY SHOUTS FROM THE LOOKOUTS--DROVE UP TO THE LAST BEND IN THE ROAD BEFORE THE VILLAGE, THEN TURNED AND DROVE AWAY. A GROUP OF YOUNG MEN HAD POSTED THEMSELVES WITH STONES AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE VILLAGE, BUT THE JEEPS TURNED BACK WHILE STILL OUT OF RANGE. ON TWO SEPARATE OCCASIONS DURING THE TWO-HOUR MEETING, TWO HELICOPTERS HOVERED OVERHEAD. SINCE THE IDF DOES NOT ENTER, TEL VILLAGE NOW CONSIDERS ITSELF A "LIBERATED" CONFIDENTIAL



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VILLAGE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF A POPULAR COMMITTEE LOYAL TO THE UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING.

11. THE MOOD AMONG THE YOUNG PEOPLE IS DEFIANT. THEY BELIEVE THEY HAVE WON A GREAT VICTORY, AND THEY PROMISE TO MEET EVERY ISRAELI CHALLENGE WITH STONES. THE ELDERS SEEMED SOMEWHAT UNCOMFORTABLE WITH THESE SENTIMENTS. BUT DID NOT GAINSAY THE YOUNGER GENERATION. ALL PUBLICLY SUPPORTED THE PLO (ALTHOUGH THE HAMAS PERSON WAS NOT IN THE ROOM AT THE TIME). WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE APPARENT DIFFICULTIES ABOUT CONVENING THE PNC, THEY RESPONDED WITH THE STANDARD EXPLANATION THAT THE PALESTINIANS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WERE ONLY PART OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, AND THAT IT WOULD TAKE TIME TO RECONCILE THE NEEDS OF ALL PALESTINIANS. INCLUDING THOSE IN THE DIASPORA. IN AN ASIDE, THE UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR CLAIMED TO BE MORE CONCERNED ABOUT LEFTIST INROADS ON FATAH'S POWER THAN ABOUT THE FUNDAMENTALIST THREAT. HE EXPLAINED THAT, IN THE CASE OF DISILLUSION FOLLOWING A FAILED PNC AND INCREASED IDF FORCE AGAINST THE VILLAGE, IT WAS POSSIBLE THE LEFTIST ELEMENTS WOULD REJECT THE FATAH LINE AND RETURN TO AN UNCOMPROMISING STANCE. ALL CLAIMED NOT TO CARE ABOUT EITHER THE ISRAELI OR THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS. THEY ASSERTED THAT LABOR AND LIKUD WERE THE SAME, POINTING OUT THAT RABIN WAS LABOR, AND SAID THAT WHOEVER WAS ELECTED. THEY WANTED THE ISRAELIS OUT. WHILE EXPRESSING HOPE THAT EITHER BUSH OR DUKAKIS WOULD BE MORE

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SUPPORTIVE OF THE PALESTINIANS AND NEGOTIATE WITH THE PLO, THEY ARGUED THAT THE U.S. WAS AND WOULD REMAIN BIASED TOWARD ISRAEL. CONGENOFF RESPONDED THAT THE U.S. WAS AND WOULD CONTINUE WORKING TO FACILITATE A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM THAT WOULD ADDRESS THE LEGITIMATE NEEDS OF BOTH ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS. UNCLASSIFIED

FUTURE VULNERABILITY

12. THE OLIVE HARVEST BEGINS IN TWO WEEKS, AND THE VILLAGERS OF TEL WERE CLEARLY CONCERNED THAT THE IDF WOULD REIMPOSE ITS BLOCKADE TO PREVENT HARVEST OR MARKETING OF THE OLIVE CROP. (THE SEPTEMBER 22 JERUSALEM POST HAS PUBLISHED A REPORT OF A THREAT BY IDF OFFICERS IN THE REGION TO DO SO.) STILL, WHILE FEARING THAT TEL WOULD ONCE AGAIN BE MADE AN EXAMPLE, THE YOUTH EXPRESSED THEIR CONFIDENCE, EVEN BRAVADO, THAT THE VILLAGE WOULD ONCE AGAIN HOLD OUT. AT THE SAME TIME, THE MUKHTAR EXPRESSED HIS HOPE THAT THE USG WOULD INTERVENE WITH THE GOI TO PREVENT A REPETITION OF THE FIG BLOCKADE.

COMMENT

13. WE OFFER THIS SNAPSHOT OF A WEST BANK VILLAGE SIMPLY AS A VIEW INTO THE CURRENT MOOD

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3623
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AMEMBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PHUM, KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: VISIT TO TEL: THE VIEW FROM A

OF RURAL PALESTINIANS. WE FOUND MANY ELEMENTS IN COMMON WITH OTHER PALESTINIANS BOTH RURAL AND URBAN: PUBLIC UNITY IN SUPPORT OF THE INTIFADA, NEAR UNANIMOUS SUPPORT OF THE PLO AND, DESPITE THE SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT, A LINGERING UNCERTAINTY OF WHAT THE UPCOMING POLITICAL EVENTS--THE PNC, THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS, AND THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS--WILL BRING. WILCOX

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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SUBJECT= ISRAEL: THE INTIFADA AND THE MOOD FO THE ELECTORATE

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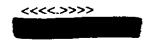
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TAGS= KPAL, PINR, EG, IS, PLO





PAGE 01 STATE 316460 ORIGIN INR-10

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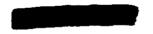
-WARNING NOTICE: SENSITIVE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED -NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS

ISRAEL: THE INTIFADA AND THE MOOD OF THE ELECTORATE

1. LABOR AND LIKUD APPEAR TO HAVE ABOUT EQUAL SUPPORT AMONG ISRAELI VOTERS, AND ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT IS POSSIBLE AFTER THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS. THE CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN RELATIVELY QUIET, BUT ISRAELI POLITICS ARE VOLATILE, AND WITH SECURITY AND PEACE--IN THAT ORDER--DOMINATING VOTERS' THOUGHTS, DOMESTIC OR FOREIGN EVENTS COULD STILL INFLUENCE THE UNDECIDED--AND THE OUTCOME IN NOVEMBER.

DIFFERENT PERCEPTIONS OF THE THREAT

2. THE NINE-MONTH-OLD UPRISING HAS PRODUCED OPPOSITE LABOR AND LIKUD APPROACHES TO THE TERRITORIES'



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FUTURE, WHICH EACH PARTY HOPES WILL APPEAL TO ISRAEL'S UNDECIDED VOTERS. LIKUD POINTS TO PALESTINIAN VIOLENCE AS EVIDENCE OF THE INTOLERABLE SECURITY THREAT ISRAEL WOULD FACE IF IT WERE TO PULL BACK FROM THE TERRITORIES.

3. FOR LABOR, THE VIOLENCE HIGHLIGHTS THE DEMOGRAPHIC TIME BOMB FACING ISRAEL IF IT DOES NOT DISENGAGE FROM THE TERRITORIES, THOUGH MOST LABOR LEADERS SUPPORT TOUGH MEASURES IF NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN ORDER UNTIL PEACE IS ACHIEVED. BOTH PARTIES HAVE REACTED HARSHLY TO PLO DECLARATIONS REGARDING A PALESTINIAN GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE, WHICH HAS SERVED TO HEIGHTEN THE URGENCY OF SECURITY AND PUSH THE PEACE PROCESS INTO THE BACKGROUND.



IMPACT ON THE ELECTORATE

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4. THE REVOLT HAS HARDENED ISRAELI ATTITUDES ON BOTH ENDS OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM. PERHAPS WITH GREATER ZEAL THAN BEFORE, SOME ISRAELI ACADEMICS AND POLITICIANS ARE ARGUING THAT CONTINUED RETENTION OF THE TERRITORIES CONSTITUTES A THREAT TO THE JEWISHNESS OF ISRAEL. ALTHOUGH LITTLE SUGGESTS THAT THE CYCLE OF PALESTINIAN VIOLENCE AND RETALIATORY JEWISH RESPONSE HAS STRENGTHENED THE APPEAL OF DRACONIAN SOLUTIONS, ANNEXATION AND MASS EXPULSION ARE BECOMING MORE POPULAR AMONG SOME FRINGE EXTREMISTS.

WHAT THE POLLS SAY

5. THE INTIFADA HAS RESULTED IN GREATER PESSIMISM ON THE LIKELIHOOD OF PEACE, THE LOWEST RATING



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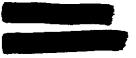
IN YEARS ON ISRAEL'S INTERNAL SECURITY, AND AN INCREASE IN PATRIOTISM AND CONFIDENCE IN THE ARMY'S ABILITY TO IMPOSE ORDER, ACCORDING TO PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH. THE WILLINGNESS OF ISRAELIS TO RELINQUISH SOME PARTS OF THE WEST BANK IN EXCHANGE FOR PEACE HAS GRADUALLY INCREASED, BUT MOST JEWISH VOTERS CONTINUE TO FAVOR SETTLEMENTS IN THE TERRITORIES.

TALKING TO THE PLO

6. HALF THE PUBLIC BELIEVES ISRAEL SHOULD AGREE TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE PLO IF IT RECOGNIZES ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST AND ACCEPTS RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. AT THE SAME TIME, A MAJORITY (56 PERCENT AGAINST 29 PERCENT) THINKS IT UNLIKELY THAT THE PLO WILL MEET THOSE TERMS WITHIN THE NEXT TWO YEARS. JEWISH ISRAELIS BY A TWO-TO-ONE MARGIN (54 PERCENT AGAINST 28 PERCENT) CONTINUE TO REJECT CREATION OF A SEPARATE PALESTINIAN STATE IN PART OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA--EVEN IF THAT WERE NECESSARY FOR A PEACE AGREEMENT.

ANOTHER UNITY GOVERNMENT?

7. VARIOUS POLLS SHOW LABOR AND LIKUD CAPTURING APPROXIMATELY THE SAME NUMBER OF KNESSET SEATS. WHEN EXTREME RIGHT AND RELIGIOUS PARTIES ARE ADDED TO LIKUD, AND LIBERAL AND LEFT-WING PARTIES TO LABOR, THE COMBINED TOTALS DO NOT ADD UP TO THE 61 SEATS NEEDED TO FORM A GOVERNING COALITION.



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8. THE PARTIES HAVE DEMONSTRATED NEARLY EQUAL ELECTORAL STRENGTH IN THE PAST TWO NATIONAL ELECTIONS, AND SOME ANALYSTS PREDICT ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT. BUT SHIFTS IN THE TRADITIONAL ALLIANCES MAY YET OCCUR THAT WOULD ALLOW FORMATION OF A NARROW COALITION LED BY ONE OR THE OTHER PARTY.

WHAT COULD UPSET THE BALANCE?

9. THE DELICATE BALANCE BETWEEN LABOR AND LIKUD COULD BE ALTERED BY A SHIFT ON THE PART OF THE COUNTRY'S UNDECIDED VOTERS. ISRAELIS WILL BE LOOKING INTENTLY TO THE PLO'S PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL SESSION, WHICH MIGHT TAKE PLACE AS SOON AS THE SECOND WEEK OF OCTOBER, FOR SIGNS OF PLO MODERATION AND OPENNESS TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL.

10. A PLO FAILURE TO MOVE SUBSTANTIVELY WOULD STRENGTHEN THE ARGUMENTS OF HARD-LINERS WHO MAINTAIN THAT THE ORGANIZATION IS AN UNACCEPTABLE NEGOTIATING PARTNER. PRE-ELECTION TERRORISM INSIDE THE COUNTRY OR AGAINST ISRAELI INTERESTS ABROAD WOULD SHIFT OPINION DECIDEDLY RIGHTWARD.

11. ALTHOUĞH THE ARMY APPEARS TO BE HOLDING DOWN THE VIOLENCE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, AN UPSURGE OF ANTI-ISRAELI ACTIVITY--INCLUDING STONINGS AND FIRE-BOMBINGS THAT RESULT IN INJURIES OR DEATHS TO JEWISH SETTLERS IN THE TERRITORIES--COULD INFLAME OPINION IN FAVOR OF HARSHER MEASURES.

12. FINALLY, A DECISION IN FAVOR OF EGYPT ON THE TABA BORDER DISPUTE (WHICH WILL BE ANNOUNCED FORMALLY ON

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THURSDAY) WILL BE GREETED UNFAVORABLY IN ISRAEL.
LIKUD--WHICH IN 1984 OPPOSED SENDING THE DISPUTE TO
ARBITRATION BUT EVENTUALLY GAVE IN UNDER STRONG ALIGNMENT
PRESSURE-"IS CERTAIN TO MAKE THE TURNOVER OF TERRITORY AN
ELECTION ISSUE, DESPITE REPORTS THAT A TACIT
ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN UNDERSTANDING HAS BEEN REACHED TO TRY TO
KEEP THE ISSUE QUIET. WHITEHEAD

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*** Current Classification *** *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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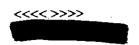
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CONCEPTS= SATELLITE, POSTPONEMENT, OUTER SPACE

TAGS= KSCA, TSPA, PREL, MNUC, MCAP, PINR, US, IS



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AMEMBASSY BEIJING PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
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ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

SECTION 01 OF 03 TEL AVIV 13685

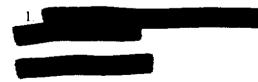
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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: TSPA, PREL, MNUC, MCAP, PINR, IS, KSCA

SUBJECT: ISRAELI SATELLITE

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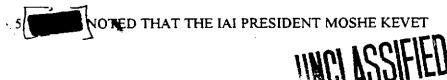
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ISA CHAIRMAN NEEMAN, TOMORROW, ELATED WITH THE WEEK'S EVENTS. THE SATELLITE ("OFFEO" - HORIZON) IS PERFORMING FLAWLESSLY, ACCORDING TO THE ONLY ANOMALY DURING THE LAUNCH WAS THE FAILURE OF A TRANSISTOR CONTROLLING ELECTRICAL SWITCHING DURING COUNTDOWN WHICH FORCED A DENIED ANY 24-HOUR POSTPONEMENT OF THE LAUNCH MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THE LAUNCH. HE INDICATED THAT THE USE OF U.S. EQUIPMENT IN THE LAUNCHER AND SATELLITE HAD BEEN DELIBERATELY AVOIDED. DENIED ANY KNOWLEDGE OF A SEPARATE MILITARY SATELLITE PROGRAM. HE PROVIDED EXTENSIVE DETAILS ABOUT THE LAUNCHER AND SATELLITE, END SUMMARY. 3. WE QUESTIONED ABOUT THE DECISION-MAKING WHICH LED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SATELLITE AND REVIEWED SEVERAL POINTS REPORTED IN THE ISRAELI MEDIA IN THE PAST FEW DAYS. ABOUT DOLLARS 45 MILLION WAS SPENT BY ISA FROM 1985 TO 1988 (1985-DOLLARS 5M, 1986-DOLLARS 15M, 1987-DOLLARS 16M, 1988-DOLLARS 8M) THESE FIGURES ONLY REPRESENT THE COST OF THE SATELLITE, TEST FACILITIES AND INSTRUMENTS, AND RESEARCH. THE LAUNCH VEHICLE AND SUPPORTING INFRASTRUCTURE CAME OUT OF THE BUDGET OF ISRAEL AIRCRAFT INDUSTRIES (IAI) AND WOULD ONLY CONFIRM PRESS REPORTS THAT TOTAL COSTS FOR THE PROJECT WERE ABOUT 190 MILLION DOLLARS. HE DID NOT SPECIFY IAI'S DOLLAR COMMITMENT.

A SAID THAT SEVERAL YEARS AGO, PRIME MINISTER

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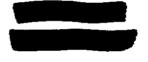
BEGIN MADE THE FORMAL DECISION TO GO AHEAD WITH AN INDEPENDENT ISRAELI SPACE PROGRAM WHO WAS PRESENT WHEN THE DECISION WAS MADE, SAID BEGIN WAS CONVINCED BY ARGUMENTS THAT THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAD INVESTED IN SPACE SCIENCE NOW WOULD GAIN AN ADVANTAGE BY THE YEAR 2000 SIMILAR TO THAT ENJOYED BY COUNTRIES THAT INVESTED IN ELECTRICAL POWER GENERATION AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. THESE BENEFITS ARE IN THE FORM OF ENTRY INTO THE COMMUNITY OF SPACE EXPLORING NATIONS. COMMERCIAL SPIN-OFF OPPORTUNITIES AND NATIONAL PRESTIGE. AS EARLY AS 1968, PM GOLDA MEIR HAD APPROVED THE CONCEPT OF CONDUCTING SPACE RESEARCH. THOUGH BEGIN WAS THE FIRST TO FUND THE PROGRAM



STATED TODAY THAT ISRAEL ANTICIPATED REVENUES OF DOLLARS 100 MILLION PER YEAR FROM THE SALE OF LAUNCH SERVICES AND RELATED ACTIVITIES. WAS UNWILLING TO SPECULATE WHEN ISRAEL MIGHT ACHIEVE SUCH LEVELS OF REVENUE. HE WAS CERTAIN ABOUT ISA'S MORE IMMEDIATE PLANS SAID THAT THE NEXT SATELLITE WILL BE

LAUNCHED IN ABOUT A YEAR AND WILL CARRY ABOUT 35KG OF SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENTS. THESE WILL BE SELECTED FROM ABOUT TEN PROPOSALS WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED BY THE ISRAELI SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY INDICATED THAT A THIRD SATELLITE IS ALSO PLANNED. BUT SAID ISA WOULD ALSO BE CONCENTRATING ON THE PLANNED 1993 LAUNCH OF AN ISRAELI COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE ABOARD ARIANE. THIS REQUIREMENT WOULD AFFECT THE RATE OF LAUNCH OF THE INDIGENOUS SATELLITE PROGRAM.

6. DEFENDED THE DECISION NOT TO NOTIFY THE USG OF THE LAUNCH. HE SAID THE QUESTION OF "WHEN TO CALL (AMBASSADOR) PICKERING" WAS CONSIDERED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL. IT WAS DECIDED NOT TO INFORM ANYONE OTHER



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AMEMBASSY BEIJING PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

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DEPT ALSO FOR OES/SAT, OES/SCT



E.O. 12356; DECL:OADR TAGS: TSPA, PREL, MNUC, MCAP, PINR, IS, KSCA

SUBJECT ISRAELI SATELLITE

THAN THE CABINET PRIOR TO THE LAUNCH. HE NOTED THAT NO GOVERNMENT, AGENCY OR INDIVIDUAL RECEIVED PRIOR NOTIFICATION, ASIDE FROM CABINET MEMBERS AND THE



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LAUNCH TEAM ITSELF. THE DECISION WAS MADE IN ADVANCE TO PHONE THE U.S. EMBASSY THIRTY MINUTES AFTER THE LAUNCH (COMMENT: THE CALL WAS ACTUALLY MADE NINETY MINUTES AFTER LAUNCH. END COMMENT.) EMPHASIZED THAT THE INTENTION OF THE DECISION NOT TO TELL THE USG WAS TO ENSURE SECURITY: THOUGH HE NOTED THAT THE ARTICLE IN "TIME" MAGAZINE PRIOR TO THE LAUNCH (WHICH INDICATED SUCH AN EVENT WAS IMMINENT) WAS PUBLISHED SHORTLY AFTER THE CABINET WAS FIRST INFORMED OF THE PLAN ("AND WE HAVE AN IDEA WHO LEAKED-IT." AID).

- 7. QUESTIONED ABOUT THE MILITARY IMPLICATIONS OF THE LAUNCH SAID THE GOI WAS TAKING PAINS TO ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT CIVILIAN SPACE CAPABILITY WHICH WOULD BE A PROFIT-MAKING ENTERPRISE. HE SAID THAT SOME COUNTRIES ARE UNABLE TO USE U.S. LAUNCH VEHICLES DUE TO OUR CONSTRAINTS ON THE TYPES OF HARDWARE WE WILL LAUNCH. HE CITED SWEDEN'S DESIRE TO LAUNCH A POLAR-ORBITING COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE AS AN EXAMPLE. THE SWEDES, HE SAID, WANT TO COMMUNICATE BETWEEN THEIR EMBASSIES WORLDWIDE AND STOCKHOLM USING A DEDICATED SATELLITE THAT THEY ALONE CONTROL. THE U.S. WILL NOT LAUNCH SUCH A SATELLITE AS A MATTER OF POLICY, AND OTHER LAUNCHERS (E.G., ARIANE) HAVE LONG WAITING LISTS. ISRAEL, HE SAID, WOULD NOT IMPOSE SUCH RESTRICTIONS ON THE PAYLOAD OF PROSPECTIVE DENIED, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH A LAUNCH USERS) WAS PLANNED OR UNDER NEGOTIATION).
- 8. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION DID NOT DENY THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE ISRAELI DEFENSE FORCE MIGHT ONE DAY CONDUCT ITS OWN LAUNCHES. PURCHASE A BOOSTER





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DIRECTLY FROM IAI WITHOUT INVOLVING ISA, OR LAUNCH A PURELY MILITARY SATELLITE. HE CLAIMED TO HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE OF ANY PLANS FOR SUCH ACTIVITY. 9. THE DECISION TO LAUNCH FROM EAST TO WEST IMPOSES ABOUT A 15 PENALTY ON THE PAYLOAD TO ORBIT. THIS DECISION WAS MADE. SAID. TO ENSURE THAT NO DEBRIS FELL IN THE ARAB STATES TO THE EAST. THIS POLICY WOULD CONTINUE IN THE FUTURE. HE DID NOTE HOWEVER THAT "THERE ARE MANY COUNTRIES BETWEEN 36 DEGREES NORTH AND 36 DEGREES SOUTH LATITUDE WHERE ONE COULD BUILD A LAUNCH COMPLEX THAT WOULD PERMIT MORE EFFICIENT WEST TO EAST. OR NORTH-SOUTH LAUNCHES (COMMENT: USEFUL FOR INTELLIGENCE SATELLITES. END COMMENT). ASKED IF ISRAEL WAS PLANNING SUCH A COMPLEX OR NEGOTIATING WITH ANOTHER COUNTRY TO THAT END! INDICATED HE HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF SUCH PLANS (LE-HE DID NOT CONFIRM NOR DENY).

- 10. ALTHOUGH HE HAD LITTLE INFORMATION TO OFFER ABOUT THE LAUNCH VEHICLE, LAUNCH COMPLEX OR RELATED INFRASTRUCTURE INDICATED THAT HE FELT SURE HE COULD OBTAIN AN INVITATION FOR THE AMBASSADOR, OR ANOTHER SENIOR USG OFFICIAL TO VISIT THE LAUNCH SITE AND INSPECT THE LAUNCH VEHICLE. (COMMENT: THIS SUGGESTS THAT ANOTHER BOOSTER HAS ALREADY BEEN FABRICATED. END COMMENT) WE INDICATED WE WOULD PASS THIS INVITATION ALONG.
- 11. ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY U.S. TECHNOLOGY IN THE LAUNCH VEHICLE OR SATELLITE WAS EMPHATIC THAT THERE WAS NOT. HE SAID PARTS OF THE SATELLITE HAD BEEN PROCURED FROM FRENCH, FRG, AND CANADIAN FIRMS. THE SOLAR PANELS WERE MANUFACTURED BY DORNIER OF GERMANY, HE "THOUGHT". DUE TO THE STRICT CONTROLS—THE USG PLACES ON ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY HOWEVER SAID THE GOI HAD DECIDED TO AVOID USING ANY U.S.

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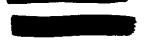
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E.O. 12356; DECL:OADR

TAGS: TSPA, PREL, MNUC, MCAP, PINR, IS, KSCA

SUBJECT ISRAELI SATELLITE

EQUIPMENT. HE DID ACKNOWLEDGE THAT ISRAELI SCIENTISTS HAD GAINED IMPORTANT INFORMATION IN VISITS TO THE U.S., SPECIFICALLY CITING A VISIT TO THE



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GODDARD SPACE FLIGHT CENTER.

12 INDICATED THAT THE BOOSTER WAS A THREE-STAGE ROCKET. THE FIRST TWO STAGES WERE 20 METERS IN HEIGHT AND SOLID-FUELED. HE CLAIMED (NOT VERY CREDIBLY) THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THE THIRD STAGE WAS LIQUID-FUELED OR SOLID. THRUST WAS 9 TONS FOR EACH OF THE FIRST TWO STAGES. AND 2 TONS FOR THE THIRD STAGE. THE PAYLOAD TO ORBIT WAS 156 KG.

13 HANDED US A PRESS RELEASE WHICH PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING TECHNICAL DATA:

WEIGHT-156 KG: STRUCTURE-33KG, POWER SUPPLY



SYSTEM-58KG, COMPUTER-7KG, COMMUNICATION SYSTEM-12KG, THERMAL CONTROL SYSTEM-5KG, WIRING-9KG, INSTRUMENTATION AND BALANCING WEIGHTS-32KG.

SHAPE-OCTAGONAL (A COLOR PHOTO IS BEING HAND-CARRIED BY SCIATT TO THE DEPARTMENT FOR DELIVERY OOB 9/26), HEIGHT 2.3 METERS, LOWER BASE DIAMETER 1.2 METERS, UPPER BASE DIAMETER 0.7 METERS.

ELECTRICAL SYSTEM: POWER SUPPLIED BY SOLAR PANELS 246 WATTS, AVG. POWER CONSUMPTION 53 WATTS, BATTERY CAPACITY 7 AMPERE-HOUR, VOLTAGE-UNREGULATED 25-42 VOLTS.

COMMUNICATIONS: S BAND, TELEMETRY TRANSMISSION RATE 2.4 KBITS/SEC, ON-BOARD MEMORY 128 KBYTES.

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification ***



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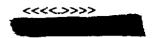


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SUBJECT= INITIAL WE UNCERTAINTY	IST BANK REACTION	TO JORDANIAN DISENGA	GEMENT: SHOCK
REFERENCE= n/a			
CONTROL_NBR= n/a			
ENCLOSURE= n/a		<u>-</u>	
LOCATOR= TEXT ON-	LINE, ON MICROFILM		
ERRORS= N/A			

CONCEPTS= WEST BANK, GOVERNMENT REACTION, KING, SPEECH, OCCUPIED AREA, DEVELOPMENT LOAN, SELF DETERMINATION

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, PBTS, IS, JO, PLO, (HUSSEIN I)

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PBTS, KPAL, IS, JO

SUBJECT: INITIAL WEST BANK REACTION TO JORDANIAN

DISENGAGEMENT: SHOCK, UNCERTAINTY

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2. SUMMARY. JORDAN'S ANNOUNCEMENT JULY 28 AND KING HUSSEIN'S SPEECH JULY 31 CUTTING MANY LINKS WITH THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HAVE LEFT MANY WEST BANK LEADERS APPREHENSIVE AND UNCERTAIN. PLO SUPPORTERS GENERALLY WELCOME THE ANNOUNCEMENTS AS CONFIRMATION OF PLO PRIMACY IN THE TERRITORIES, BUT THEIR ENTHUSIASM IS TEMPERED BY CONCERN ABOUT THE PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCES. PRO-JORDAN FIGURES SAY THE DECISION IS A "TRAGEDY" AND FEAR ENDURING POLITICAL GRIDLOCK, WITH THE WEST BANKERS UNABLE TO REPRESENT THEM WITH ISRAEL, AND THE SITUATION ON

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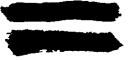
THE GROUND WORSENING. NEARLY ALL SAY THEY HOPE THE U.S. WILL CHANNEL DEVELOPMENT FUNDS INTO A DIRECT WEST BANK/GAZA PROGRAM. MANY FEAR THE GOJ WILL MOVE TO RESTRICT TRAVEL BY LIMITING

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BRIDGE CROSSINGS OR PASSPORT FACILITIES. MOST ADMIT THERE IS MUCH UNCERTAINTY AND SAY MORE TIME IS NEEDED TO FULLY ASSESS THE NEW SITUATION. ARAFAT'S VISIT TO AMMAN IS SEEN AS A CRITICAL NEXT STEP. END SUMMARY.

VIEWS OF PLO SUPPORTERS

MOST PRO-PLO/FATAH FIGURES HERE (THIS GROUP) REPRESENTS THE POLITICAL MAINSTREAM), HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED TO CONGEN OFFICERS OVER THE YEARS THAT JORDAN AND THE PALESTINIANS IN THE WEST BANK ARE INEXTRICABLY LINKED BY FAMILY AND ECONOMIC TIES, AND THAT, ULTIMATELY, JORDAN AND THE PALESTINIANS WILL HAVE TO WORK TOGETHER TO . DEFINE THEIR RELATIONSHIP AS WELL AS A SETTLEMENT WITH ISRAEL. WHAT THEY HAVE OBJECTED TO IN THE PAST WAS THE IMPLICATION THAT PALESTINIANS WERE A SUBORDINATE PARTY TO AN ISRAELI-JORDANIAN NEGOTIATION AND THAT THE PLO WOULD BE EXCLUDED ALTOGETHER. THEIR INSISTANCE ON SELF-DETERMINATION, A PALESTINIAN STATE, AND A PALESTINIAN FLAG IS BASED MORE ON THE PSYCHIC NEED FOR RECOGNITION AND IDENTITY THAN ON THE EXPECTATION THAT THEY COULD EXIST WITHOUT STRONG TIES TO JORDAN AND ISRAEL; HENCE THE PREFERENCE OF THE MAINSTREAM PRO-PLO ELEMENTS FOR

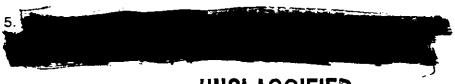


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ESTABLISHING AN INDEPENDENT STATE, AFTER WHICH THEY WOULD IMMEDIATELY DECLARE CONFEDERATION WITH JORDAN. SPECIFIC REACTIONS FROM PRO/PLO FIGURES FOLLOW.

TOLD US HUSSEIN HAS BOWED TO THE INEVITABLE;
HOWEVER, HE WOULD TRY TO PRESSURE PALESTINIANS
TO CRAWL BACK TO HIM, BUT THEY WOULD NEVER DO
THIS.
PECULATED THAT THE PLO MIGHT
NOW ESTABLISH A GOVERNMENT IN EXILE AND
CHALLENGE ISRAEL FOR PEACE.
AGREED THAT THIS WAS A PROMISING OPTION.

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HE WELCOMED ABANDONMENT OF THE JORDAN WEST BANK/GAZA DEVELOPMENT PLAN, SEEN BY HIM AND OTHER PLO ADHERENTS AS AN GOJ EFFORT TO BUY POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN THE TERRITORIES.

GALLED
JORDAN'S DECISION "COURAGEOUS," AND A "MISTORIC
STEP FOR PALESTINIANS." HE SEES THE GOJ MOVES
NOT AS A CHALLENGE TO THE PLO, BUT A JOINT
UNDERSTANDING THAT JORDAN CANNOT SPEAK FOR THE
TERRITORIES. HE ACKNOWLEDGED, HOWEVER, THAT
THINGS WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR THE PALESTINIANS,
AND THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO MAKE SOME HARD
DECISIONS. AL FAJR EDITOR HANNA SINIORA ALSO
WELCOMED THE JORDANIAN MOVES AND HOPED THEY
WOULD PAVE THE WAY FOR A FRESH START IN REACHING
AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN HUSSEIN AND ARAFAT.

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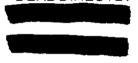
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PBTS, KPAL, IS, JO

SUBJECT: INITIAL WEST BANK REACTION TO JORDANIAN

7. OTHER PRO-PLO CONTACTS HAVE TOLD US THAT WHILE THEY SUPORT THE KING'S NEW DEFINITION OF JORDANIAN -PALESTINIAN RELATIONS AS A STEP FORWARD, IN PRINCIPLE, THEY WONDER WHETHER JORDAN WILL TRY TO USE ITS LEVERAGE TO BRING THE PALESTINIANS AND PLO TO HEEL. JOURNALIST IBRAHIM KARA'EEN FEARED THAT IF THE KING WAS MOTIVATED BY BITTERNESS, HE COULD HURT THE PALESTINIANS, AND HE HOPED ARAFAT AND HUSSEIN WOULD REACH AN UNDERSTANDING.

8. SOME OF OUR PRO-PLO CONTACTS HOPE THAT THE JORDANIAN WITHDRAWAL WILL FORCE ISRAEL TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO THE PALESTINIANS IN THE TERRITORIES AND PERSUADE THE GO! AND THE U.S. TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH THE PLO.



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PRO-JORDANIANS DEEPLY CONCERNED

PRO-JORDANIAN LEADERS ARE SHOCKED AND DESPONDENT ABOUT THE GOJ MOVE. MAYOR ELIAS FREIJ OF BETHLEHEM SAID WEST BANKERS WILL NOW BECOME "STATELESS, LIKE GAZANS" AND ARE IN FOR TOUGH TIMES. AN-NAHAR EDITOR OTHMAN HALLAQ, IN AN EDITORIAL, HEWED TO THE KING'S ARGUMENT THAT JORDAN HAS NO INTENTION OF COMPETING WITH THE PLO IN LEADING OR REPRESENTING PALESTINIANS. "IF THE PLO IS THE LEGITIMATE WIFE OF PALESTINIANS. THEN JORDAN IS THEIR LOVING AND DEVOTED SISTER"... "NOW IT IS UP TO THE PLO TO TAKE OVER THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CARING FOR PALESTINIANS UNDER OCCUPATION," HALLAQ PRIVATELY IS DEPLY CONCERNED AND FEARS JORDAN WILL NOW LIFT PASSPORTS AND CUT OFF SALARIES. HE WARNED THAT THE PLO IS UNABLE TO ESTABLISH ITS INDEPENDENT STATE ALONE, SINCE THE GOI WILL REFUSE TO DEAL WITH IT. IT WILL HAVE TO WORK WITH JORDAN IN SOME WAY.



10. WAS MORE BLUNT.

"ALL PALESTINIANS ON THE WEST BANK AND IN GAZA
WILL REPEAT LIKE PARROTS THAT THE PLO IS THEIR
SOLE REPRESENTATIVE. ISRAEL WON'T TALK TO THE
PLO, BUT PALESTINIANS WON'T TALK WITHOUT THE
PLO." DEADLOCK WILL RESULT WITHOUT JORDANIAN
INVOLVEMENT, SAID THE KING'S
DECISION WAS A "TRAGEDY" AND DISSOLUTION OF
CONFIDENTIAL

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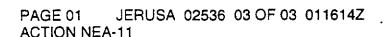
PARLIAMENT A TERRIBLE, UNEXPECTED STEP. WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE 1948 JERICHO CONFERENCE THAT "BEGGED" KING ABDULLAH TO UNITE THE EAST AND WEST BANKS, DOUBTED HUSSEIN WOULD CLOSE THE BRIDGES OR RESCIND PASSPORTS, BUT SAID THE JOINT COMMITTEE WILL BE DISSOLVED AND THE PLO WILL FIND ITSELF INCAPABLE OF TRANSFERRING MONEY INTO THE TERRITORIES OR MAINTAIHING PROGRAMS NOW ADMINISTERED BY THE GOJ. HE SAID IF THE LIKUD TAKES POWER AFTER NOVEMBER, THERE WILL BE A STALEMATE IN THE PEACE PROCESS, A CONTINUING INTIFADA, AND HARSHER ISRAELI COUNTERMEASURES .- INCREASED SHOOTINGS, SETTLER VIGILANTISM, DEPORTATIONS. JORDAN'S WITHDRAWAL. IF KING HUSSEIN REALLY INTENDS THIS, LEAVES THE WEST BANK ADRIFT!

11. I. SAID

PRO-JORDANIANS IN THE TERRITORIES WILL NOW BE BEDICULED. PROMINENT PRO-JORDANIAN PHYSICIAN TOLD US IF JORDAN INTENDS TO WITHDRAW FROM ITS ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE WEST BANK THIS WILL BE EXTREMELY DISUPTIVE. HE IS GOING TO AMMAN TO SEEK CLARIFICATION OF JORDAN'S INTENTIONS.

12. NABLUS BUSINESSMAN FAULTED JORDAN FOR IGNORING THE PEOPLE IN THE WEST BANK FOR 15 YEARS, THEN TRYING AND FAILING TO SUPPLANT THE PLO RATHERTHAN WORKING IN PARTNERSHIP WITH IT.

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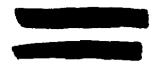
TAGS: PREL, PBTS, KPAL, IS, JO

SUBJECT: INITIAL WEST BANK REACTION TO JORDANIAN

REGAINING THE TERRITORIES FROM ISRAEL, WAS "DESPERATE", AND HAD DECIDED TO HAND THE PROBLEM TO THE PLO.

DEVELOPMENT ASŞISTANCE

13. NEARLY EVERYONE WE HAVE SPOKEN WITH SAID THEY HOPED THE U.S. WOULD USE ITS JORDAN DEVELOPMENT PLAN MONEY TO INCREASE DIRECT AID TO THE TERRITORIES NATCHE REPEATED OLD ARGUMENTS ABOUT DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE SUBSIDIZING THE OCCUPATION BY RELIEVING ISRAEL FROM RESPONSIBILITIES IT SHOULD UNDERTAKE, BUT ADMITTED THE NEED FOR CONTINUED OUTSIDE HELP FOR





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LEGITIMATE PROJECTS.

- 14. DR. BASEM ATALLAH TOUMA, A BEIT SAHOUR PHYSICIAN, SAID UNEMPLOYMENT AND SUFFERING WILL INCREASE IN THE ABSENCE OF DEVELOPMENT AID, AND THAT THE U.S. SHOULD ALLEVIATE THIS SUFFERING BY TAKING OVER THE JORDAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS DIRECTLY. DR. KAMAL, OF THE BETHLEHEM DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE, ASKED POINTEDLY IF THE U.S. WOULD NOW ASK JORDAN TO REFUND THE SEVEN MILLION DOLLARS THE U.S. HAS JUST COMMITTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM.
- 15. COMMENT: ALL PALESTINIANS HERE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PRACTICAL IMPACT OF JORDAN'S NEW POLICY ON THEIR LIVES. AND WONDER ANXIUSLY HOW JORDAN WILL IMPLEMENT ITS DECISIONS. UPPERMOST IN PEOPLES' MINDS ARE CONCERNS OVER CITIZENSHIP, TRAVEL, TRADE, THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COURTS AND SCHOOLS, SUPPORT FOR THE ISLAMIC WAQF, AND A HOST OF OTHER FUNCTIONS THAT JORDAN HAS CONTINUED TO PERFORM IN THE WEST BANK. THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN, ALTHOUGH DISMISSED BY MANY AS POLITICAL BRIBERY WITH NO SUBSTANCE. HAS HELPED MANY COMMUNITIES. AND MANY WONDER WHAT WILL TAKE ITS PLACE. AS FOR THE PEACE PROCESS, WHILE SOME THINK ISRAEL WILL NOW HAVE TO TAKE THE PLO SERIOUSLY, OTHERS HAVE GRAVE DOUBTS THIS WILL HAPPEN. ARAFAT'S VISIT TO AMMAN IS SEEN BY MANY AS THE KEY TO CLARIFYING THESE UNCERTAINTIES. ALL WEST BANKERS, PRO-PLO AND PRO-JORDANIAN, HOPE ARAFAT'S VISIT WILL CLEAR THE AIR AND SOMEHOW LEAD TO A

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RATIONALIZATION OF THE JORDANIAN-PLO
RELATIONSHIP AND AN END TO THEIR ON-AGAIN
OFF-AGAIN ADVERSARY STRUGGLE AND RESOLVE AT
LEAST THIS OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS IN THE PEACE
PROCESS. END COMMENT.
WILCOX

*** Current Classification *** *** Current Handling Restrictions ***

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DATE= 02 SEP 88

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CONCEPTS= CAMPAIGN, REVIEW, ELECTION, PARTY STRENGTH

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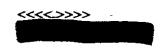
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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0543
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5052
ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

SECTION 01 OF 03 TEL AVIV 12864

USIA FOR R/NA AND NEA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, IS

SUBJECT: ISRAEL ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN REVIEW, SEPTEMBER 2

REF: TEL AVIV 12493

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2. SUMMARY: LABOR'S PRIVATE LATE AUGUST POLL SUGGESTED LABOR RETAINS A HEALTHY LEAD OVER LIKUD AND IF ELECTIONS WERE HELD NOW, LABOR WOULD LEAD THE NEXT GOVERNMENT. SOME OF OUR WELL-PLACED LABOR CAMPAIGN CONTACTS NONETHELESS BELIEVE LABOR AND LIKUD ARE RUNNING NECK AND NECK. SOME SMALL PARTY CONTACTS WHO WOULD PREFER A LABOR WIN ASSESS LIKUD IN A BETTER POSITION TODAY TO FORM THE NEXT GOVERNMENT. LIKUD, HOWEVER, APPEARS UNCERTAIN AS TO CAMPAIGN STRATEGY. LIKUD SEEMS UNCERTAIN WHETHER TO CONDUCT ITS CAMPAIGN AS A PARTY OF THE RIGHT AND THE LEADER OF THE "NATIONAL CAMP" OR TO WAGE A LOWER-KEY AND "MODERATE"



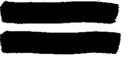
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EFFORT FOCUSED ON THE FLOATING VOTER. LABOR, FOR ITS PART, IS CONCENTRATING ITS ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES ON FOLLOWING UP THE FLOATING AND UNDECIDED VOTERS LOCATED BY ITS MASSIVE TELEPHONE PROJECT, END SUMMARY.



ASSESSMENTS

- 3. LABOR: CAMPAIGN HQ SPOKESMAN AVRUM BURG ASSESSED THE ISRAELI ELECTORATE AS ALMOST EVENLY DIVIDED, WITH LABOR HAVING A SLIGHT EDGE. HE BELIEVED THE ELECTION HINGED ON WHICH MAJOR PARTY WOULD GARNER THE FLOATING VOTERS.
- 4. LIKUD: CAMPAIGN HQ ORGANIZATION CO-DIRECTOR MK MICHA REISER TOLD US THE ELECTION WAS NOT IN LIKUD'S POCKET, ALTHOUGH LIKUD'S PROSPECTS WERE GOOD. HE BELIEVED LIKUD RETAINED THE CONSTITUENCY WHICH ENABLED IT TO EMERGE AS THE LARGEST PARTY IN THE 1981 ELECTIONS. BUT TO SUCCEED LIKUD HAD TO CONDUCT A CAMPAIGN AS A PARTY OF THE RIGHT AND THE LEADER OF THE "NATIONAL CAMP." LIKUD'S PROSPECTS RESTED ON ITS CONDUCTING AN AGGRESSIVE (NOT VIOLENT) CAMPAIGN. A WRONG CAMPAIGN CONCEPT COULD LOSE LIKUD THE ELECTION. HE STRESSED. HE WAS CRITICAL OF THOSE IN LIKUD WHO ADVOCATED FOCUSING ON THE FLOATING VOTER, TINKERING WITH THE PARTY'S FIRM POSITIONS, AND A QUIET CAMPAIGN. HE SPECIFICALLY CRITICIZED ARENS' STATEMENTS ON HOLDING ELECTIONS IN THE TERRITORIES AND UNILATERAL AUTONOMY AND UNNECESSARILY DEPARTING FROM THE LIKUD. LINE. HE ALSO THOUGHT SHAMIR'S PUBLIC DESCRIPTION OF LIKUD AS A PARTY OF THE CENTER WAS A SERIOUS MISTAKE.
- 5. HADASH: UM AL FAHOUM MAYOR MAHMUD HASHIMI, NO. 5 ON THE LIST, EXPECTS HIS PARTY TO WIN 6 SEATS, WITH



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THE PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE WINNING ONLY ONE SEAT. HE PREDICTED LABOR WOULD LOSE HEAVILY AMONG ISRAELI ARABS, THE CITIZENS RIGHTS MOVEMENT WOULD WIN UP TO A SEAT FROM ISRAELI ARABS, AND DAROUSHA'S ARAB DEMOCRATIC PARTY WOULD FAIL TO MAKE IT PAST THE MINIMUM ELECTORAL THRESHOLD.

- 6. SHAS: CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR RABBI YAIR LEVY BELIEVES SHAS WILL REPEAT ITS ELECTORAL SUCCESS OF 1984, WHEN IT WON 4 SEATS. HE THOUGHT LIKUD WOULD EMERGE AS THE LEADING PARTY AFTER THE ELECTIONS AND WOULD BE ABLE TO FORM THE NEXT GOVERNMENT, DESPITE HIS PREFERENCE FOR SHAS PARTICIPATION IN A LABOR-LED NARROW GOVERNMENT.
- 7. CENTER-SHINUI: PARTY LEADER MK AMNON RUBENSTEIN ASSESSED LIKUD WOULD BE ABLE TO PUT TOGETHER A RIGHT-RELIGIOUS COALITION AFTER THE ELECTIONS. THE LEAST



BAD OUTCOME FROM THE CENTER-LEFT'S PERSPECTIVE, HE BELIEVED, WOULD BE A LIKUD-LED NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT. (HE HOPED HIS PREDICTIONS WERE WRONG.) RUBENSTEIN THOUGHT HIS PARTY WOULD WIN 3 SEATS, RATHER THAN THE TWO SUGGESTED BY THE POLLS.

8. MAPAM: CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR HANAN EREZ GAVE US AN OPTIMISTIC FORECAST FOR HIS PARTY, PREDICTING A WIN OF 3-4 SEATS.

LIKUD: INTERNAL

9. MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO HURWITZ IS THREATENING TO TAKE HIS OMETZ MOVEMENT OUT OF LIKUD IF ZALMAN SHOVAL (AN OMETZ COLLEAGUE) IS NOT GIVEN A SAFE PLACE BEFORE THE 30TH SLOT ON THE LIKUD LIST. HURWITZ'

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ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

SECTION 02 OF 03 TEL AVIV 12864

USIA FOR R/NA AND NEA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV. IS

SUBJECT: ISRAEL ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN REVIEW, SEPTEMBER 2

DEAL WITH LIKUD HAD BEEN FOR HIM TO RECEIVE THE 6TH PLACE ON THE LIKUD LIST AND FOR SHOVAL TO RECEIVE A SAFE PLACE BETWEEN 20-30. LIKUD DECIDED TO IGNORE THE DEAL AND HAS BEEN SEEKING TO PLACE SHOVAL IN AN UNREALISTIC PLACE IN THE LIST'S HIGH 40S. OMETZ IS TO MEET ON SEPT. 5 TO DECIDE WHAT TO DO. (THE OMETZ PROBLEM HAS BEEN ONE OF THE FACTORS DELAYING FINAL DETERMINATION OF THE LIKUD LIST.)

LIKUD: STRATEGY

10. LIKUD LEADERS MOVED QUICKLY TO TERMINATE FURTHER STATEMENTS BY CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR ARENS IN FAVOR OF UNILATERAL AUTONOMY AND THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS IN THE TERRITORIES. ARENS' EFFORT TO DEVELOP A MORE FLEXIBLE LIKUD IMAGE (TO APPEAL TO FLOATING VOTERS)

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RAN AGAINST THOSE IN THE PARTY LEADERSHIP CONVINCED IT IS MORE IN LIKUD'S ELECTORAL INTEREST TO HEW TO A CLEAR AND FIRM LINE. COMMENT: AS REISER SUGGESTED IN PARA. 4 ABOVE, LIKUD FACES A DILEMMA IN WHETHER TO CONDUCT A HOT, AGGRESSIVE CAMPAIGN WHICH WILL INSPIRE ITS ACTIVISTS OR A LOW-KEY CAMPAIGN DESIGNED TO WIN OVER THE FLOATING VOTER. THIS IS LIKUD'S BASIC CAMPAIGN PROBLEM AT THIS STAGE.

LABOR: INTERNAL

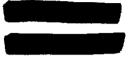
11. WEIZMAN REMOVED BG EPHRAIM SNEH FROM RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ISRAELI ARAB SECTOR IN THE CAMPAIGN, REPORTEDLY BECAUSE WEIZMAN WAS DISSATISFIED WITH THE APPARENT TREND OF ISRAELI ARAB LOSSES FROM LABOR. (CONCERN IN THE PARTY WAS EXACERBATED BY THE UNWANTED RELEASE OF AN ASSESSMENT BY KNESSET CANDIDATE RAANAN COHEN, A FORMER HEAD OF THE MINORITIES DEPARTMENT IN THE PARTY, SUGGESTING LABOR WOULD LOSE HALF OF THE VOTES IT WON FROM ISRAELI ARABS IN 1984.) WEIZMAN HAD CONSIDERED HANDLING THE ISRAELI ARAB CAMPAIGN HIMSELF, BUT DECIDED TO HAND RESPONSIBILITY OVER TO A TEAM HEADED BY ARAB KNESSET CANDIDATE AND HISTADRUT OFFICIAL NAWAF MASALHA.

12. SNEH SHIFTED OVER TO HEAD PERES' PERSONAL

CAMPAIGN TEAM, WHICH WILL BE EMPHASIZED FETER AS ONE OF LABOR'S MAJOR ELECTORAL ASSETS IN PARALLEL TO THE BROADER EFFORT OF THE PARTY CAMPAIGN HQ.

POLLS

13. LABOR CONTACTS PROVIDED US WITH RESULTS FROM



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THEIR LATE AUGUST DECIMA SURVEY, WHICH SUGGESTED LABOR WOULD CLEARLY EMERGE AS THE LARGEST PARTY, WITH A "BLOCKING MAJORITY" AGAINST A NARROW LIKUD-LED COALITION. LABOR, LED BY PERES, WOULD BE POSITIONED TO FORM THE NEXT GOVERNMENT, ACCORDING TO THE RESULTS. (SEE SEPTEL).

- .14. LABOR SOURCES ALSO GAVE LABOR MINISTERS AND THE MEDIA SELECTED DATA FROM THE DECIMA SURVEY. PERES WAS PREFERRED OVER SHAMIR AS PRIME MINISTER (48 PERCENT TO 34 PERCENT). EIGHTY PERCENT OF JEWISH ISRAELIS CONSIDERED TERRITORIES, PEACE AND SECURITY (IN THAT ORDER) AS THE MOST IMPORTANT POLITICAL ISSUES. SUPPORT FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WAS 71 PERCENT (SIMILAR TO THE MAY LEVEL OF 73 PERCENT AND MARCH LEVEL OF 67 PERCENT). SUPPORT FOR PLO PARTICIPATION IN NEGOTIATIONS (IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE) IF IT ACCEPTED UNSC RES. 242 AND 338, RECOGNIZED ISRAEL AND RENOUNCED TERRORISM, WENT UP TO A RECORD 60 PERCENT (FROM 49 PERCENT IN MAY AND 43 PERCENT IN MARCH). SUPPORT FOR TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE IN THE TERRITORIES REMAINED STABLE AT 57 PERCENT. OPPOSITION TO TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE REMAINED STABLE AT 42 PERCENT. OPPOSITION TO A PALESTINIAN STATE REMAINED STABLE AT 60 PERCENT.
- 15. SHAMIR CALLED THE RESULTS OF LABOR'S DECIMA POLL "LIES" AND "FABRICATIONS," AND SUGGESTED THE CENTRAL ELECTIONS BOARD "ESTABLISH ORDER" AND SUPERVISION OVER THE USE OF SURVEYS.
- 16. MODI'IN EZRAHI REPORTED THAT A LATE JULY SURVEY FOUND A SLIGHT EDGE FOR PERES OVER SHAMIR (33.8 PERCENT TO 31.8 PERCENT) ON THE QUESTION OF WHO WAS

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 MSC-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 AMAD-01 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /056 W

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ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

ECTION 03 OF 03 TEL AVIV 12864

USIA FOR R/NA AND NEA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV. IS

SUBJECT: ISRAEL ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN REVIEW, SEPTEMBER 2

MORE SUITABLE AS PRIME MINISTER, BUT PERES' RATING HAS BEEN DROPPING OVER RECENT MONTHS WHILE SHAMIR'S HAS BEEN RISING SLOWLY.

JULY JUNE MAY APRIL

PERES 33.8 35.4 38.2 36.2 SHAMIR 31.8 31.8 30.2 29.5

17. THE MODI'IN EZRAHI SURVEY ALSO REPORTED RABIN AS THE PUBLIC'S CHOICE FOR DEFENSE MINISTER, ALTHOUGH HIS RATING HAS DROPPED OVER THE LAST TWO MONTHS.

JULY JUNE MAY APRIL

RABIN 40.9 50.8 51.4 45.6



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SHARON 27.4 23.3 19.5 25.7

UPCOMING

18. LABOR WILL BE HAVING A SECOND CAMPAIGN KICKOFF ON SEPT. 5, WHILE LIKUD WILL KICKOFF ITS CAMPAIGN ON SEPT. 6. AFTER THIS BURST OF ENTHUSIASM, THE CAMPAIGN WILL EBB AGAIN WITH THE BEGINNING OF THE JEWISH HOLIDAYS THE EVENING OF SEPT. 11.

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SUBJECT= MORE ON THE PNC

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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

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CONCEPTS= PALESTINIANS, BORDER CONTROL, NEGOTIATION, RECOGNITION, POLITICA INITIATIVE, OCCUPIED AREA, UNSC RES 181

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, JO, PLO

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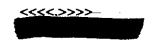
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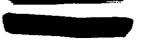
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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: KPAL, PREL, JO, PLO SUBJECT: MORE ON THE PNC

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2. SUMMARY: ACCORDING TO A SOURCE CLOSE TO THE PLO, THE PNC WILL NOT BE CONVENED UNTIL INTERNAL PLO DIFFERENCES ARE RESOLVED, EVEN IF THIS RESULTS IN A DELAY BEYOND OCTOBER. THE LIKELY VENUE STILL APPEARS TO BE ALGIERS. THE PNC WILL CALL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE BASED ON RESOLUTION 181, WITH BORDERS TO BE NEGOTIATED ON THE BASIS OF 242 AND 338. AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE PLO'S STRATEGY FOR GAINING ACCEPTANCE AND RECOGNITION OF A "PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT" WILL BE BASED ON SECURING EUROPEAN SUPPORT. FORMER MEMBERS OF THE JORDANIAN PARLIAMENT MAY BE APPOINTED TO THE PNC. THE SOURCE



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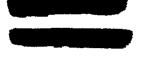
EMPHASIZED THAT THERE IS CLOSE COORDINATION BETWEEN THE PLO AND THE UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING (UNLU). END SUMMARY.



THE PNC: WHEN AND WHERE

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- 3. DURING THE VISIT OF NEA/ARN PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS OFFICER PAUL BERG, A SOURCE CLOSE TO THE PLO TOLD US THAT THE PNC IS UNLIKELY TO BE CONVENED UNTIL INTERNAL DIFFERENCES ARE RESOLVED. THIS COULD RESULT IN A DELAY EVEN BEYOND OCTOBER. THE PLO RECOGNIZES THAT THIS IS A HISTORIC MOMENT AND 'ARAFAT WILL NOT CONVENE THE PNC UNTIL HE IS CERTAIN OF THE OUTCOME. WITH ALGERIANS HAVING A GOOD REPUTATION AMONG THE PALESTINIANS, THE LIKELY VENUE STILL APPEARS TO BE ALGIERS. THE PLO RULED OUT BAGHDAD AS A SITE SINCE IT DOUBTED THAT THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PREPARED TO FULLY BACK THE RESULTS OF THE PNC.
- 4. IN ORDER TO SOLIDIFY SUPPORT, PRIOR TO THE PNC 'ARAFAT WILL BE ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN INTERNATIONAL AND INTER-ARAB DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS. THE SOURCE CONFIRMED THAT 'ARAFAT WILL TRAVEL TO STRASBOURG AND TO THE UN. ADDITIONALLY, 'ARAFAT PLANS TO TRAVEL TO NICOSIA TO MEET WITH THE NAM FOREIGN MINISTERS IN EARLY SEPTEMBER. THE NAM IS AN IMPORTANT PLO CONSTITUENCY, AND 'ARAFAT DOES NOT WANT TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT HE IS TAKING ITS SUPPORT FOR GRANTED.
- 5. OUR SOURCE ALSO COMMENTED ON THE MEETING OF PLO AND SYRIAN-SUPPORTED PALESTINIAN GROUPS CURRENTLY



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UNDERWAY IN TRIPOLI. THIS MEETING REPRESENTS AN EFFORT AT RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN THE SYRIAN-SUPPORTED SPLINTER GROUPS (PFLP-GC, PSF, AND SAIQA) PFLP, DFLP, AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (EXCEPT REPRESENTATIVES FROM PRO-IRAQ ALF). ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, ABU MUSA AND AHMED JIBRIL REFUSED TO MEET WITH 'ARAFAT. THE MEETING IS A LIBYAN EFFORT TO OVERCOME FACTIONAL DIFFERENCES.

WHAT WILL THE PNC DO?

6. ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, 'ARAFAT WANTS TO MAKE A BOLD DEPARTURE FROM EXISTING POLICY, HINTS OF WHICH MAY APPEAR IN HIS STRASBOURG SPEECH. THE BASIC THINKING IS TO CALL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE BASED ON RESOLUTION 181. THIS

RESOLUTION GIVES LEGITIMACY TO THE TWO STATES IDEA, BUT THE PLO IS FULLY COGNIZANT THAT DELINEATION OF BORDERS WILL HAVE TO BE BASED ON 242 AND 338. IN OTHER WORDS, THE PLO WILL SETTLE FOR THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. AN MFA OFFICIAL HAD EARLIER TOLD US THAT ENDORSEMENT OF 181 WOULD REPRESENT OFFICIAL CONFIRMATION OF THE PLO'S ACCEPTANCE OF POLITICAL (OVER MILITARY) MEANS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE.

7. WE WERE TOLD THAT ABU IYAD'S RECENT STATEMENT THAT THE PROPOSED "PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT" OR "GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE" MIGHT RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST IS A SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT, COMING FROM SUCH A PROMINENT FATAH HARDLINER. IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THAT ABU IYAD'S UNEXPECTEDLY CONCILIATORY STATEMENT HAS REMAINED UNCRITICIZED BY

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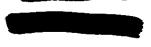
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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: KPAL, PREL, JO, PLO SUBJECT: MORE ON THE PNC

OTHER FACTIONS.

INTERNAL DIFFERENCES

8. THE PLO LEADERSHIP IS WELL AWARE OF SYRIAN OPPOSITION TO ITS PROPOSED NEW "GOVERNMENT" AND IS ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT THE EMERGENCE OF GROUPS LIKE HAMAS WITHIN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. THESE GROUPS DO NOT FAVOR ANY COMPROMISE WITH ISRAEL AND CONSEQUENTLY MAKE THE PLO'S TASK MUCH MORE DIFFICULT. THE PNC ACTIONS MUST BE SO DESIGNED THAT THESE GROUPS ARE EXPOSED FOR BEING "MARGINALISTS" AND



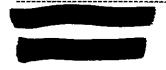
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INCONSEQUENTIAL. NEVERTHELESS, THE SOURCE CONFIRMED THAT 'ARAFAT WAS NEGOTIATING WITH FUNDAMENTALIST GROUPS OVER REPRESENTATION ON THE PLO'S EXECUTIVE AND CENTRAL COMMITTEES. IN FACT, ONE REPRESENTATIVE FROM A PALESTINIAN FUNDAMENTALIST GROUP WAS PRESENT DURING EC DELIBERATIONS IN BAGHDAD AT 'ARAFAT'S REQUEST. ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, THE REPRESENTATIVE'S OBSTRUCTIONIST POINT OF VIEW WAS DEALT WITH BY ALLOWING HIM TO SPEAK TO EVERY ISSUE AS LONG AS HE WANTED, SO THAT WHEN DECISIONS WERE MADE WITH WHICH HE DISAGREED, HE COULD NOT MAINTAIN THAT HIS VIEWS HAD NOT BEEN HEARD.

PLO AND INTIFADA LEADERSHIP

8. THERE IS CLOSE COORDINATION BETWEEN THE PLO AND THE UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING. THE SOURCE CLAIMED THAT THE TWO GROUPS NEED EACH OTHER AND CONSEQUENTLY LOOK TO EACH OTHER FOR SUPPORT. PAST PALESTINIAN INSURRECTIONS WERE STYMIED BECAUSE THEIR LEADERSHIP WAS CONFINED TO THE REGION, UNABLE TO MAKE EFFECTIVE DIPLOMATIC CONTACT WITH FOREIGN POWERS OUTSIDE THE REGION. DESPITE REPORTS OF DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNLU AND THE PLO, UNLU

CANNOT ALIENATE THE PLO SINCE ONLY THE PLO CAN PROVIDE THE DIPLOMATIC CONTACT THE UPRISING MUST HAVE IF ITS DEMANDS ARE TO BE ADDRESSED. THE PLO PROVIDES THE INTIFADA A VEHICLE WITH WHICH THE FOREIGN POWERS CAN IDENTIFY AND DEAL.



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AMMAN 10413 02 OF 02 011513Z

WEST BANK PARLIAMENTARIANS AND THE PNC

9. THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT SOME FORMER WEST BANK MEMBERS OF THE JORDANIAN PARLIAMENT MAY BE APPOINTED TO THE PNC. THIS WOULD ALLAY THE MPS CONCERN THAT THEY HAVE NO PLACE TO GO IN VIEW OF RECENT JORDANIAN MEASURES. THE SOURCE SPECULATED THAT THE RECENTLY RETIRED SENATOR HIKMAT AL MASRI WILL BE A GOOD CANDIDATE FOR THE PNC. HE IS A LOYAL HASHEMITE AND HIS APPOINTMENT WOULD SIGNAL THAT THERE IS ROOM FOR EVERYONE WITHIN THE PLO RUBRIC.

10. THIS CABLE WAS CLEARED BY BERG. THEROS

OctETE Non-Responsive Info

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*** Current Classification ***

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 88JERUSA02935

FILM= D880770-0690

DATE= 31 AUG 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= JERUSALEM

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE AMMAN

CHANNEL= n/a

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SUBJECT= REOPENING OF SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES - SUGGESTED DEMARCHE TO GC

DECLASSIFY IN PART MR Cases Only:

EO Citations

9304029

REFERENCE= 88 AMMAN 10093

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

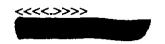
ENCLOSURE= n/a .

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PALESTINIANS, SCHOOL, UNIVERSITY, DEMARCHE, VIOLENCE, WEST BANK, OPPOSITION, EXTREMIST, FOREIGN RELATIONS

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, IS



PAGE 01 JERUSA 02935 01 OF 02 311111Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 SCL-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 PA-01 ED-04 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 /048 W

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SECTION 01 OF 02 JERUSALEM 02935

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL, PREL, IS

SUBJECT: REOPENING OF SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES -

SUGGESTED DEMARCHE TO GOI

REF: AMMAN 10093

1.

- 2. SUMMARY. WE RECOMMEND A HIGH-LEVEL DEMARCHE TO THE GOI URGING THAT SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES BE REOPENED THIS FALL, IN VIEW OF THE IMMENSE COST CONTINUED CLOSURE POSES ON PALESTINIANS AND THE ABSENCE OF EVIDENCE THAT CONTINUED CLOSURE IS AN EFFECTIVE MEANS OF PREVENTING VIOLENCE. END SUMMARY.
- 3. AS A RESULT OF THE GOI'S CLOSURE OF WEST BANK SCHOOLS AND WEST BANK AND GAZA UNIVERSITIES AS A MEANS OF HALTING THE INTIFADA, PALESTINIAN STUDENTS HAVE LOST BETWEEN HALF AND THE ENTIRETY

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OF THE 1987-88 SCHOOL YEAR. SCHOOLS HAVE SUFFERED THROUGH A SERIES OF OPENINGS AND CLOSURES WHICH, WHILE FINISHING THE SCHOOL YEAR, HAVE SEVERELY AFFECTED THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION RECEIVED. UNIVERSITIES HAVE BEEN CLOSED



COMPLETELY SINCE MID-DECEMBER AND IN SOME CASES FONGER (BETHLEHEM UNIVERSITY HAS BEEN CLOSED SINCE LATE OCTOBER), THUS CANCELLING THE ENTIRE ACADEMIC YEAR. THE CIVAD HAS ANNOUNCED THAT REOPENING OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS WILL BE DELAYED AT LEAST UNTIL OCTOBER THIS FALL. THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT UNIVERSITIES WILL BE ALLOWED TO REOPEN.

4. THE OSTENSIBLE REASON FOR CLOSURES OF UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS IS THAT THEY SERVE AS CENTERS FOR VIOLENT INTIFADA PROTEST ACTIVITIES. THERE IS NO EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE. HOWEVER, THAT THE CLOSURES HAVE HAD ANY EFFECT ON VIOLENT PROTEST ACTIVITIES. WHICH HAVE CONTINUED AT MORE OR LESS THE SAME RATE, NOTWITHSTANDING SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY CLOSURES. INDEED. ONE CAN MAKE THE CASE THAT THE ENFORCED IDLENESS OF THOUSANDS OF YOUNG PEOPLE HAS MADE THEM MORE AVAILABLE FOR STREET DEMONSTRATIONS AND DISORDERLY ACTIVITIES AND THAT THE CLOSURE HAS NOT PREVENTED YOUNG PEOPLE FROM GATHERING IN OTHER LOCATIONS. THE CLOSURE OF SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES HAS MANIFESTLY FAILED TO DAMPEN POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO ISRAEL'S OCCUPATION. IT HAS PROBABLY ENLARGED THIS OPPOSITION SINCE YOUNG PEOPLE ARE NOT OCCUPIED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF ACADEMIC WORK WHEN SCHOOLS

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ARE CLOSED. IT IS ARGUABLE, THEREFORE, THAT SCHOOL CLOSURES ARE MORE OF A FORM OF COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT THAN A LEGITIMATE SECURITY MEASURE, SINCE NOT ALL STUDENTS PARTICIPATE IN VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS.

5. IN ANY CASE, THE COST OF SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY CLOSURES HAS BEEN VERY HIGH IN TERMS OF EDUCATION FORFEITED AND THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LOSS THAT THIS MUST INEVITABLY IMPOSE. IF THE ENFORCED IDLENESS OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA IS CONTINUED THIS FALL, IT IS LIKELY TO ADD FURTHER TO THE ALIENATION AND POLITICAL RADICALIZATION OF THE YOUNG, STRENGTHEN ATAVISTIC, IDEOLOGICAL GROUPS SUCH AS RELIGIOUS EXTREMISTS, AND MAKE MORE DIFFICULT THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL RECONCILIATION. THE STRENGTHENING

OF THESE NEGATIVE TRENDS WILL FURTHER EXACERBATE THE GENERATION GAP BETWEEN YOUNG PALESTINIANS AND THEIR MORE MODERATE ELDERS.

6. ACTION REQUESTED: BECAUSE OF THE DESTRUCTIVE EFFECTS OF SCHOOL CLOSURES ON PALESTINIAN SOCIETY AND THE LACK OF SOLID EVIDENCE THAT IT IS AN EFFECTIVE SECURITY MEASURE, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE DEPARTMENT MAKE A HIGH-LEVEL DEMARCHE TO THE ISRAELI EMBASSY AND THAT EMBASSY TEL AVIV MAKE A PARALLEL APPROACH URGING STRONGLY THAT BOTH SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES BE ALLOWED TO REOPEN THIS FALL, DRAWING ON THE RATIONALE ABOVE AND STRESSING THAT THE ENTIRE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM NOT BE

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 02935 02 OF 02 311112Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 SCL-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSAE-00 HA-09 PA-01 ED-04 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 /045 W

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FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3347
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY

SECTION 02 OF 02 JERUSALEM 02935

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL, PREL, IS



SUBJECT: REOPENING OF SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES -

PENALIZED FOR VIOLENT ACTS COMMITTED BY SOME INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS.
WILCOX

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification ***



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SUBJECT= ISRAELI COI IN CAMPS	MPLAINT THAT UNRWA SEE	KS PROTECTIVE RO	OLE BEYOND ITS MA
REFERENCE= 88 STATE	E 282000		
CONTROL_NBR= n/a	·		
ENCLOSURE= n/a			

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= COMPLAINT, ORGANIZATION, MONITORING, REFUGEE CAMP, PALESTINIANS

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, IS, PLO, UN



PAGE 01 JERUSA 02927 301530Z ACTION IO-19

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 NEA-06 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 STR-17 SIL-01 INRE-00 RP-10 USIE-00 SP-02 SR-06 PRS-01 /102 W

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INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
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L JERUSALEM 02927

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: KPAL, IS, PLO, UN, PREL

SUBJECT: ISRAELI COMPLAINT THAT UNRWA SEEKS PROTECTIVE ROLE BEYOND ITS MANDATE IN CAMPS

REF: STATE 282000

1.

2. UNRWA DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL BOB DILLON TOLD US AUG 22 THAT HE WAS IN ISRAEL TO DISCUSS WITH GOI OFFICIALS UNRWA'S DRAFT ANNUAL REPORT, AS IS CUSTOMARY EACH YEAR, AND OTHER UNRWA ACTIVITIES. DILLON GAVE US WHAT APPEARED TO BE A COMPLETE RUNDOWN ON HIS MEETING AND ISRAEL CONCERNS (SEE PARA 4). HE DID NOT SAY THE ISRAELIS HAD COMPLAINED ABOUT UNRWA PERSONNEL ATTEMPTING TO ACT AS POLICEMEN IN THE CAMPS. HE MET WITH THE MFA'S DIRECTOR OF IO AFFAIRS, A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CIVAD, AND A LAWYER FROM

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MOD.

3. UNRWA IS DEEPLY AWARE OF OUR CONCERN THAT UNRWA AVOID POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT, AND WE BELIEVE IT HAS ADHERED TO THIS PRINCIPLE OVER



THE YEARS. UNRWA'S WEST BANK DIRECTOR, BOB HOPKINS, IS A COMPETENT, LOW-KEY INDIVIDUAL WHO UNDERSTANDS THE POLITICALLY SENSITIVE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH UNRWA WORKS AND THE NEED TO AVOID POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT. AT THE SAME TIME, UNRWA STAFFERS OPERATE IN A DIFFICULT, POLITICALLY CHARGED ATMOSPHERE. IT IS NOT UNUSUAL THAT THEY HAVE A POINT OF VIEW ABOUT ISRAELI PRACTICES IN THE CAMPS, WHICH SOMETIMES INVOLVE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND EXCESSIVE USE OF FORCE. THE U.S. HAS COMPLAINED TO THE GOI ABOUT THESE PRACTICES. WE ARE NOT SURPRISED THAT UNRWA OFFICIALS IN THE CAMPS HAVE ALSO TRIED, INFORMALLY, TO MODERATE IDF PRACTICES, ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS, FROM TIME TO TIME. WE HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE UNRWA HAS ACTUALLY SOUGHT A NEW, PROTECTIVE ROLE OF THE KIND MENTIONED IN REFTEL AS AN EXTENSION OF ITS MANDATE, UNRWA IS DOING AN EFFECTIVE JOB IN THE WEST BANK, AND WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT IT AS WE HAVE IN THE PAST. A CERTAIN LEVEL OF TENSION BETWEEN THE GOI AND UNRWA IS CHRONIC. IT HAS INCREASED DURING THE INTIFADA, BUT WE BELIEVE IT IS SOMETHING BOTH SIDES CAN MANAGE.

4. IN DILLON'S MEETING WITH THE ISRAELI OFFICIALS AUG 22, THEY RAISED THE FOLLOWING

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OTHER ISSUES CONCERNING UNRWA ACTIVITIES, THEY COMPLAINED ABOUT UNRWA'S PROVIDING RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO SOME NEEDY PEOPLE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WHO ARE NOT REFUGEES, AS A RESULT OF SPECIAL HARDSHIPS CAUSED BY THE INTIFADA. DILLON SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THIS ACTIVITY DOES NOT REPRESENT A LARGE NEW PART OF UNRWA'S PROGRAM. UNRWA BELIEVES IT IS NECESSARY FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS AND SEES NO REASON FOR GOI OBJECTIONS. HE SAID AMONG THOSE ASSISTED ARE RELATIVES OF INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE BEEN DETAINED, ALTHOUGH UNRWA HAS CAREFULLY AVOIDED DESIGNATING SUCH PEOPLE AS A CATEGORY FOR ASSISTANCE. DILLON SAID THE ISRAELI OFFICIALS SEEM TO OBJECT MORE TO THE REFERENCE TO ASSISTANCE TO NON-REFUGEES IN THE DRAFT REPORT THAN TO THE FACT THAT IT WAS TAKING PLACE. HE SAID THAT, IN ANY CASE, UNRWA WOULD ADHERE TO A CLEAR DIRECTIVE FROM THE GO!



TO REFRAIN FROM THIS ACTIVITY IF THIS WERE ISSUED, SINCE UNRWA REALIZES THAT, LIKE ALL OTHER ORGANIZATIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, IT IS ULTIMATELY SUBJECT TO RULES ISSUED BY THE OCCUPYING POWER.

WILCOX



*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification ***

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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

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FILM= D880770-0514

DATE= 31 AUG 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= JERUSALEM

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE
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CHANNEL= n/a

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EO= N/A

SUBJECT= WEST BANK WRAP UP, AUGUST 23-29, 1988

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a .

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PALESTINIANS, WEST BANK, BOUNDARY, CASUALTY, BOYCOTT, WOMEN, INJ REFUGEE, WORK FORCE, DEMONSTRATION, HUMAN RIGHTS

TAGS= KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 02933 01 OF 03 311103Z ACTION NEA-04

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3342
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 02933

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, AUGUST 23-29, 1988

1. SUMMARY: IN A WEEK OF ESCALATING VIOLENCE THROUGHOUT THE WEST BANK, THE IDF SHOT AND KILLED 11 PALESTINIANS AND WOUNDED AT LEAST SEVEN OTHERS. IN ADDITION, ISRAELI SETTLERS SHOT AND WOUNDED TWO PALESTINIANS, AND TWO SUSPECTED PALESTINIAN COLLABORATORS FROM YATTA, NEAR HEBRON, WERE MURDERED. SEVEN LOCATIONS IN THE WEST BANK WERE PLACED UNDER CURFEW. GENERAL STRIKES WERE OBSERVED AUGUST 24 AND 25. THIS REPORT WAS COMPILED MAINLY FROM PRESS ACCOUNTS. END SUMMARY.

11 KILLED AND 7 INJURED
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- 2. -- ONE ISRAELI WOMAN PASSENGER WAS LIGHTLY INJURED ON AUGUST 22 WHEN STONES WERE THROWN AT AN ISRAELI BUS TRAVELLING THROUGH EAST JERUSALEM.
- -- IDF SOLDIERS SHOT AND SERIOUSLY WOUNDED A

17-YEAR-OLD PALESTINIAN GIRL DURING CLASHES IN NABLUS ON AUGUST 24. IN NEARBY BALATA REFUGEE CAMP, SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED A YOUTH WHO APPARENTLY WAS ABOUT TO THROW A MOLOTOV COCKTAIL. IDF SHOT AND INJURED NINE PALESTINIANS IN CLASHES IN NABLUS AND NEIGHBORING REFUGEE CAMPS. FOUR LABORERS WHO TRIED TO GO TO WORK IN ISRAEL WERE INJURED WHEN THEIR BUS WAS STONED.

- -- AN ISRAELI BOY WAS INJURED AUGUST 24 WHEN ROCKS THROWN AT A BUS NEAR ARROUB REFUGEE CAMP, NORTH OF HEBRON, SHATTERED THE VEHICLE'S WINDOWS.
- -- ON AUGUST 25, MASKED MEN THREW TWO MOLOTOV COCKTAILS AT AN ISRAELI BUS THAT ARRIVED IN AZARIYEH, BETHANY, TO PICK UP PALESTINIANS WORKING IN ISRAEL. THE BUS WAS BURNED AND ONE LABORER WAS INJURED.
- -- IN BETHLEHEM, THREE PALESTINIAN WORKERS ON THEIR WAY TO ISRAEL WERE INJURED AUGUST 25 WHEN STONES WERE THROWN AT THEIR CAR.
- -- THE BODY OF A PALESTINIAN, JALAL SHUQAIR, WAS FOUND AUGUST 25, NEAR AZ-ZAWIYEH, CLOSE TO ELKANA SETTLEMENT, SOUTH OF QALQILIYA. PALESTINIAN SOURCES CLAIMED SHUQAIR WAS KILLED BY SETTLERS, WHILE THE IDF SAID HE WAS KILLED WHILE HANDLING A UNCLASSIFIED

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BOMB. SHUQAIR HAD BEEN RELEASED FROM JAIL IN THE 1985 PRISON EXCHANGE WITH AHMAD JIBRIL.

- -- AYMAN IZZAT ABDUL AZIZ RAMADAN, 14, OF TIL VILLAGE, NEAR NABLUS, DIED AUGUST 26 OF HEAD WOUNDS SUSTAINED DURING A CLASH WITH THE IDF ON AUGUST 12.
- -- ON AUGUST 26, A 12-YEAR-OLD GIRL AND A 15-YEAR-OLD BOY WERE WOUNDED BY IDF GUNFIRE DURING DEMONSTRATIONS IN JENIN REFUGEE CAMP.
- -- ON AUGUST 26, IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED A NINE-YEAR-OLD GIRL AND A 23-YEAR-OLD MAN DURING CURFEW HOURS IN NABLUS.
- -- ON AUGUST 27, IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED A

17-YEAR-OLD YOUTH IN NABLUS DURING CURFEW HOURS.

- -- ON AUGUST 28, AN ISRAELI MOTORIST WHOSE WINDSHIELD WAS SMASHED BY STONES IN QALQILYA SHOT AND WOUNDED A 50-YEAR-OLD MAN IN THE BACK AND A 20-YEAR-OLD IN THE LEG.
- -- ON AUGUST 29, IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED A 42-YEAR-OLD MAN OUTSIDE HIS HOME IN NABLUS DURING CURFEW HOURS.
- -- ON AUGUST 29, IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED A 23-YEAR-OLD MAN WHEN SOLDIERS BROKE UP A DEMONSTRATION IN BAL'A, NEAR TULKAREM. CURFEW WAS IMPOSED FOR SEVERAL HOURS.
- -- AN ISRAELI WOMAN WAS WOUNDED AUGUST 29 WHEN

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 02933 02 OF 03 311106Z ACTION NEA-04

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 STR-17 SIL-01 INRE-00 RP-10 USIE-00 SP-02 SR-06 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 /104 W -------264511 311132Z /12

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 JERUSALEM 02933

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, AUGUST 23-29, 1988

YOUTHSSTONED HER CAR IN HEBRON.

-- ON AUGUST 29, CURFEW WAS CLAMPED ON TARQUMIA, NEAR HEBRON, AFTER TWO MOLOTOV COCKTAILS WERE THROWN AT A CAR WITH ISRAELI LICENSE PLATES, DRIVEN BY AN ARAB. THE VEHICLE BURNED, BUT THERE WERE NO CASUALTIES.

TWO MORE ALLEGED PALESTINIAN COLLABORATORS KILLED

3. THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL RECORDED ATTACKS ON PALESTINIANS SUSPECTED OF COLLABORATING WITH UNCLASSIFIED

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ISRAELI AUTHORITIES. WITH TWO KILLINGS THIS WEEK, A TOTAL OF FOUR COLLABORATORS HAVE BEEN KILLED SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE INTIFADA:

- -- MASKED ASSAILANTS HACKED TO DEATH SAADI HAZAZA EL HAMROUSH, 34, IN YATTA, SOUTH OF HEBRON, AUGUST 25, IN A KILLING VARIOUSLY DESCRIBED BY PALESTINIANS AS AN ATTACK ON A SUSPECTED COLLABORATOR, AND BY THE IDF AS THE RESULT OF A FAMILY FEUD. EL HAMROUSH HAD BEEN STABBED A MONTH AGO IN HEBRON AND ONLY RECENTLY HAD BEEN RELEASED FROM THE HOSPITAL.
- -- ON AUGUST 25, VILLAGERS AT AZZOUN, NEAR QALQILYA STONED A CAR CARRYING TWO PALESTINIAN BROTHERS, TAHSIN AND BASSAM MANSOUR, SUSPECTED OF COOPERATING WITH ISRAELI AUTHORITIES. TAHSIN OPENED FIRE, WOUNDING A 20-YEAR-OLD IN THE CROWD.
- -- A SIMILAR INCIDENT TOOK PLACE IN RAMALLAH, ON AUGUST 25, WHEN A SUSPECTED COLLABORATOR WAS ASSAULTED AND OPENED FIRE AT THE GROUP, WOUNDING A 14-YEAR-OLD BOY.
- -- ON AUGUST 27, THREE PALESTINIAN YOUTHS WERE WOUNDED IN ILLAR, NEAR TULKAREM, WHEN A VILLAGER

FIRED HIS GUN AT A GROUP OF YOUTHS WHO TRIED TO ATTACK HIM. HE WAS JOINED BY ANOTHER VILLAGER WHO SHOT AND INJURED AN ELDERLY PALESTINIAN WOMAN.

-- THE BATTERED AND BLOODIED BODY OF SAMEH YOUSEF DABABSEH, 22, OF YATTA, NEAR HEBRON, WAS FOUND ON AUGUST 28 BOUND TO AN ELECTRICITY POLE IN HEBRON. UNCLASSIFIED

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AUTHORITIES DENIED THAT DABABSEH WAS KILLED FOR COLLABORATION AND SAID THAT HE WAS A KNOWN CRIMINAL. LOCAL RESIDENTS CLAIMED THAT HE WAS AN INFORMER.

70 ARAB HOMES DEMOLISHED DURING THE INTIFADA

4. ON AUGUST 23, AUTHORITIES DEMOLISHED THREE HOMES IN JALAZON REFUGEE CAMP. THESE BELONGED TO PALESTINIANS SUSPECTED OF MEMBERSHIP IN A LOCAL "STRIKE FORCE" CHARGED WITH ENFORCING INSTRUCTIONS OF THE UPRISING LEADERSHIP WHO ALLEGEDLY HAD BEATEN A SUSPECTED COLLABORATOR. MORE THAN 70 HOMES HAVE BEEN DEMOLISHED BY THE IDF SINCE THE START OF THE UPRISING.

GENERAL STRIKES

- 5. -- PALESTINIANS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA
 OBSERVED A GENERAL STRIKE ON AUGUST 24 AND 25, IN
 RESPONSE TO THE CALL MADE BY THE UNIFIED NATIONAL
 LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING, IN MEMORY OF FOUR
 PALESTINIAN PRISONERS KILLED LAST WEEK IN ISRAELI
 PRISONS. PALESTINIAN ACTIVISTS TRIED TO BLOCK
 LABORERS FROM TRAVELLING TO WORK AND THREW STONES
 AND EMPTY BOTTLES AT A BUS CARRYING WORKERS IN
 TULKAREM. INJURING SEVERAL.
- -- THERE WERE SEVERAL ATTACKS ON VEHICLES CARRYING PALESTINIAN LABORERS TO WORK IN ISRAEL ON AUGUST 25, THE SECOND DAY OF A GENERAL STRIKE OBSERVED IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. FEW LABORERS WENT TO WORK IN ISRAEL.

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 02933 03 OF 03 311108Z ACTION NEA-04

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 STR-17 SIL-01 INRE-00 RP-10 USIE-00 SP-02 SR-06 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 /104 W

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AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 02933

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, AUGUST 23-29, 1988

-- PALESTINIANS ARE TO OBSERVE A GENERAL STRIKE ON AUGUST 30 AND 31 IN SOLIDARITY WITH DEPORTED PALESTINIANS AND TO PROTEST THE ARSON DEATHS OF ARAB LABORERS IN ISRAEL.

CURFEWS

- 6. CURFEW WAS IMPOSED AUGUST 25 ON NABLUS AND SURROUNDING REFUGEE CAMPS FOLLOWING CLASHES THE PREVIOUS DAY. THE CURFEW WAS LIFTED ON AUGUST 30.
- -- CURFEW WAS IMPOSED AUGUST 25 ON THE TULKAREM, UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

KALANDIA AND AM'ARI REFUGEE CAMPS AND THE VILLAGE OF BANI NAIM, NEAR HEBRON, AFTER DEMONSTRATIONS. THE CURFEW CONTINUED FOR THE FOURTH DAY, ON AUGUST 29.

-- ON AUGUST 27, AUTHORITIES IMPOSED CURFEW ON BEIT SAHOUR AND BEIT JALA, TO PREVENT DEMONSTRATIONS MARKING 40 DAYS SINCE THE KILLING OF A BEIT SAHOUR YOUTH AND A BEIT JALA MAN.

IDF UNCOVERS SUSPECTED TERRORIST CELL

7. ON AUGUST 23, SECURITY FORCES ANNOUNCED THAT THEY HAD UNCOVERED A SUSPECTED TERROR CELL IN JENIN DISTRICT. MEMBERS OF THE CELL WERE ACCUSED OF POSSESSING AND THROWING MOLOTOV COCKTAILS AND EXPLOSIVE CHARGES.

DETENTION OF 5,000 PRISONERS COSTS SIX MILLION NIS

8. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, THE COST OF MAINTAINING ONE PRISONER FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES COSTS THE GOI ABOUT 40 NEW SHEKELS PER DAY. THE 5,000 DETAINED IN ISRAELI PRISONS DURING THE INTIFADA COST APPROXIMATELY 200,000 SHEKELS PER DAY, ABOUT SIX MILLION SHEKELS PER MONTH (USD 1 NIS 1.7).

PALESTINIAN RETURNS FROM EXILE

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 JERUSA 02933 03 OF 03 311108Z

9. ON AUGUST 28, KHALIL ABU ZAYAD, 43, WHO HAD BEEN EXPELLED IN AUGUST 1985 FOR ALLEGED SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY AS A SENIOR FATAH LEADER, WAS ALLOWED TO RETURN WITH HIS WIFE AND TWO CHILDREN FROM JORDAN AFTER A THREE-YEAR STAY IN WHICH HE UNDERTOOK TO AVOID ANY ACTIVITY AGAINST ISRAELI SECURITY. AN AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED IN 1985 WHEREBY ABU ZAYAD WOULD LEAVE FOR THREE YEARS IN RETURN FOR CANCELLATION OF A DEPORTATION ORDER PASSED AGAINST HIM.

*** Current Classification *** *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a <<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>> DOC_NBR= 88JERUSA02906 FILM= D880765-0346 DATE= 30 AUG 88 FFC/COR Cases Only: TYPE= TE DECLASSIFY FROM= JERUSALEM () DELETE Non-Responsive Info **FOIA** Exemptions Examplions DRAFTER= n/a 9304629 OFFICE= ACTION NEA TO= STATE TEL AVIV CHANNEL= n/a ORIGHAND= n/a ORIGPHAND= n/a ORIGCLASS= ORIGPCLASS= n/a EO= N/A SUBJECT= LETTER FROM PALESTINIAN ACADEMIC SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (PASSIA) PRAISING U.S. OPPOSITION TO DEPORTATIONS REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

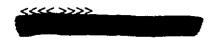
LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PALESTINIANS, RESEARCH, FOREIGN RELATIONS, OPPOSITION, DEPORTATION LIBERATION FRONT

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, PHUM, IS, PLO

IINCLASSIFIED



PAGE 01 JERUSA 02906 300831Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 L-03 PM-10 INRE-00 SP-02 C-01 SCT-02 P-02 /041 W

----167246 300843Z/12

R 300829Z AUG 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3317 INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

JERUSALEM 02906

E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: LETTER FROM PALESTINIAN ACADEMIC SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (PASSIA) PRAISING U.S. OPPOSITION TO DEPORTATIONS

- 1. THE CONSUL GENERAL RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING LETTER DATED AUGUST 27, 1988 FROM DR. MAHDI ABDUL-HADI, PRESIDENT, PALESTINIAN ACADEMIC SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (PASSIA).
- 2. BEGIN TEXT: I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY SUPPORT OF YOUR GOVERNMENT'S CLEAR OPPOSITION TO THE ISRAEL PLANS TO EXPEL TWENTY-FIVE MORE PALESTINIANS FROM THEIR HOMELAND. SUCH FIRM AMERICAN STANDS WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE NORMALIZATION PROCESS PRESENTLY GOING ON BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND PALESTINIAN PEOPLES AND OUR HISTORICAL, LEGITIMATE LEADERSHIP, THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION. THEY WILL ALSO OPEN THE EYES AND MINDS OF AMERICANS TO THE EFFECTS OF ISRAEL'S "IRON FIST" POLICY AGAINST

PALESTINIANS.

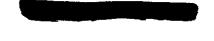
FOR THE PAST NINE MONTHS, PALESTINIANS HAVE BEEN PURSUING AN UNARMED POPULAR INTIFADA AIMED AT

LACLASSIFIED

CONVINCING ISRAEL TO ACCEPT A TWO-STATE SOLUTION AND URGING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO PLAY A LARGER ROLE IN ARBITRATING THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT. AS PALESTINIANS, WE FEEL THAT THE WORLD WHICH LEGITIMIZED THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL IN 1947 HAS BEEN NEGLIGENT IN ENFORCING THE SECOND HALF OF THE PARTITION PLAN AND HELPING TO ESTABLISH THE PALESTINIAN STATE.

I AM HOPEFUL THAT THE WINDS OF CHANGE WHICH THE INTIFADA HAS BROUGHT TO THE REGION WILL CONTINUE TO POLITICIZE THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT, AND WILL NOT SHIFT TOWARD VIOLENCE AS THE ISRAELI POLICIES AND PRACTICES ESCALATE AGAINST PALESTINIAN INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS.

I ASK YOU TO CONVEY TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MY APPRECIATION FOR THE HONORABLE STAND IT HAS TAKEN AGAINST THE ILLEGAL DEPORTATION OF PALESTINIANS. I HOPE THAT A NEW LEAF IN PALESTINIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS CAN BE TURNED OVER AND WILL LEAD TO A JUST AND DURABLE SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE. END TEXT. WILCOX



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**** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification ***

) DELETE Non-Responsive info

FOIA Exemptions, PA Exemptions,

DECLASSIFY

IN PART



***	Current Classification ***	
***	Current Handling Restrictions ****	n/a

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 88TELAV12493

FILM= D880756-0158

DATE= 26 AUG 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= TEL AVIV

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE
ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE
USIA

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS=

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= OA

SUBJECT= ISRAEL ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN REVIEW, AUGUST 26

REFERENCE= 88 TEL AVIV 12172

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= CAMPAIGN, REVIEW, ELECTION, POLITICAL PARTY, POLL

TAGS= PGOV, IS

UNCLASSIFIED

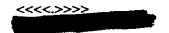
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PAGE 01 TEL AV 12493 01 OF 03 261542Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 MSC-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 AMAD-01 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /056 W

P 261531Z AUG 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0384 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE USIA WASHDC 4993

SECTION 01 OF 03 TEL AVIV 12493

USIA FOR NEA AND R/NA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, IS

SUBJECT: ISRAEL ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN REVIEW, AUGUST 26

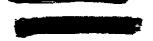
REF: TEL AVIV 12172

1.

2. SUMMARY: ELECTION SURVEYS SUGGEST A STALEMATE BETWEEN LABOR AND LIKUD IF ELECTIONS WERE HELD NOW. MANY OF OUR POLITICAL SOURCES CONTINUE TO EXPECT ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT. BUT WE BELIEVE THERE ARE TOO MANY WILD CARDS TO MAKE SURE FORECASTS ABOUT WHAT MAY HAPPEN AFTER THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS. END SUMMARY.

POLLS

3. SURVEYS CONDUCTED BY DAHAF (LIKUD'S POLLSTER) AND DECIMA (LABOR'S POLLSTER) DURING THE FIRST HALF OF



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AUGUST REPORTED THAT THERE WOULD BE A STALEMATE IF ELECTIONS WERE HELD AT THIS POINT. BOTH POLLS SAID LABOR WOULD WIN SEVERAL MORE SEATS THAN LIKUD AND THE CENTER-LEFT BLOC WOULD BE LARGER THAN THE RIGHT BLOC. DECIMA RESULTS SUGGESTED THE THEORETICAL

POSSIBILITY OF A LABOR-RELIGIOUS MAJORITY, WHILE DAHAF RESULTS DID NOT GIVE LIKUD A MAJORITY WITH THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES (EXCLUDING KAHANE). SHOULD THERE BE A STALEMATE, AS THESE TWO POLLS SUGGEST, THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES' COULD PLAY THE DECIDING ROLE IN THE COALITION FORMATION. KACH'S POSITION WOULD ALSO BECOME OF MAJOR IMPORTANT TO LIKUD SHOULD KACH BE PERMITTED TO RUN IN THE ELECTION AND WIN THREE SEATS AS REPORTED BY THE POLLS. (IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT BOTH POLLS WERE BASED ON A SAMPLE OF JEWISH ISRAELIS, WITH ESTIMATES FOR THE ISRAEL ARAB VOTE.)

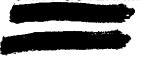
4. THE FULL SURVEY RESULTS WERE:

PARTY -		DECII POLL R		4
LABOR CITIZENS RIGH MAPAM CENTER-SHINU	3	. •	43 8 - 2 ;	3
CENTER/LEFT	SUBTOTAL	52	55	49
HADASH (COM PROGRESSIVE		- PEACE -	6 2	4 2
PAGE 03 T	EL AV 1249	3 01 OF	03 2615	42Z

NON-ZIONIST L	EFT SUB	TOTAL	7	8	6
LIKUD TEHIYA TZOMET	40 6 2	38 7 1	41 5 -		
RIGHT, SUBTO	TAL .	48	46	46	
KACH	3	3	1		
NATIONAL RELI AGUDAT ISRAE SHAS MEMAD		ARTY 2 2 1	4 1 4	4 2	6

10

- 5. A MODI'IN EZRAHI POLL (FBIS TA 2408131288)
 CONDUCTED AT THE END OF JULY REPORTED THAT OVER HALF
 THOSE SURVEYED HAD NOT CHANGED THEIR OPINIONS AS A
 RESULT OF THE SITUATION IN THE TERRITORIES. BUT
 AMONG THOSE WHO HAD CHANGED THEIR ATTITUDES AS A
 RESULT OF THE INTIFADA, MORE SHIFTED TO THE RIGHT (33
 PERCENT) THAN TO THE LEFT (14 PERCENT). PERSONS WHO
 PREVIOUSLY HAD VOTED FOR THE LEFT TENDED TO BECOME
 MORE DOVISH, WHILE THOSE WHO HAD VOTED FOR THE RIGHT
 TENDED TO BECOME MORE HAWKISH. THOSE TOO YOUNG TO
 VOTE IN 1984 SAID THEY HAD BECOME MORE RIGHTWING (73
 PERCENT) THAN LEFTWING (27 PERCENT).
- 6. A DECIMA POLL CONDUCTED IN EARLY AUGUST REPORTED THAT 57 PERCENT OF THE PUBLIC THOUGHT A NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT A RECIPE FOR NATIONAL PARALYSIS.



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 MSC-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 AMAD-01 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /056 W
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P 261531Z AUG 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0385 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE USIA WASHDC 4994

L SECTION 02 OF 03 TEL AVIV 12493

USIA FOR NEA AND R/NA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, IS

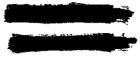
SUBJECT: ISRAEL ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN REVIEW, AUGUST 26

WHILE 38 PERCENT THOUGHT OTHERWISE. LABOR VOTERS (63 PERCENT) WERE MORE NEGATIVE ON A NUG THAN LIKUD VOTERS (45 PERCENT).

ASSESSMENTS

7. LIKUD: CAMPAIGN HQ DEPUTY CO-DIRECTOR SHARIR TOLD US LIKUD WAS IN A BETTER POSITION THAN LABOR AT THIS POINT. HE THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE ANOTHER NATIONAL

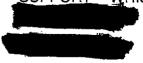
UNITY GOVERNMENT, ALTHOUGH HE PREFERRED A NARROW LIKUD-LED GOVERNMENT. KNESSET CANDIDATE TZAHI HANEGBI, FORMER DIRECTOR OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE AND NOW PLAYING A SIMILAR ROLE FOR SHAMIR IN THE CAMPAIGN, EXPECTS ANOTHER NUG WITH SHAMIR AT ITS HEAD. BOTH SHARIR AND HANEGBI, HOWEVER, TOLD US THEY WERE CONCERNED BY LIKUD OVER-OPTIMISM.



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- 8. LABOR: KNESSET CANDIDATE MICKY BAR-ZOHAR, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF LABOR'S CAMPAIGN IN THE KEY CENTER (TEL AVIV) AREA, "REALISTICALLY" ASSESSED LABOR'S DRAW AT THIS TIME AT ABOUT 37 SEATS. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, HOWEVER, HE EXPECTED ANOTHER NUG, WITH A TWO OR SO SEAT DIFFERENCE DETERMINING WHO WOULD BE PRIME MINISTER. LABOR KNESSET CANDIDATE PIMA FEINBLUM. HEAD OF THE BEERSHEBA PARTY BRANCH AND ONE OF LABOR'S CAMPAIGN HEADS IN THE SOUTH, REFUSED TO BE PESSIMISTIC ABOUT LABOR'S PROSPECTS IN HIS REGION. HE TOLD US HE FELT LABOR HAD REAL OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH. HE ATTRIBUTED THIS TO LABOR'S FOUR NEW CANDIDATES FROM THE REGION AND THE DETERIORATING ECONOMIC SITUATION THERE. AN IMMIGRANT FROM THE SOVIET UNION, FEINBLUM HOPED TO ATTRACT VOTES FROM OTHER FORMER SOVIET JEWS, WHO HAVE TENDED TO VOTE LIKUD.
- 9. CITIZENS RIGHTS MOVEMENT: CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION DIRECTOR MK DEDI TZUKER BELIEVED CRM HAD A SOLID 5 SEATS AT THIS TIME, WITH GOOD PROSPECTS TO PICK UP MORE SEATS FROM WAVERING PAST LABOR VOTERS AND ISRAELI ARABS.
- 10. AGUDAT ISRAEL: MK RABBI PORUSH TOLD US HE EXPECTED HIS PARTY TO WIN 2-3 SEATS, AND WITH SHAS TO WIN A TOTAL OF 7 SEATS. HE EXPECTED SHAMIR TO LEAD THE NEXT GOVERNMENT, ALTHOUGH HE PERSONALLY PREFERRED A NARROW LABOR-LED GOVERNMENT LED BY PERES.
- 11. ARAB DEMOCRATIC PARTY: MK DAROUSHA HOPES FOR 3-4 SEATS. HE ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT FORMAL ISLAMIC SUPPORT -- WHICH IS CRITICAL TO HIS PROSPECTS -- MAY



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NOT BE GAINED BY HIM (OR ANY OTHER PARTY). (NOTE: WITHOUT CLEAR ISLAMIC SUPPORT, DAROUSHA WILL HAVE A HARD TIME WINNING EVEN ONE SEAT.)

LIKUD: INTERNAL

- 12. THE CEREMONY UNITING HERUT AND THE LIBERAL PARTY IN "LIKUD THE NATIONAL LIBERAL MOVEMENT" WAS HELD ON AUG. 25. SHAMIR WAS ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF THE MOVEMENT. NRP LIST LEADER SHAKI, IN A POLITICALLY FRIENDLY NOD TO LIKUD, WAS THE ONLY NON-LIKUD PARTY LEADER PRESENT AS A GUEST.
- 13. MINISTERS KATZAV (HERUT) AND MODAI (LIBERAL), DRAFTERS OF THE MERGER COVENANT, DISAGREED OVER THE TEXT UNTIL THE DAY OF THE CEREMONY. MODAI SOUGHT TO INCLUDE LANGUAGE UPHOLDING AGREEMENTS REACHED PREVIOUSLY IN THE SEPARATE PARTY INSTITUTIONS, I.E., THE LIBERAL COUNCIL DECISION WHICH NAMED MODAI, NISSIM AND SHARIR AS ITS CANDIDATES FOR MINISTERS IN THE NEXT GOVERNMENT. MODAI FAILED TO GET HIS WAY AND HAD TO BE CONTENT WITH A LETTER TO SHAMIR NOTING THE LIBERALS' DECISION.
- 14. LIKUD MINISTERS ESCALATED ATTACKS ON RABIN OVER THE INTIFADA. SHARON MADE A POINT OF CALLING ON SHAMIR TO FIRE RABIN. (RABIN HIT BACK AT SHARON BY SAYING HIS CALL FOR ANNEXING AREAS OF A "EXTENDED ALON PLAN" SHOWED SHARON DID NOT ACCEPT LIKUD'S POSITION ON HOLDING ALL THE TERRITORIES. RATHER, HE ASSERTED SHARON ACCEPTED LABOR'S VIEW THAT ISRAEL SHOULD ONLY HOLD ON TO SOME OF THE TERRITORIES.) LABOR: INTERNAL





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P 261531Z AUG 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0386 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE USIA WASHDC 4995

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SECTION 03 OF 03 TEL AVIV 12493

USIA FOR NEA AND R/NA

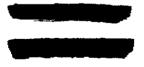
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, IS

SUBJECT: ISRAEL ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN REVIEW, AUGUST 26

15. LABOR DRAFTED A GENERAL PLANK ON "RELIGION AND THE STATE" WITH AN EYE TO CHANGING ITS "ANTI-RELIGIOUS" IMAGE AMONG THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES. PARTY SPOKESMEN MADE CLEAR THE GOAL WAS TO IMPROVE PROSPECTS FOR BRINGING THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES INTO A LABOR-LED COALITION AFTER THE ELECTIONS.

16. IN ADDITION, PERES IS PERSONALLY MAKING INCREASED EFFORTS TO REACH OUT TO THE RELIGIOUS PUBLIC. PERES AND MGEN (RES.) BEN-GAL CALLED ON THE LEADER OF THE BELZ ULTRA-ORTHODOX HASIDIM TO EXPLAIN LABOR'S POSITION ON PEACE AND SECURITY. PERES ALSO MADE A TRIP TO NETIVOT TO VISIT THE GRAVE OF THE BABI SALI, A RABBI REVERED BY ISRAEL'S MOROCCAN COMMUNITY.



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17. PARTY HAWKS ORGANIZED A TRIP TO THE JORDAN VALLEY WITH DOVISH MINISTERS AND MK CANDIDATES ALONG TO DEMONSTRATE LABOR'S COMMITMENT TO THE JORDAN RIVER AS ISRAEL'S SECURITY BORDER AND TO THE SETTLEMENTS IN THE AREA.

18. CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION DIRECTOR SHOHAT ANNOUNCED THE PARTY'S TELEPHONE PROJECT TO REACH FLOATING

VOTERS HAD MADE OVER 350,000 CALLS. RESPONDENTS IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES AS 30 PERCENT FOR LABOR; 20 PERCENT AGAINST LABOR; 30 PERCENT UNDECIDED; AND 20 PERCENT REFUSED TO RESPOND. SHOHAT COMPLAINED, HOWEVER, THAT LIKUD SPOILERS WERE MAKING CALLS WHICH THEY WERE DESCRIBING AS COMING FROM LABOR.

MEMAD

19. YITZHAK RAFAEL, A FORMER NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY MINISTER AND MK, SAID HE PLANNED TO SUPPORT THE NEW MODERATE RELIGIOUS LIST MEMAD AS THE AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVE OF RELIGIOUS ZIONISM.

NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY

20. MEANWHILE, THE NRP WAS FURTHER EMBARRASSED BY THE RESIGNATION OF FORMER NRP MK YEHUDA BEN-MEIR FROM HIS PLACE ON THE NRP LIST. (BEN-MEIR WAS NO. 7, WHICH WOULD NOT HAVE WON HIM A PLACE IN THE KNESSET.) BEN-MEIR DEPARTED WITH A BLAST AIMED AT NRP HAWKS SHAKI, PORAT AND SHAPIRA, AND TOLD REPORTERS THAT HE WOULD VOTE FOR MEMAD.

21. APPARENTLY STUNG BY CRITICISM THAT IT HAS GONE



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"EXTREMIST," THE NRP INTRODUCED A NUMBER OF MODERATE CLAUSES INTO ITS PLATFORM. WHILE AFFIRMING ITS COMMITMENT TO SETTLING THE LAND OF ISRAEL, THE PARTY PLEDGED TO "EXAMINE ANY POLITICAL INITIATIVE ON THE AGENDA IN THE ATTEMPT TO FIND EVERY POSSIBLE WAY TO PEACE."

CHALLENGES AGAINST VARIOUS PARTIES

22. SHAMIR AND PERES HAVE VOICED SUPPORT FOR NOT ALLOWING "RACIST" PARTIES TO RUN IN THE ELECTIONS. SEVERAL LEFTIST PARTIES HAVE ALREADY STATED THEY WANT TO BLOCK KAHANE'S KACH PARTY FROM RUNNING ON THE LEGAL GROUNDS OF RACISM. THE CITIZENS RIGHTS MOVEMENT HAS ALSO ATTACKED ZE'EVI'S MOLEDET PARTY, WHICH ADVOCATES "TRANSFER," AND CALLED FOR IT TO BE BANNED FROM RUNNING AND FOR LEGAL ACTION TO BE TAKEN AGAINST ZE'EVI FOR VIOLATING THE LAW ON INCITEMENT. THE RIGHTWING TEHIYA PARTY ALSO CALLED FOR THE DISQUALIFICATION OF THE NON-ZIONIST PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT REJECTS THE STATE OF

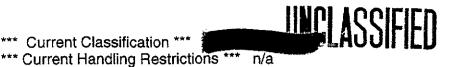
ISRAEL. IN TURN, THE PLP APPEARS LIKELY TO DEMAND THE DISQUALIFICATION OF TEHIYA AND TZOMET ON THE GROUNDS OF RACISM. (NOTE: THE CENTRAL ELECTIONS BOARD IS NOT LIKELY TO ADDRESS THESE ISSUES UNTIL LATE SEPTEMBER.)

HUGHES

-NNNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification ***





*** Current Classification ***

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 88STATE278206

FILM= D880751-0727

DATE= 25 AUG 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= STATE

DRAFTER= O:M.TAUBER

OFFICE= ORIGIN SS

TO= SECRETARY

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS=

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= OA

SUBJECT= DRAFT STATEMENT BY UNSC PRESIDENT ON OCCUPIED - TERRITORIES

REFERENCE= 88 STATE 276676, 88 STATE 271420

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= TOSEC 160231

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= TOSEC, PRESIDENT, SPECIALIZED AGENCY, POLICY, OCCUPIED AREA

TAGS= PREL, IS, UNSC



PAGE 01 STATE 278206 TOSEC 160233 ICLASSIFED ORIGIN SS-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 AMAD-01 CCO-00 /001 R

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-----313311 251257Z /40 38

Z 251251Z AUG 88 ZFF4 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO USDEL SECRETARY FLASH

STATE 278206 TOSEC 160231

FOLLOWING SENT SECSTATE WASHDC, AMMAN, CAIRO, JERUSALEM, PORT MORESBY, TEL AVIV, UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE DATED AUGUST 24, 1988 BEING RPTD TO YOU FOR ACTION:
QUOTE C O N F | D E N T | A L USUN NEW YORK 02536

PORT MORESBY FOR AMBASSADOR BYRNE

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: PREL, UNSC. IS

SUBJECT: DRAFT STATEMENT BY UNSE PRESIDENT ON OCCUPIED

TERRITORIES

REF: (A) STATE 276676, (B) STATE 271420, - (C) USUN 2497, (D) STATE 270587

1. (C) AMBASSADOR OKUN, PER INSTRUCTIONS IN REF(A), MET WITH UNSC PRESIDENT (PRC PERMREP) LI AND PROVIDED HIM WITH PROPOSED U.S. CHANGES TO DRAFT UNSC PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT CONTAINED IN REF(C). WE SUGGESTED, IN ADDITION TO INSTRUCTIONS REF(C), MODIFICATION OF THE FIFTH (FINAL) PARAGRAPH, WHICH CONTAINED LANGUAGE MORE APPROPRIATE TO A UNSC RESOLUTION THAN TO A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT.



PAGE 02 STATE 278206 TOSEC 160231

AMBASSADOR OKUN ALSO EXPRESSED OUR STRONG DESIRE THAT, IF AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON A STATEMENT, THE SC PRESIDENT SHOULD ISSUE IT TO THE MEDIA RATHER THAN SEEK ADOPTION OF IT IN A FORMAL SC MEETING.

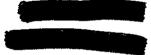
2. (C) SUBSEQUENTLY, ZAMBIAN DEPUTY PERM REP, ON BEHALF OF NON-ALIGNED CAUCUS, INDICATED THAT HE



PREFERRED TO NEGOTIATE REMAINING DIFFERENCES DIRECTLY WITH USUN RATHER THAN TO WORK THROUGH CHINESE PRESIDENT. IN RETURN FOR OUR ACCEPTANCE OF STYLISTIC CHANGES PROPOSED BY THE UK AND OTHER COUNCIL MEMBERS AND OUR ACCEPTANCE OF THE WORD "CONSEQUENCES" IN PARAGRAPH 3 (AUTHORIZED BY IO/KIRBY-USUN/IMMERMAN AUGUST 24 TELCON), ZAMBIAN OBTAINED NON-ALIGNED AGREEMENT TO ALL OTHER U.S. SUGGESTIONS. TEXT OF AGREED DRAFT STATEMENT FOLLOWS IN PARAGRAPH 4.

- 3. (U) SECURITY COUNCIL WILL APPROVE DRAFT STATEMENT IN CONSULTATIONS OF THE WHOLE MORNING AUGUST 25 AND SC PRESIDENT WILL THEN CONVEY IT DIRECTLY TO THE MEDIA. THERE WILL BE NO FORMAL SC MEETING ON THE SUBJECT. ISRAELI MISSION HAS BEEN KEPT INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS.
- 4. (U) BEGIN TEXT OF SC PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON OCCUPIED TERRITORIES:

THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ARE GRAVELY CONCERNED BY THE CONTINUED DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL SINCE 1967, INCLUDING JERUSALEM, AND ESPECIALLY BY THE CURRENT GRAVE AND SERIOUS SITUATION RESULTING FROM THE CLOSING-OFF OF AREAS, THE IMPOSITION OF



PAGE 03

STATE 278206 TOSEC 160231

CURFEWS, AND THE CONSEQUENT INCREASE IN THE NUMBERS OF INJURIES AND DEATHS THAT HAVE OCCURRED.

THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL ARE PROFOUNDLY CONCERNED BY THE PERSISTENCE OF ISRAEL, THE OCCUPYING POWER, IN CONTINUING ITS POLICY OF DEPORTING PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS IN CONTRAVENTION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS AND THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION, AS DEMONSTRATED ON 17 AUGUST 1988 BY ITS EXPULSION OF FOUR PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS TO LEBANON AND ITS DECISION TO EXPEL 40 MORE. THE MEMBERS REQUEST ISRAEL IMMEDIATELY TO DESIST FROM DEPORTING ANY PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS AND IMMEDIATELY TO ENSURE THE SAFE RETURN OF THOSE ALREADY DEPORTED.

THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL CONSIDER THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, DESCRIBED IN PARAGRAPH 1 ABOVE, HAS GRAVE CONSEQUENCES FOR ENDEAVOURS TO ACHIEVE A COMPREHENSIVE, JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THEY REAFFIRM THAT THE GENEVA CONVENTION RELATIVE TO THE PROTECTION OF CIVILIAN PERSONS IN TIME OF WAR, OF 12 AUGUST 1949, IS APPLICABLE TO THE PALESTINIAN AND OTHER ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL SINCE 1967, INCLUDING JERUSALEM, AND REQUEST THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES TO ENSURE RESPECT FOR THE CONVENTION.

RECALLING SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL KEEP THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES, INCLUDING JERUSALEM, UNDER REVIEW.

END TEXT.

WALTERS UNQUOTE WHITEHEAD

PAGE 04 STATE 278206 TOSEC 160231



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REFERENCE= 88 STAT	TE 277148	
CONTROL_NBR= n/a		
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TAGS= AMGT

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 02870 01 OF 02 251516Z ACTION NEA-03

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 AMAD-01 ONY-00 /004 W

O 251332Z AUG 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3294 INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

SECTION 01 OF 02 JERUSALEM 02870

NEA/IAI JOHN HIRSCH FROM WILCOX

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: AMGT

SUBJECT: JERUSALEM OFFICIAL-INFORMAL NO. 92:

COMPLAINT RE UNRWA

REF: STATE 277148

1.

2. BOB DILLON TOLD ME AUG 22 THAT HE HAD COME TO ISRAEL TO DISCUSS WITH GOI OFFICIALS UNRWA'S DRAFT ANNUAL REPORT, AS IS CUSTOMARY EACH YEAR. HE SAID THAT IN A MEETING WITH THE MFA'S DIRECTOR OF IO AFFAIRS, A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CIVAD, AND A LAWYER FROM MOD, THE ISRAELIS COMPLAINED ABOUT UNRWA'S PROVIDING RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO SOME NEEDY PEOPLE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WHO ARE NOT REFUGEES, AS A RESULT OF SPECIAL HARDSHIPS CAUSED BY THE INTIFADA. DILLON SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THIS ACTIVITY DOES NOT REPRESENT A LARGE NEW PART OF UNRWA'S PROGRAM, UNRWA BELIEVES IT IS NECESSARY FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS AND SEES NO REASON FOR GOI OBJECTIONS. HE SAID AMONG THOSE ASSISTED ARE RELATIVES OF

PAGE 02 JERUSA 02870 01 OF 02 251516Z

INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE BEEN DETAINED, ALTHOUGH UNRWA HAS CAREFULLY AVOIDED DESIGNATING SUCH PEOPLE AS A CATEGORY FOR ASSISTANCE. DILLON SAID THE ISRAELI OFFICIALS SEEM TO OBJECT MORE TO THE REFERENCE TO ASSISTANCE TO NON-REFUGEES

IN THE DRAFT REPORT THAN TO THE FACT THAT IT WAS TAKING PLACE. HE SAID THAT, IN ANY CASE, UNRWA WOULD ADHERE TO A CLEAR DIRECTIVE FROM THE GOI TO REFRAIN FROM THIS ACTIVITY IF THIS WERE ISSUED, SINCE UNRWA REALIZES THAT, LIKE ALL OTHER ORGANIZATIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, IT IS ULTIMATELY SUBJECT TO RULES ISSUED BY THE OCCUPYING POWER. DILLON SAID HE WAS ACCOMPANIED AT THE MEETING BY AN UNRWA LAWYER, AN INDIAN, WHOM HE DESCRIBED AS A VERY SKILLED NEGOTIATOR AND DIPLOMAT.

- 3. DILLON SAID THE ISRAELIS ALSO OBJECTED TO UNRWA'S PRACTICE OF COLLECTING STATISTICS ON PALESTINIANS KILLED AND WOUNDED DURING THE INTIFADA ON THE GROUNDS THAT THIS WAS NOT A REFUGEE-RELATED ISSUE THAT FALLS WITHIN UNRWA'S MANDATE.
- 4. DILLON SAID NOTHING ABOUT OTHER COMPLAINTS AGAINST OFFICERS ADDED TO UNRWA'S STAFF GETTING INTO POLITICS.
- 5. DILLON DID NOT EXPRESS DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THESE DIFFERENCES WITH THE GOI, AND GAVE THE IMPRESSION THEY COULD BE MANAGED AS OTHER DIFFERENCES HAVE BEEN IN THE PAST.

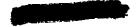


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- 6. I SEE NO REASON TO SEND A MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY ABOUT THESE UNRWA-GOI DIFFERENCES, AND DO NOT BELIEVE ANY U.S. INTERVENTION IS NECESSARY. A CERTAIN LEVEL OF TENSION BETWEEN UNRWA AND THE GOI IS CHRONIC. IT HAS INCREASED DURING THE INTIFADA, BUT IT IS NOT SOMETHING BOTH SIDES CANNOT MANAGE.
- 7. UNRWA IS DEEPLY AWARE OF OUR CONCERN THAT UNRWA AVOID POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT, AND WE BELIEVE IT HAS WORKED HARD TO ADHERE TO THIS PRINCIPLE OVER THE YEARS. UNRWA'S WEST BANK DIRECTOR, BOB HOPKINS, IS A VERY COMPETENT, LOW-KEY INDIVIDUAL WHO UNDERSTANDS THE POLITICALLY SENSITIVE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH UNRWA WORKS AND THE NEED TO AVOID POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT. AT THE SAME TIME, UNRWA STAFFERS OPERATE IN AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT. POLITICALLY

CHARGED ATMOSPHERE. IT IS NOT UNUSUAL THAT THEY HAVE A POINT OF VIEW ABOUT ISRAELI PRACTICES IN

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 AMAD-01 ONY-00 /004 W

O 251332Z AUG 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3295 INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

ECTION 02 OF 02 JERUSALEM 02870

NEA/IAI JOHN HIRSCH FROM WILCOX

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: AMGT

SUBJECT: JERUSALEM OFFICIAL-INFORMAL NO. 92:

COMPLAINT RE UNRWA

THE CAMPS. UNRWA IS DOING A SPLENDID JOB IN THE WEST BANK, AND WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT IT AS WE HAVE IN THE PAST.

8. TOM PICKERING WILL BE IN WASHINGTON SHORTLY AND CAN PROVIDE HIS VIEWS ON UNRWA-GO! RELATIONS AND UNRWA ACTIVITIES IN GAZA.
WILCOX

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*** Current Classification ***



*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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FILM= D880746-0524

DATE= 24 AUG 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= JERUSALEM

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE

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CHANNEL= n/a

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ORIGCLASS= UNCLASSIFIED

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EO= N/A

SUBJECT= WEEKLY WRAP-UP, AUGUST 16-22

REFERENCE= 88 JERUSALEM 12074, 88 JERUSALEM 2799

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CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= CASUALTY, PALESTINIANS, DETENTION, RIOT, PRISON, VIOLENCE, OCCUPIE

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 02845 01 OF 03 241215Z ACTION NEA-04

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 MSC-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /083 W

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O 241212Z AUG 88
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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 02845

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEEKLY WRAP-UP/AUGUST 16-22

REF: (A) JERUSALEM 012074, (B) JERUSALEM 002799

1. SUMMARY: WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE, SIGNIFICANT CASUALTIES, AND HEAVY USE OF FIREARMS BY IDF PERSONNEL CONTINUED ACCOMPANIED BY INCREASINGLY TOUGH ISRAELI MEASURES DURING THE REPORTING PERIOD. FOUR PALESTINIANS WERE KILLED AND FORTY-FOUR WERE WOUNDED. A PRISON RIOT ERUPTED AT THE CONTROVERSIAL ANSAR III DETENTION CENTER IN THE NEGEV; TWO PALESTINIANS WERE KILLED BY IDF GUNFIRE, ONE OF WHOM WAS FROM THE WEST BANK. A SECOND PALESTINIAN DIED IN POLICE DETENTION IN A SPAN OF TWO DAYS. HAMAS, AN ISLAMIC GROUP, SUCCEDED IN ENFORCING A "WILDCAT" STRIKE IN THE UNCLASSIFIED

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WEST BANK AND GAZA ON AUGUST 17. END SUMMARY.

KILLED AND INJURED

- 2. A RIOT BROKE OUT AT THE KETZIOT DETENTION CAMP (ANSAR III) IN THE NEGEV ON AUGUST 16 IN PROTEST AGAINST SEVERE CONDITIONS. IDF GUARDS SHOT AND KILLED IBRAHIM SAMOUDI, 27, FROM AL-YAMOUN, NEAR JENIN. ANOTHER PALESTINIAN FROM GAZA WAS KILLED AND ONE WAS INJURED IN THE INCIDENT.

 -- ON AUGUST 16, SOLDIERS SHOT AND KILLED ONE PALESTINIAN DURING DEMONSTRATIONS IN TIL VILLAGE, NEAR NABLUS.
- -- ON AUGUST 17, IDF TROOPS SHOT AND KILLED RASHA ARQAWI, A NINE-YEAR-OLD GIRL, IN JENIN. SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED ONE PALESTINIAN IN AZZOUN, NEAR QALQILYA, THREE IN NABLUS AND FIVE IN EIN BET ILMA REFUGEE CAMP. NEAR NABLUS. DURING DEMONSTRATIONS.
- -- ON AUGUST 18, IDF TROOPS SHOT AND WOUNDED TWO PALESTINIANS IN TAMMOUN, FOUR IN AL-AMARI REFUGEE CAMP NEAR RAMALLAH, AND ONE IN BALATA REFUGEE CAMP NEAR NABLUS, DURING DEMONSTRATIONS. AN ISRAEL BUS DRIVER WAS SLIGHTLY INJURED BY STONES IN HEBRON.
- -- ON AUGUST 19, SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED FIVE PALESTINIANS IN ORTAS, NEAR BETHLEHEM AND TWO IN AL-AMARI REFUGEE CAMP NEAR RAMALLAH, DURING CLASHES.
- -- ON AUGUST 20, MAS'OUD HASSAN SALIM ABDULLAH, UNCLASSIFIED

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- 22, FROM TAMMOUN, NEAR NABLUS, DIED OF GUNSHOT WOUNDS SUSTAINED DURING A CLASH WITH SOLDIERS, ON AUGUST 18. IDF SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED ONE PALESTINIAN, DURING DEMONSTRATIONS IN JENIN REFUGEE CAMP
- -- ON AUGUST 21, IDF SOLDIERS SHOT AND KILLED RAJA

HAMDAN MUHAMMAD SAWAFTAH, 17, DURING DEMONSTRATIONS IN TUBAS, NEAR NABLUS. ANOTHER PALESTINIAN, AHMAD SHAGHNUBI, 22, WAS SHOT IN THE BACK AND KILLED BY IDF SOLDIERS IN ASKAR REFUGEE CAMP, NEAR NABLUS AND FIVE OTHERS WERE WOUNDED WHEN THREE ARMED ISRAELI CIVILIANS WALKED INTO THE CAMP AND OPENED FIRE, "WITHOUT PROVOCATION." IN ANOTHER INCIDENT, IDF SOLDIERS SHOT AND INJURED SIX PALESTINIANS DURING A DEMONSTRATION IN NABLUS, ONE OTHER WAS BEATEN. IN TULKAREM, SOLDIERS FIRED

RUBBER BULLETS AT A GROUP OF DEMONSTRATORS AND INJURED TWO PALESTINIANS. THREE PASSENGERS, INCLUDING A PALESTINIAN, WERE LIGHTLY INJURED WHEN A MOLOTOV COCKTAIL, THROWN AT AN ISRAELI BUS IN EAST JERUSALEM, FAILED TO IGNITE. AN UNEXPLODED "PIPE BOMB" THROWN AT A TOURIST BUS ON THE JERUSALEM-BETHLEHEM ROAD, SLIGHTLY INJURED ONE PASSENGER.

-- ON AUGUST 22, DURING SEVERAL CLASHES, IDF SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED ONE PALESTINIAN IN QALQILYA, ONE IN NUR SHAMS REFUGEE CAMP NEAR TULKAREM, ONE IN TULKAREM, AND ANOTHER IN AZZAWIYA.

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 02845 02 OF 03 241217Z ACTION NEA-04

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 MSC-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 ,C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /083 W

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O 241212Z AUG 88
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 JERUSALEM 02845

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS SUBJECT: WEEKLY WRAP-UP, AUGUST 16-22

SECURITY FORCES ARREST TERROR RING SUSPECTS

3. ON AUGUST 16, SECURITY FORCES ARRESTED PALESTINIANS IN THE HEBRON AND BETHLEHEM AREA SUSPECTED OF BELONGING TO TERROR RINGS RESPONSIBLE FOR SEVERAL INCIDENTS AND THE MURDER OF AN ARAB POLICEMAN, BEFORE THE INTIFADA.

PALESTINIAN DIES IN POLICE DETENTION

4. ON AUGUST 16, NABIL MUSTAFA JAMIL IBDAH, 20, OF BEIT HANINA, AN EAST JERUSALEM SUBURB, DIED IN UNCLASSIFIED

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PRISON IN WEST JERUSALEM, AFTER BEING ARRESTED ON AUGUST 10. HE WAS THE SECOND PALESTINIAN TO DIE IN PRISON IN TWO DAYS. ON AUGUST 14, ATTA YOUSSEF ARTOUFI, 21, OF KALANDIA CAMP DIED IN AZ-ZAHIRIYEH PRISON, NEAR HEBRON.

DEMOLISHED HOUSES

5. JERUSALEM MUNICIPALITY BULLDOZERS DEMOLISHED FOUR HOUSES, ON AUGUST 16, ALLEGEDLY BUILT WITHOUT PERMITS IN SILWAN, EAST JERUSALEM.

BRIGADE COMMANDER SUSPENDED FOR KILLING PALESTINIAN

6. ON AUGUST 16, AN IDF BRIGADE COMMANDER WAS RELIEVED OF HIS COMMAND FOR KILLING A PALESTINIAN DEMONSTRATOR AFTER A HELICOPTER CHASE IN BANI NAIM, LAST MONTH.

GENERAL STRIKE OBSERVED

7. A GENERAL STRIKE CALLED FOR BY LEAFLET NO. 23 WAS OBSERVED IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA ON AUGUST

17, DESIGNATED "JERUSALEM DAY" IN SUPPORT OF SACRIFICES MADE BY EAST JERUSALEMITES ANOTHER GENERAL STRIKE WAS OBSERVED ON AUGUST 22, TO PROTEST TAX RAIDS ON ARAB MERCHANTS.

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8. ON AUGUST 21, THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, "HAMAS", ENFORCED A GENERAL STRIKE MARKING THE 19TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ATTEMPTED BURNING OF AL-AQSA MOSQUE. IT WAS THE FIRST TIME THE ISLAMIC ACTIVISTS HAVE CARRIED OUT A STRIKE IN THE WEST BANK THAT CONFLICTED WITH ORDERS IN THE LEAFLET OF THE INTIFADA'S UNITED LEADERSHIP.

IDF TO EXPEL 15 WEST BANKERS, BANS POPULAR COMMITTEES

- 9. ON AUGUST 17, FOLLOWING THE DEPORTATION OF FOUR GAZANS, THE IDF ISSUED 25 EXPLUSION ORDERS, INCLUDING 15 PALESTINIANS FROM THE WEST BANK (REF A).
- -- ON AUGUST 18, THE ISRAELI DEFENSE MINISTRY FORMALLY OUTLAWED THE "POPULAR COMMITTEES". PAVING THE WAY FOR POSSIBLE MASS ARRESTS AND MORE DEPORTATIONS (REF B).

ISRAELI WOMAN MURDERED IN WEST BANK

10. ON AUGUST 17, ISRAELI POLICE IDENTIFIED A MURDERED ISRAELI WOMAN AS ZIVA GOLDOVSKY, 18, OF HOLON, WHO WAS FOUND DEAD IN A FIELD NEAR THE WEST BANK TOWN OF EL-BIREH. GOLDOVSKY WAS KNOWN TO HAVE HAD A PALESTINIAN BOYFRIEND AND ACQUAINTANCES IN THE WEST BANK, AND WAS REPORTEDLY INVOLVED IN

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 02845 03 OF 03 241217Z ACTION NEA-04

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 MSC-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /083 W

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 02845

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS SUBJECT: WEEKLY WRAP-UP, AUGUST 16-22

WEST BANK SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES TO REMAIN CLOSED

11. ON AUGUST 18, THE CIVAD ANNOUNCED THAT WEST BANK PUBLIC SCHOOLS WOULD NOT OPEN IN SEPTEMBER AND THAT PRIVATE AND UNRWA SCHOOLS WOULD OPEN ON OCTOBER 1. THE SCHOOLS WERE CLOSED IN LATE JULY ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEY WERE CENTERS OF DEMONSTRATIONS. UNIVERSITIES WILL REMAIN CLOSED UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE.

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12. THE IDF SPOKESMAN SAID AUGUST 18, THAT 1024 MOLOTOV COCKTAILS WERE THROWN IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE INTIFADA TO AUGUST 8. 258 MOLOTOV COCKTAILS WERE THROWN IN GAZA STRIP AND 766 IN THE WEST BANK. A 50 PERCENT DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF MOLOTOV COCKTAILS THROWN IN JULY, COMPARED WITH JUNE.

-- ON AUGUST 22, IT WAS REPORTED IN AL-FAJR THAT THE NUMBER OF MOLOTOV COCKTAILS THROWN IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES ROSE FROM 10, AUGUST 7-13, TO 18, AUGUST 14-21.

IDF INTRODUCES PLASTIC BULLETS

13. ON AUGUST 20, IT WAS REPORTED THAT ISRAELI TROOPS HAVE BEGUN TO USE PLASTIC BULLETS SHOT FROM M-85S THAT LEAVE INDELIBLE INK MARKS ON VICTIMS FOR SEVEN DAYS.

14. ON AUGUST 20, THE IDF LIFTED THE CURFEW ON QABATIYA, NEAR JENIN, AFTER THE 29TH DAY.

ISRAELI AGRICULTURAL MINISTER THREATENS TO STOP PALESTINIAN AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS

15. IN AL-QUDS, AUGUST 23, IT WAS REPORTED THAT THE ISRAELI MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE THREATENED TO STOP THE EXPORT OF PALESTINIAN AGRICULTURAL UNCLASSIFIED

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PRODUCTS TO JORDAN AND THE EEC IF ISRAEL DISCOVERED THAT ANTI-ISRAEL ELEMENTS SUPERVISED PALESTINIAN AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS; IN THIS CASE, THE MINISTER SAID ISRAEL WOULD NOT HONOR ITS AGREEMENT WITH THE EEC.

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SUBJECT= SECURITY COUNCIL: OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

REFERENCE= 88 USUN NEW YORK 2464

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= OCCUPIED AREA, AMBASSADOR, APPOINTMENT REQUEST, PALESTINIANS, INCIDENT, VIOLENCE

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, IS, UNSC, (OKUN, HERBERT S)

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FOLLOWING REPEAT SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO TEL AVIV JERUSALEM UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE CAIRO AMMAN AUGUST 19 QUOTE_____

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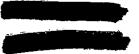
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: PREL, UNSC, IS

SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL: OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

REF.: (A) USUN 2464 (B) IO DATAFAX 616 OF 8/18/88

1. (U) SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT TRANSMITTED TO ALL SC MEMBERS AFTERNOON AUGUST 18 TEXT OF DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ON LATEST ISRAELI ACTIONS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES PREPARED BY SC NON-ALIGNED CAUCUS (TEXT IN PARA 4). PRESIDENT HAS CALLED FOR CONSULTATIONS OF THE WHOLE FOR AFTERNOON OF AUGUST 19 TO CONSIDER ADOPTION OF STATEMENT AND HAS ASKED THOSE MEMBERS WHO HAVE DIFFICULTIES WITH IT TO CONVEY THEIR OBJECTIONS TO HIM MORNING OF AUGUST 19.

2. (C) AMBASSADOR OKUN WILL SEEK APPOINTMENT WITH SC



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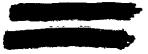
PRESIDENT MORNING AUGUST 19 AND, BASED ON TALKING POINTS TRANSMITTED REF. B, WILL TELL HIM THAT U.S. DOES NOT FAVOR ANY SC ACTION OF ANY KIND ON THIS ISSUE AT THIS TIME. WE ANTICIPATE THAT SC PRESIDENT WILL REPLY THAT ALL OTHER SC MEMBERS FAVOR A STATEMENT IN ORDER TO AVOID A FORMAL MEETING AND A CONTENTIOUS DEBATE.

MASSIFIED

- 3. (C) WHEN USUN POLMINCOUNS PASSED COPY OF DRAFT STATEMENT TO ISRAELI ACTING PERMREP BEIN, LATTER INDICATED THAT, IDEALLY, ISRAEL ALSO WOULD PREFER NO ACTION ON THE MATTER. HE SPECULATED, HOWEVER, THAT IF CHOICE BOILED DOWN TO EITHER A STATEMENT ADOPTED WITHOUT DEBATE OR A CONTENTIOUS DEBATE LEADING TO A RESOLUTION, GOI WOULD PROBABLY OPT FOR A STATEMENT. THE PRESENT TEXT, HOWEVER, CONTAINED CLEARLY UNACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE. HE INDICATED THAT HE WAS SEEKING INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS POINT AND WOULD BE IN TOUCH WITH US AGAIN MORNING OF AUGUST 19.
- 4. (U) DRAFT STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL--BEGIN TEXT:

THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ARE GRAVELY CONCERNED AND ALARMED BY THE CONTINUED DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL SINCE 1967, INCLUDING JERUSALEM, ESPECIALLY THE CURRENT GRAVE AND SERIOUS SITUATION OF CLOSING-OFF AREAS, IMPOSING CURFEWS, AND THE INCREASING NUMBER OF PALESTINIANS BEATEN, INJURED AND KILLED BY THE ISRAELI FORCES OF OCCUPATION.

THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ARE PROFOUNDLY CONCERNED BY THE INSISTENCE OF ISRAEL, THE OCCUPYING



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POWER, TO CONTINUE ITS POLICY OF DEPORTING PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS IN DEFIANCE OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS AND THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION, AS DEMONSTRATED ON 17 AUGUST 1988 BY ITS EXPULSION OF FOUR PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS AND ITS DECISION TO EXPEL 25 MORE. THE MEMBERS REQUEST ISRAEL TO IMMEDIATELY DESIST FROM DEPORTING ANY PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS AND TO IMMEDIATELY ENSURE THE SAFE RETURN OF THOSE ALREADY DEPORTED.

THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDER THAT THE CURRENT REGRETTABLE POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF ISRAEL, THE OCCUPYING POWER, AGAINST THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HAVE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENDEAVOURS TO ACHIEVE A COMPREHENSIVE, JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THEY THEREFORE STRONGLY DEPLORE THOSE POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF ISRAEL.

THEY REAFFIRM THAT THE GENEVA CONVENTION RELATIVE TO THE PROTECTION OF CIVILIAN PERSONS IN TIME OF WAR, OF 12

AUGUST 1949, IS APPLICABLE TO THE PALESTINIAN AND OTHER ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL SINCE 1967, INCLUDING JERUSALEM, AND REQUEST THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES TO ENSURE RESPECT FOR THE CONVENTION.

RECALLING SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 605, 607 AND 608, THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL DECIDE TO KEEP THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES, INCLUDING JERUSALEM, UNDER REVIEW AND REQUEST THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT PERIODICALLY ON THE CURRENT SITUATION.
END TEXT.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

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INFO USDOC WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 06 CAIRO 19840

USDOC FOR 4520/IEP/ANESA/ONE/JOHNSON USCINCCENT FOR POLAD ROME PASS MFO

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PINS, ECON, EG, US

SUBJECT: WEEKEND CAIRO PRESS REVIEW, AUGUST 19-21, 1988

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(GOVERNMENT-INFLUENCED; AROUND ONE MILLION CIRCULATION) AND THE OPPOSITION PRESS (NORMALLY WEEKLIES). BOTH CATEGORIES REFLECT THE INCREASING INDEPENDENCE OF THE

EGYPTIAN PRESS. THE OPPOSITION PAPERS ARE NOT ONLY LIMITED IN CIRCULATION (10,000-60,000, EXCEPT FOR THE WIDER CIRCULATION AL-WAFD), BUT ALSO WIDELY RECOGNIZED AS IRRESPONSIBLE. NONETHELESS, THEIR STORIES FORM PART OF THE CAIRO RUMOR MILL; THEY CAN PROMPT DEFENSIVE GOVERNMENT ACTION AND INSPIRE PARALLEL STORIES IN THE ESTABLISHMENT PRESS.

HIGHLIGHTS

- -- MUBARAK STATES THAT ISRAEL HAS ALWAYS UPHELD ITS TREATY OBLIGATIONS TO EGYPT AND EXPRESSES THE BELIEF THAT ISRAEL WILL COMPLY WITH THE TABA ARBITRATION JUDGMENT.
- ARAFAT'S POLITICAL ADVISOR HANI AL-HASSAN SAYS
 PALESTINIAN PLANNING WILL CAUSE A "PRACTICAL COLLAPSE" OF
 ZIONIST IDEOLOGY.
- -- JIMMY CARTER MEETS HANI AL-HASSAN IN CAIRO.
- -- USAID TO PROVIDE CAIRO AIRPORT WITH SECURITY EQUIPMENT.
- OPPOSITION AL-WAFD REPORTS EGYPT AND SOME GULF COUNTRIES MIGHT GRANT THE US MILITARY FACILITIES IN RETURN FOR AID AND ARMS.
- AL-WAFD REPORTS MUBARAK INSTRUCTED PRIME MINISTER SEDKY NOT TO RAISE PRICES OF COMMODITIES AND SERVICES.- UNCLASSIFIED

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ESTABLISHMENT PRESS: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

I. STATEMENTS BY MUBARAK. ALL PAPERS AUGUST 19 HIGHLIGHT MUBARAK'S STATEMENTS TO REPORTERS AFTER HIS MEETING WITH THE NDP YOUTH MOVEMENT. ALL PAPERS QUOTE MUBARAK AS SAYING "I DON'T THINK THAT ISRAEL WOULD STALL ABOUT COMPLYING WITH THE TABA VERDICT IF IT IS IN FAVOR OF EGYPT. I AM CONFIDENT THAT ISRAEL WILL OBSERVE ITS OBLIGATIONS; IT HAS NEVER BREACHED ITS TREATIES." MUBARAK STRESSED THAT PEACE IS THE GUARANTEE OF STABILITY IN THE REGION, ADDING THAT IF THE ISRAELI PEOPLE WANT TO RAISE THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING THEY SHOULD ABANDON WARS, DIVISION, AND TERRORISM. ANSWERING A QUESTION ABOUT

SHARON'S STATEMENTS REGARDING THE ANNEXATION OF PARTS OF THE WEST BANK, MUBARAK SAID, "SHARON HAS ALWAYS BEEN LIKE THIS; LET HIM THINK THE WAY HE WANTS. THERE ARE ALSO SOME WHO CALL FOR A COUNTRY (GREATER ISRAEL) FROM THE NILE TO THE EUPHRATES. I BELIEVE THERE ARE PEACE-LOVING FORCES IN ISRAEL; PEACE FOR ISRAEL IS BETTER THAN WAR, AND I SUPPORT ALL THE FORCES IN ISRAEL THAT ADVOCATE PEACE." MUBARAK AFFIRMED THAT THE EGYPTIAN EMBASSY IN TEL AVIV HAD EXTENDED ASSISTANCE TO THE PALESTINIANS UNDER THE OCCUPATION, FOR EXAMPLE BY BUILDING HOSPITALS. MUBARAK CALLED UPON THE PLO TO ISSUE A BALANCED POLITICAL STATEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO THE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE AN EFFECT ON THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE. MUBARAK EXPRESSED ASTONISHMENT AT A STATEMENT BY AN ARAB OFFICIAL IN WHICH THE LATTER REJECTED ISRAEL AND THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. AND CALLED FOR AN ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST ISRAEL. ON EGYPT'S FOREIGN RELATIONS, MUBARAK EMPHASIZED THAT EGYPT

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 06 CAIRO 19840

USDOC FOR 4520/IEP/ANESA/ONE/JOHNSON USCINCCENT FOR POLAD ROME PASS MFO

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FOREIGN COUNTRY, ADDING THAT EGYPT REJECTS THAT ITS TERRITORIES BE USED FOR AGGRESSION ON ANOTHER COUNTRY. "WE HAVE BALANCED RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES. OUR RELATIONS WITH THE US ARE SPECIAL WITHOUT THE IMPOSITION OF ANY DEMANDS ON OUR SOVEREIGNTY OR WILL. WE ALSO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE USSR."

- 2. STATEMENTS BY ARAFAT. AHRAM AUGUST 20 QUOTES ARAFAT AS SAYING THAT EGYPT'S RETURN TO THE ARAB FOLD HAS PUT AN END TO SYRIA'S CONTROL OVER THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION. ARAFAT ADDED THAT THE SYRIAN CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE IDEA OF FORMING A PALESTINIAN GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE WAS AIMED AT COVERING UP THE SUSPICIOUS DEALS CONCLUDED BETWEEN SYRIA AND THE US IN LEBANON AT THE EXPENSE OF THE ARAB NATION. ARAFAT FURTHER ATTACKED SYRIA'S CAMP MASSACRES AND ITS STAND ON THE GULF WAR. ARAFAT ADDRESSED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BY SAYING THAT ESTABLISHING A PALESTINIAN STATE WOULD NOT CONFLICT WITH US INTERESTS.
- 3. INTERVIEW WITH ARAFAT'S ADVISOR. IN AN INTERVIEW TO

AHRAM AUGUST 19, ARAFAT'S POLITICAL ADVISOR HANI AL-HASSAN SAID THAT ISRAEL WOULD NOT ANNEX THE WEST BANK AND GAZA NOT ONLY BECAUSE THERE ARE RACISTS IN ISRAEL WHO WANT THIS AREA TO BE PURELY JEWISH BUT ALSO BECAUSE THIS WOULD GIVE EGYPT THE RIGHT TO RENOUNCE SOME OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE PEACE TREATY. THE US WANTS THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE TO BE RESOLVED AT THE CURRENT STAGE ONE WAY OR ANOTHER BECAUSE IT CANNOT BE RESOLVED BY ANNEXATION OR BY IMPOSITION OF A POLITICAL FORMULA ON THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. AL-HASSAN ADDED THAT CAREFULNESS AND PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE PALESTINIANS WOULD ACHIEVE SUPERIORITY OVER ISRAEL AND WOULD CAUSE A "PRACTICAL COLLAPSE" OF ZIONIST IDEOLOGY. UNCLASSIFIED

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PAPERS AUGUST 21 REPORT THAT FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER MET WITH HANI AL-HASSAN DURING HIS TWO-DAY VISIT TO CAIRO. THE MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN CAIRO SAID KAMAL.

PAPERS AUGUST 19 REPORT THAT MEMBER OF THE PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ABU MAZIN STATED THAT EGYPT HAD REJECTED A SEPARATE SOLUTION TO THE GAZA ISSUE BECAUSE SUCH A SOLUTION WOULD BE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE. ABU MAZIN ADDED THAT MUBARAK TOLD HIM THAT THE US ADMINISTRATION HAD AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO A MEETING BETWEEN MURPHY AND PALESTINIAN PERSONALITIES AND THAT AMBASSADOR WISNER HAD INFORMED MUBARAK THAT MURPHY WOULD MEET WITH A PALESTINIAN DELEGATION BUT MURPHY RETRACTED HIS DECISION. IN THE SAME ITEM, GUMHOURIYYA QUOTES FOREIGN MINISTER ABDEL MEGUID AS STATING THAT EGYPT REJECTS ISRAELI ANNEXATION OF THE WEST BANK NOT ONLY BECAUSE IT IS A PALESTINIAN TERRITORY BUT ALSO BECAUSE THE IMPOSITION OF SOLUTIONS BY FORCE WOULD NOT LEAD TO RESOLVING THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE.

- 4. EGYPT/JORDAN. AKHBAR EL-YOM AUGUST 20 REPORTS KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN WILL VISIT EGYPT IN SEPTEMBER TO DISCUSS A NUMBER OF ISSUES WITH MUBARAK.
- 5. EGYPT/MOROCCO. GUMHOURIYYA AUGUST 21 REPORTS KING HASSAN OF MOROCCO WILL VISIT EGYPT IN NOVEMBER AS A RETURN VISIT FOR MUBARAK'S VISIT TO MOROCCO EARLY THIS YEAR.
- 6. EGYPT/ISRAEL. ALL PAPERS AUGUST 19 REPORTS STATE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS BOUTROS GHALI ANNOUNCED EGYPT'S CONDEMNATION OF ISRAEL'S CONTINUED POLICY OF REPRESSION, EXPULSION, AND DETENTION AGAINST THE

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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 06 CAIRO 19840

USDOC FOR 4520/IEP/ANESA/ONE/JOHNSON USCINCCENT FOR POLAD ROME PASS MFO E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PINS, ECON, EG, US

SUBJECT: WEEKEND CAIRO PRESS REVIEW, AUGUST 19-21, 1988

PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. GHALI DESCRIBED THE ISRAELI PRACTICES UNCLASSIFIED

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AS A FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND AN OBSTACLE TO THE PEACE PROCESS.

7. EGYPT/US. ALL PAPERS AUGUST 20 REPORT MFA FIRST UNDERSECRETARY OSAMA AL-BAZ RECEIVED SECRETARY SHULTZ AT CAIRO AIRPORT. IN A VERBAL MESSAGE DELIVERED BY SHULTZ TO MUBARAK, PRESIDENT REAGAN EMPHASIZED THE US COMMITMENT TO GIVING IMPETUS TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND BOOSTING EGYPT'S DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS.

ALL PAPERS AUGUST 19 REPORT AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED WITH AID TO PROVIDE CAIRO AIRPORT WITH SECURITY EQUIPMENT THROUGH A GRANT OF DOLLARS 5.2 MILLION. PAPERS NOTE THAT AMBASSADOR WISNER AND AID DIRECTOR BROWN DISCUSSED WITH TOURISM MINISTER FOUAD SULTAN THE POSSIBILITY OF PROVIDING EQUIPMENT FOR A HOSPITAL IN SHARM EL-SHEIKH FOR DIVERS. SEPARATELY, AKHBAR AUGUST 19 REPORTS THE PRESIDENT OF AL-AZHAR UNIVERSITY LEFT FOR THE US FOR TEN-DAY VISIT. AHRAM AUGUST 20 REPORTS USAID AGREED TO EARMARK DOLLARS 20 MILLION AS A GRANT TO DEVELOP AND MODERNIZE IRRIGATION IN 15,000 FEDDANS IN ASWAN. SEPARATELY, AHRAM REPORTS THAT THE US AND JAPAN WILL PROVIDE LE 44 MILLION TO RENEW WATER NETWORKS IN 11 GOVERNORATES. AKHBAR EL-YOM AUGUST 20 REPORTS THAT THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT USAID WILL EXTEND A GRANT OF DOLLARS 50 MILLION TO FINANCE ELECTRICITY NETWORKS IN ALEXANDRIA.

AKHBAR EL-YOM'S EDITOR IN CHIEF IBRAHIM SA'DA WRITES FROM PARIS AUGUST 20 ABOUT THE EUROPEAN CONCERN OVER THE US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. SA'DA NOTES THAT EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION SUPPORTS DUKAKIS OVER BUSH BECAUSE OF A SENSE THAT THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT PAID SUFFICIENT UNCLASSIFIED

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ATTENTION TO EUROPEAN CONCERNS. THE ARTICLE FURTHER NOTES THAT THROUGHOUT THE PAST WEEKS, THE US ELECTION CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN QUIET AND BORING AND DUKAKIS HAS TAKEN A SOLID LEAD. HOWEVER, WHEN BUSH ANNOUNCED HIS CHOICE OF DAN QUAYLE AS VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, INTEREST IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN GREW BECAUSE QUAYLE GIVES THE BUSH CAMPAIGN SOME OF THE SAME STRENGTHS AS DUKAKIS, I.E. YOUTH AND IMPULSIVENESS.

8. EGYPT/USSR. AKHBAR AUGUST 19 REPORTS FM ABDEL MEGUID CONFERRED WITH THE SOVIET CHARGE D'AFFAIRES IN CAIRO ON BILATERAL RELATIONS AND THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

GUMHOURIYYA'S EDITORIALIST HASSAN SHUKRY AUGUST 19 WRITES THAT THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE REGION COULD PAVE THE WAY FOR A GREATER ROLE BY THE SOVIETS. THE EDITORIALIST EXPRESSES THE BELIEF THAT THE ARAB COUNTRIES EXPECT THE USSR TO CHANGE ITS PRESENT ROLE AND BE A PRINCIPAL PARTNER IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI "EQUATION" IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE AND GUARANTEE JUSTICE AND PEACE.

- 9. EGYPT/BULGARIA. ALL PAPERS AUGUST 20 REPORT AN EGYPTIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION HEADED BY DEPUTY SPEAKER AHMAD MUSA WILL VISIT SOFIA SEPTEMBER 10 FOR ONE WEEK.
- 10. EGYPT/POLAND. AHRAM AUGUST 20 REPORTS EGYPT AND POLAND SIGNED A PROTOCOL FOR ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL, AND TRADE COOPERATION IN THE FIELDS OF INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, ELECTRICITY, HOUSING, CONSTRUCTION, RAILWAY, AND MARITIME TRANSPORT. THE PROTOCOL INCLUDES THE IMPLEMENTATION OF

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AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA

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UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 06 CAIRO 19840

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E.O. 12356: N/A

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INCREASING "UNCONVENTIONAL" EXPORTS TO POLAND. UNCLASSIFIED

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11. EC ASSISTANCE. ALL PAPERS AUGUST 20 REPORT THE EC AGREED TO EXTEND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE OF 3 MILLION EUROPEAN CURRENCY UNITS TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR COMPANIES WORKING IN THE FIELD OF INDUSTRY.

12. EGYPT/NORTH KOREA. AKHBAR EL-YOM AUGUST 20 REPORTS

AN ECONOMIC COOPERATION PROTOCOL WILL BE SIGNED NEXT WEEK IN CAIRO DURING THE MEETINGS OF THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE TO START AUGUST 25 FOR FIVE DAYS. NORTH KOREA WILL BE REPRESENTED BY THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE.

- 13. EGYPT/PAKISTAN. ALL PAPERS AUGUST 19 REPORT AN EGYPTIAN DELEGATION HEADED BY FOREIGN MINISTER ABDEL MEGUID LEFT FOR ISLAMABAD TO ATTEND THE STATE FUNERAL FOR PAKISTANI PRESIDENT ZIA.
- 14. EGYPT/SAUDI ARABIA. GUMHOURIYYA AUGUST 20 QUOTES A SAUDI OFFICIAL AS STATING THAT KING FAHD'S VISIT TO EGYPT IS DEFINITE AND THAT THE DATE WILL BE ANNOUNCED AFTER IT IS SET.
- 15. PETROLEUM PRICES. AL-AHRAM REPORTED THAT THE EGYPTIAN PETROLEUM AUTHORITY ANNOUNCED THAT THE EXPORT PRICE OF PETROLEUM INCREASED BY DOLLARS 1.40 PER BARREL STARTING TODAY AND FOR A PERIOD OF 15 DAYS.

DOMESTIC NEWS

16. CRITICISM OF THE OPPOSITION. AHRAM'S EDITOR IN CHIEF IBRAHIM NAFEI AUGUST 19 CRITICIZES THE OPPOSITION PARTIES FOR THEIR OBJECTION TO THE EXTENSION OF THE EMERGENCY LAW UNCLASSIFIED

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ON THE GROUNDS THAT THIS IS NOT COMPATIBLE WITH THE APPLICATION OF DEMOCRACY. NAFEI REFERS TO THE RECENT JAILBREAK OF JIHAD MEMBERS AND THEIR PLANS TO CARRY OUT TERRORIST OPERATIONS AND WRITES THAT EGYPT'S SECURITY AND STABILITY WOULD NOT BE MAINTAINED IF ORDINARY LAWS WERE APPLIED.

- 17. RELIGIOUS STATEMENTS. AKHBAR AUGUST 19 REPORTS THE MINISTER OF AWQAF AND THE MUFTI OF THE REPUBLIC ANNOUNCED THEIR READINESS FOR A PUBLIC DEBATE WITH LEADERS OF AL-JIHAD ORGANIZATION ABOUT RELIGIOUS MATTERS. THEY NOTED THAT AL-JIHAD HAD ASKED THEM TO RESIGN WITHOUT ANY DIALOGUE OR DISCUSSION. THE MUFTI ASSERTED THAT EGYPT HAS BEEN EXPOSED TO A FEROCIOUS CAMPAIGN AIMED AT DESTROYING THE YOUTH.
- 18. ECONOMIC POLICY. WEEKEND PAPERS REPORT PRIME MINISTER SEDKY WILL HOLD A MEETING WITH THE ECONOMIC GROUP

TO DISCUSS THE ECONOMIC SITUATION AND THE PROPOSAL TO RAISE THE INTEREST RATE ON SAVINGS BY 2-3 PER CENT. (AL-WAFD AUGUST 20 NOTES THAT THERE IS A DIVISION INSIDE THE GOVERNMENT OVER THIS PROPOSAL). SEPARATELY, PAPERS REPORT THAT REMITTANCES OF EGYPTIAN EXPATRIATES ARE EXPECTED TO REACH DOLLARS 7.15 BILLION THIS YEAR. IN A SEPARATE ITEM, THE GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO ALLOCATE 60 PER CENT OF BANK DEPOSITS FOR LOANS TO PRODUCTIVE PROJECTS BY THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS. IN ANOTHER SEPARATE ITEM, AKHBAR EL-YOM AUGUST 20 REPORTS THAT A NEW SYSTEM WILL BE APPLIED ALLOWING WORKERS AT PRIVATE SECTOR AND INVESTMENT COMPANIES TO OWN SHARES IN THE COMPANIES' CAPITAL. THE GOVERNMENT HAS EARMARKED LE 100 MILLION AS LOANS TO THE COMPANIES WISHING TO APPLY THIS SYSTEM

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REQUESTS TO OBTAIN LOANS.

19. AGRICULTURAL POLICY. PAPERS AUGUST 20 REPORT AGRICULTURE MINISTER WALLY ISSUED A DECREE ALLOWING FARMERS TO DELIVER CORN OPTIONALLY AND RAISING THE PRICE OF CORN DELIVERY TO LE 45 PER BUSHEL. AS FOR WHEAT, PRODUCTION THIS YEAR IS EXPECTED TO INCREASE TO 30.3 MILLION TONS, WHICH IS 700,000 TONS MORE THAN LAST YEAR. AN ADDITIONAL 100,000 FEDDANS WILL BE PLANTED WITH WHEAT NEXT YEAR IN ORDER TO STEP UP PRODUCTIVITY TO 30.5 MILLION TONS.

20. MUBARAK/NDP YOUTH. IN HIS MEETING WITH THE NDP YOUTH, MUBARAK ANNOUNCED THAT 35,000 FEDDANS WILL BE DISTRIBUTED TO THE YOUTH IN OCTOBER FOR CULTIVATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF SMALL PROJECTS. MUBARAK AFFIRMED THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS CONSIDERING "UNCONVENTIONAL" SOLUTIONS TO THE ISSUES OF PRICE INCREASES AND HOUSING. MUBARAK SPOKE ABOUT THE DIFFICULTY THE GOVERNMENT IS FACING IN APPOINTING GRADUATES AND CALLED UPON THE YOUTH NOT TO WAIT FOR A GOVERNMENT JOB BECAUSE IT PAYS VERY LITTLE. MUBARAK EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT THE OPPOSITION PARTIES' CALL FOR FORMING A COALITION GOVERNMENT, ADDING THAT "THEY FORGET

ABOUT THE DEMOCRACY THE COUNTRY IS ENJOYING." ALL PAPERS AUGUST 21 HIGHLIGHT THAT MUBARAK WILL DISTRIBUTE 90,000 LAND TITLE DEEDS IN SEPTEMBER TO FARMERS.

21. OBJECTION TO FORMATION OF A NEW PARTY. ALL PAPERS AUGUST 21 REPORT THE POLITICAL PARTIES COMMITTEE ISSUED A DECREE OBJECTING TO THE FORMATION OF A NEW PARTY CALLED "YOUNG EGYPT."

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- 22. ISLAMIC INVESTMENT COMPANIES EXECUTIVE REGULATION. AL AKHBAR REPORTED THAT PRIME MINISTER ATEF SEDKY WILL HOLD A MEETING TOMORROW WITH MINISTER OF ECONOMY YOUSSRI MOUSTAFA TO DISCUSS THE FINAL DRAFT OF THE LAW.
- 23. TV NEWS. NEWS ITEMS ON TV AUGUST 20 WERE AS FOLLOWS: ABDEL MEGUID HEADS DELEGATION TO ATTEND PAKISTANI PRESIDENT'S FUNERAL; IRAN-IRAQ CEASE-FIRE IN EFFECT; DEMONSTRATIONS IN GHAZA; PNC MEETING IN TUNIS; KING HUSSEIN'S VISIT TO ABU DHABI; CHOLERA CASES IN SUDAN; US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.
- 24. DOLLAR EXCHANGE RATE FOR AUGUST 21: USD 1 EQUALS PT 230.0 (BUYING) AND PT 230.6 (SELLING).

OPPOSITION NEWS

- 25. MILITARY FACILITIES TO THE US. AL-WAFD AUGUST 19
 REPORTS THAT THE US IS CURRENTLY CONTACTING EGYPT AND SOME
 GULF COUNTRIES TO REACH BILATERAL AGREEMENTS GRANTING THE
 US MILITARY FACILITIES AS A MEANS OF GIVING THE US
 ADMINISTRATION THE ABILITY TO CONFRONT ANY CONGRESSIONAL
 OBJECTION TO INCREASING MILITARY AID AND PROVIDING ARAB
 COUNTRIES WITH CERTAIN KINDS OF ARMS. EGYPTIAN-GULF
 CONTACTS ARE BEING HELD TO ASSESS THE US REQUEST AND ADOPT
 A UNIFIED STAND TOWARDS IT.
- 26. INSTRUCTIONS BY MUBARAK. AL-WAFD AUGUST 20 REPORTS MUBARAK HAS RECENTLY GIVEN STRICT INSTRUCTIONS TO PRIME

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 EUR-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 IO-19 NSAE-00 AMAD-01 PM-10 PA-02 INRE-00 SP-02 PRS-01 /051 W

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PINS, ECON, EG, US

SUBJECT: WEEKEND CAIRO PRESS REVIEW, AUGUST 19-21, 1988

MINISTER SEDKY TO FREEZE THE GOVERNMENT PLAN FOR RAISING UNCLASSIFIED

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PRICES OF COMMODITIES AND SERVICES AND ABOLISHING SUBSIDIES DUE TO THE CURRENT SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND SECURITY CIRCUMSTANCES. MUBARAK UNDERLINED THE NECESSITY OF REJECTING THE IMF DEMANDS FOR INCREASING THE PRICES OF BREAD, WATER, ELECTRICITY, AND TRANSPORT.

- 27. EGYPT/ISRAEL. SAWT AL-ARAB AUGUST 21 REPORTS THE MFA SUMMONED THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR IN CAIRO AND INFORMED HIM THAT AN ISRAELI DIPLOMAT AND HIS WIFE WERE ACCUSED OF SHOP-LIFTING AUGUST 16 AT A SUPERMARKET IN GIZA. THE ISRAELI SUPPOSEDLY INSULTED THE POLICE AFTER THEY ARRESTED HIM.
- 28. EGYPT/US. SAWT AL-ARAB NOTES THAT A US EMBASSY REPORT INDICATED THAT EGYPT IS SUFFERING A TRADE DEFICIT WITH THE US AMOUNTING TO 1.7 BILLION DOLLARS.
- 29. ISLAMIC GROUP WARNING. AL-WAFD AUGUST 21 REPORTS THE ISLAMIC GAMAAT IN THE AREA OF AIN SHAMS, WHERE THE RECENT POLICE-ISLAMIC GAMAAT DISTURBANCES TOOK PLACE, ADDRESSED A WARNING TO THE INTERIOR MINISTER AGAINST HIS USING REPRESSION AND THREATENED TO ESCALATE TENSIONS NATIONWIDE. COVEY

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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FILM= D880731-0651

DATE= 19 AUG 88

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FROM= JERUSALEM

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

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CHANNEL= n/a

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EO= OA

SUBJECT= GOI CRACKDOWN ON "POPULAR COMMITTEES"

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR = TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PALESTINIANS, COMMITTEE, OCCUPIED AREA, DEPORTATION, ALLEGATION, ORGANIZATION, INFLUENCE, FOREIGN RELATIONS

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, IS, JO, PLO

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SECTION 01 OF 02 JERUSALEM 02799

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: GOI CRACKDOWN ON "POPULAR COMMITTEES"

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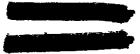
2. SUMMARY: THE GOI'S OUTLAWING OF "POPULAR COMMITTEES" IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, WHICH COINCIDED WITH DEPORTIONS OF ALLEGED COMMITTEE MEMBERS, PROVIDES THE IDF WIDE AUTHORITY TO ARREST AND PROSECUTE MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF INDIGENOUS PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATIONS. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT IT WILL LEAD TO PRESSURES ON WEST BANKERS AND ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN PEACEFUL ACTIVITIES. THE NEW MOVES REFLECT HEIGHTENED GOI CONCERN, IN THE WAKE OF JORDAN'S DISENGAGEMENT, THAT THE INTIFADA IS ESTABLISHING AN ALTERNATE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE THAT THREATENS ISRAELI CONTROL AND

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PROMOTES PLO INFLUENCE. WE BELIEVE THIS CONCERN IS EXAGGERATED. SUPPORT FOR THE PLO IS ALREADY PERVASIVE, BUT THIS DOES NOT THREATEN ISRAEL'S PHYSICAL CONTROL. WE DOUBT THE NEW MOVES WILL SUPPRESS THE INTIFADA.



- 3. THE GOI'S CRACKDOWN ON "POPULAR COMMITTEES" IN THE TERRITORIES, WITH THE ISSUING OF DEPORTATION ORDERS AGAINST AS MANY AS 40 PALESTINIANS IN THE PAST TWO DAYS AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF STRICT MEASURES AGAINST MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE COMMITTEES, RAISES FEARS HERE OF LARGE SCALE ARRESTS AND FURTHER DEPORTATIONS. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NOT SEEN THE NEW ORDER, PRESS ACCOUNTS INDICATE THE DEFENSE MINISTRY'S BAN GOES BEYOND MEMBERSHIP IN A POPULAR COMMITTEE TO ENCOMPASS ANYONE PROVIDING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE OR SERVICE TO A COMMITTEE. ATTENDING A COMMITTEE MEETING, OR POSSESSING COMMITTEE LITERATURE. IN THE CONTEXT OF TODAY'S BROAD-BASED SUPPORT FOR THE INTIFADA AND THE ALMOST UNIVERSAL ADHERENCE TO THE UNIFIED NATIONAL COMMAND/PLO'S CALLS FOR STRIKE DAYS AND OTHER ACTIONS, THIS ORDER COULD POTENTIALLY BE APPLIED IN A SWEEPING MANNER.
- 4. THE NEW ORDERS ALSO APPARENTLY BROADEN THE SCOPE OF WHAT MAY BE CONSIDERED A "POPULAR COMMITTEE" AND FURTHER SHIFT THE FOCUS TOWARD SUPPRESSION OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES THAT THE GOI INTERPRETS AS HOSTILE TO ISRAEL'S OCCUPATION. ISRAEL'S FEAR THAT THE PLO WILL FILL THE "VACUUM" CREATED BY WITHDRAWAL OF



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JORDANIAN SUPPORT FOR SOME PALESTINIAN INSTITUTIONS SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN THE CATALYST FOR THIS MOVE. A BROAD ARRAY OF INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATIONS, NOT JUST THOSE FORMERLY SUPPORTED BY JORDAN, ARE NOW VULNERABLE TO PRESSURE AND/OR SUPPRESSION AND PUNISHMENT BY THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES.

5. DEFENSE MINISTER RABIN UNDERLINED THE NEW POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FOCUS OF THE GOI'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE COMMITTEES WHEN HE SAID THE COMMITTEES WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE "INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE UPRISING." FROM THIS PERSPECTIVE, IT HAS BECOME APPARENT THAT THE GOI CONSIDERS THE POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDIGENOUS, ANTI-OCCUPATION PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP AND ALTERNATIVE PALESTINIAN INSTITUTIONS A SUBVERSIVE THREAT NO LESS SERIOUS

THAN VIOLENCE.

6. COMMENT. WE BELIEVE THE GOI EXAGGERATES THE PERVASIVENESS OF POPULAR COMMITTEES AND THEIR ROLE IN SUSTAINING THE INTIFADA. WHILE SOME SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS HAVE SPRUNG UP WHICH IDENTIFY THEMSELVES AS INSTRUMENTS OF THE INTIFADA, THE PALESTINIANS ARE NOT ON THE VERGE OF ESTABLISHING THE KIND OF ALTERNATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE THE GOI FEARS AS THE VEHICLE FOR PLO CONTROL OF THE TERRITORIES. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE NEW ORDER WILL BE USED AS A MEANS OF INTIMIDATION AND PUNISHMENT OF



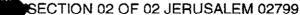


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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: GOI CRACKDOWN ON "POPULAR COMMITTEES"

INDIVIDUALS WHO OPPOSE THE OCCUPATION BUT WHO ARE NOT INVOLVED IN ACTIVITIES THAT THREATEN SECURITY OR PUBLIC ORDER. WE DOUBT THAT THIS FURTHER EFFORT TO CONTROL POLITICAL EXPRESSION AND ACTIVITY WILL SUCCEED IN DAMPENING THE INTIFADA. AS LONG AS THE INTIFADA COMMANDS SUCH WIDESPREAD COMMUNITY SUPPORT, REPRESSIVE MEASURES AIMED AT SPECIFIC INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS WILL BE UNABLE TO QUELL IT. END COMMENT.

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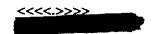


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SUBJECT= PALESTINIAN PEACE OFFENSIVE IN UNCHARTED WATERS
REFERENCE= 88 JERUSALEM 2314
CONTROL_NBR= n/a
ENCLOSURE= n/a .
LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

CONCEPTS= PALESTINIANS, PEACE, LIBERATION FRONT, EXILE, INDEPENDENCE, RECOGNITION, BOUNDARY, TERRITORIAL WATERS

TAGS= KPAL, PBTS, PREL, IS, US, JO, PLO

ERRORS= N/A



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INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: KPAL, IS, US, JO, PLO, PREL

SUBJECT: PALESTINIAN PEACE OFFENSIVE IN

UNCHARTED WATERS

REF: A) JERUSALEM 2314, B) FBIS TÁ 0708115288, C) DAMASCUS 4554, D) JERUSALEM 2662

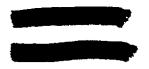
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2. SUMMARY THE PALESTINIAN PEACE OFFENSIVE, LAUNCHED WITH BASAM ABU SHARIF'S OFFER OF PEACE THROUGH MUTUAL RECOGNITION, IS HEADING INTO TROUBLED WATERS. A CONTROVERSIAL NEW MOVE IS THE SURFACING OF THE CONCEPT OF A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND GOVERNMENT IN EXILE. THE IDEA WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE SEPTEMBER PNC, AND HAS BEEN ENDORSED EVEN BY PLO HARD-LINER ABU IYAD. IT EMBODIES THE TWO STATE MUTUAL RECOGNITION

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APPROACH, AND WOULD PUT ASIDE THE PALESTINIAN COVENANT. IT IS DESIGNED TO CHALLENGE ISRAEL AND THE WORLD TO SUPPORT NEGOTIATIONS TO DEFINE BORDERS AND RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND AN ALREADY DECLARED PALESTINIAN STATE. THE IDEA

THAT PALESTINIANS SHOULD DECLARE SELF DETERMINATION UNILATERALLY IS AUDACIOUS, BUT PROBLEMATICAL, TO SAY THE LEAST. AS NOW DEFINED, IT IS PROBABLY FATALLY FLAWED BY TAKING RESOLUTION 181 AND THE 1947 UN PARTITION LINE. RATHER THAN 242 AND THE 1949 BOUNDARIES. AS THE BASELINE FOR NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS ALREADY BEING DENOUNCED IN ISRAEL. IF ADOPTED IN THIS FORM, IT WOULD STRENGTHEN THE ISRAELI RIGHT AND WEAKEN ISRAELI DOVES, AND IT WOULD NOT COMMAND WIDE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. UNLESS THE PLO CAN OVERCOME ITS INTERNAL DIVISIONS AND RESHAPE THIS INITIATIVE AS A COMPELLING CHALLENGE TO ISRAEL. FOR EXAMPLE BY SQUARELY ACCEPTING ISRAEL, 242. 338, AND ENDING VIOLENCE AND THE INTIFADA, SUCH A SYMBOLIC DECLARATION OF PALESTINIAN INDEPENDENCE AND A DISEMBODIED GOVERNMENT IN EXILE COULD BE AN OBSTACLE, NOT STIMULUS TO THE PEACE PROCESS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NEW POLITICAL FERMENT IN THE PLO, SPURRED BY THE INTIFADA AND HUSSEIN'S DISENGAGEMENT, AND THE INCREASED WILLINGNESS TO RECOGNIZE AND NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL, IS A GOOD THING. THE SITUATION IS STILL FLUID, AND WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE POSITIVE TRENDS IN PALESTINIAN THINKING, WHICH ARE MOVING TOWARD RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL, WHILE INSISTING ON GREATER REALISM. END SUMMARY.



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THE PEACEFUL SIDE OF THE INTIFADA

3. WEST BANK AND GAZANS HAVE BEEN GROPING FOR A WAY TO TRANSLATE THE UNITY AND CONFIDENCE CREATED BY THE INTIFADA INTO AN EFFECTIVE POLITICAL PROGRAM. THE DOMINANT PRO-FATAH LEADERSHIP HERE EAGERLY GRASPED THE ABU SHARIF INITIATIVE AS A LONG OVERDUE ACKNOWLEDGMENT THAT BOTH ISRAEL AND PALESTINIANS NEED SECURITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY. BUT BECAUSE THE HARD-LINE PFLP AND DFLP COULD NOT ENDORSE ABU SHARIF'S STATEMENT, IT WAS NOT EMBRACED IN INTIFADA LEAFLETS, AND AN EFFORT FOR A GROUP PUBLIC ENDORSEMENT BY LOCAL LEADERS FELL THROUGH (REF A). NEVERTHELESS, THE PRO-FATAH PEACE CAMP HERE CONTINUES TO PROMOTE MUTUAL RECOGNITION AND NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN TWO STATES. FEISAL



4. THE NEXT PHASE IN THE PALESTINIAN PEACE STRATEGY, THE IDEA OF A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND GOVERNMENT IN EXILE, HAD BEEN DISCUSSED FOR MANY YEARS AND WAS GIVEN NEW LIFE BY THE INTIFADA. AS EARLY AS JANUARY, PALESTINIANS HERE BEGAN TO DISCUSS THIS AS THE

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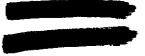
SECTION 02 OF 05 JERUSALEM 02779

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: KPAL, IS, US, JO, PLO, PREL

SUBJECT: PALESTINIAN PEACE OFFENSIVE IN

CULMINATION OF THE INTIFADA'S STRUGGLE FOR "UNILATERAL AUTONOMY" THROUGH CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND CREATION OF AN ALTERNATE ADMINISTRATION OF "POPULAR COMMITTEES." THE IDEA GOT A FURTHER BOOST FROM AMERICAN PEACE ACTIVIST, JEROME SEGAL. BIR ZEIT PROFESSOR SARI NUSSEIBEH, WHO SUPPORTS THE IDEA IN PRINCIPLE AND IS RUMORED TO HAVE WRITTEN THE DRAFT DECLARATION SEIZED FROM FEISAL HUSSEINI'S OFFICE, TOLD US THAT EXPOSURE OF THE PLAN WAS UNFORTUNATE SINCETHE TIME IS NOT RIPE. NEVERTHELESS, THE LEAK HAS PERSUADED PALESTINIANS HERE TO TREAT THE DECLARATION AS A CONCRETE INITIATIVE. THE PLO, APPARENTLY BELIEVING HE COULD NOT RESIST THIS INITIATIVE FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, HAS ALSO ACCEPTED JT, IN PRINCIPLE. ARAFAT ANNOUNCED THAT THE PLO



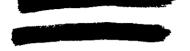
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IS WEIGHING THE DECLARATION/EXILE STATE CONCEPT AND WILL SUBMIT IT TO THE PNC NEXT MONTH, AND THERE ARE REPORTS THAT HE WILL FIRST ANNOUNCE IT AT AN EC MEETING IN STRASBOURG. SUPPORT FROM PFLP LEADER GEORGE HABASH, WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY OPPOSED A GOVERNMENT IN EXILE BECAUSE IT OPTS FOR A POLITICAL PROCESS INSTEAD OF ARMED STRUGGLE, GAVE FURTHER IMPETUS TO THE CONCEPT. A STATEMENT BY THE PLO'S UN REPRESENTATIVE TERZI THAT THE NEW PLO GOVERNMENT WOULD SEEK ENTRY TO THE UN HAS ADDED TO THE EXCITEMENT AND CONFUSION.

ABU IYAD HINTS AT DROPPING PLO COVENANT

5. DEBATE ABOUT Á PALESTINIAN PEACE STRATEGY HAS BEEN FURTHER ENLIVENED BY ABU IYAD'S CALL FOR MUTUAL ISRAEL-PLO RECOGNITION AND A PALESTINIAN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT BASED UPON A POLITICAL PROGRAM "WHOLLY DIFFERENT FROM THE PLO'S NATIONAL COVENANT." SPEAKING IN TUNIS TO THE FRENCH JOURNAL DIMANCHE AUGUST 15, ABU IYAD REPORTEDLY SAID "I AM READY TO START THE DIALOGUE WITH ISRAEL...IT'S BIZARRE, FOR 25 YEARS, THE ARABS HAVE REFUSED TO TALK ABOUT PEACE WITH ISRAEL, AND NOW IT IS ISRAEL WHICH

SAYS 'NO'." HE CONTINUED "MY SOLUTION FOR PEACE IS A PALESTINIAN STATE, A DISCUSSION TO ESTABLISH THE BORDERS OF THAT STATE, AND THE MUTUAL RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL AND PALESTINE." ABU IYAD'S COMMENTS ARE EXTROARDINARY, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF HIS PREVIOUS HARD LINE VIEWS AND HIS BECENT CRITICISM OF THE ABU SHARIF



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STATEMENT.

- 6. THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE DRFT DECLARATION SEIZED FROM FEISAL HUSSEINI'S ARAB STUDIES CENTER (SEE REF B FOR FULL TEXT) ARE:
- -- ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE WITHIN THE 1947 PARTITION BOUNDARIES SET BY UNSC RESOLUTION 181;
- -- AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT LED BY ARAFAT, WITH KHADDOUMI AS FOREIGN MINISTER AND INCLUDING THE PFLP'S HABASH AND THE DFLP'S HAWATMEH; A PARLIAMENT WOULD BE FORMED, 50 PERCENT OF WHOSE MEMBERS WOULD BE FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES;
- -- AN INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE BODY TO GOVERN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES BASED ON AUTONOMOUS PALESTINIAN STRUCTURES CREATED DURING THE INTIFADA;
- -- AN AGGRESSIVE DIPLOMATIC EFFORT TO OBTAIN INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF THE NEW STATE:
- -- APPOINTMENT OF A DELEGATION FROM THE INSIDE AND THE DIASPORA TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE "THE FINAL BORDERS BETWEEN THE PALESTINIAN STATE AND ISRAEL," AND, INTER ALIA, OTHER ISSUES CONCERNING ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS, WATER, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE WEST



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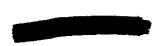
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: KPAL, IS, US, JO, PLO, PREL

SUBJECT: PALESTINIAN PEACE OFFENSIVE IN

BANK AND GAZA AND THE RIGHT OF REFUGEES TO RETURN OR TO RECEIVE COMPENSATION.

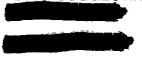
7. PRO FATAH WEST BANKERS SUPPORT THIS APPROACH, IN PRINCIPLE, AS A UNILATERAL ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION TO ESTABLISH A STATE, WHICH RECOGNIZES ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE AND CALLS FOR A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO ALL OTHER ISSUES, INCLUDING BOUNDARIES. THEY BELIEVE JORDAN'S DISENGAGEMENT MEANS THAT A PALESTINIAN STATE IS NOW THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO CONTINUED ISRAELI OCCUPATION. THEY HOPE A UNILATERAL DECLARATION



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WOULD BREAK THE CURRENT IMPASSE, GALVANIZE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT, AND EVENTUALLY CONVINCE ISRAEL TO ACCEPT NEGOTIATIONS PREMISED ON THE TWO-STATE APPROACH. THEY VIEW THIS INITIATIVE, AS EXPRESSED IN THE DRAFT DOCUMENT, AS A WAY OF "MOVING FROM THE PHASE OF CLASHES ON THE BATTLEFRONT TO THE STAGE OF POLITICAL INITIATIVE" AND TO PROVE THAT PALESTINIANS "DO NOT DESIRE THE ANNIHILATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. RAJHER THAY WISH TO LIVE PEACEFULLY AS ITS NEIGHBOR."

8. WEST BANKERS ALSO SEE THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE/EXILE GOVERNMENT AS A WAY OF PRESSING THE PLO TO HEAL ITS DIVISIONS AND ACT DECISIVELY. AL-FAJR EDITOR HANNA SINIORA TOLD US THE INITIATIVE PROVES THAT THE INTIFADA HAS STRENGTHENED THE INFLUENCE OF PALESTINIANS IN THE TERRITORIES AND THAT THE DECLARATION WILL FORCE THE PLO TO REACT POSITIVELY. SARI NUSSEIBEH AGREES THAT THE INITIATIVE WOULD PUT PRESSURE ON THE PLO TO PERFORM. HE TOLD AL-FAJR. ON AUGUST 14 THAT HE "DISTRUSTED THE THESIS THAT PEOPLE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HAVE IN GENERAL PLAYED THE ROLE OF OBEDIENT SOLDIERS TO THE PLO LEADERSHIP." ACADEMICIAN MAHDI ABDEL-HADI HAS DESCRIBED TO US THE CHALLENGE TO THE PLO EVEN MORE SHARPLY. WHEN WE ASKED HIM IF PEOPLE ON THE INSIDE THOUGHT ARAFAT AND HIS COLLEAGUES WOULD PERFORM EFFECTIVELY AS LEADERS OF A NEW GOVERNMENT IN EXILE. HE SAID THE "CREAM WILL RISE TO THE TOP AND WILL THEN BE SKIMMED OFF." SUGGESTING THAT IF THE PLO LEADERSHIP



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FAILS THIS TEST. IT WOULD BE REPLACED.

9. NOTWITHSTANDING THEIR SUPPORT, IN PRINCIPLE, FOR THE CONCEPT, NUSSEIBEH AND SOME OTHERS HERE ARE WORRIED THAT THE WHOLE CONCEPT IS PREMATURE. NUSSEIBEH ACKNOWLEDGED TO US THAT WHATEVER THE THEORY, PALESTINIANS IN THE TERRITORIES WOULD PLAY NO ROLE IN SUCH A

GOVERNMENT, SINCE THE INTIFADA HAS NOT YET PRODUCED THE ALTERNATE ADMINISTRATION IT ASPIRES TO. IN HIS AL-FAJR INTERVIEW AUGUST 14, HE SAID, "WE DO NOT WANT A GOVERNMENT FLOATING IN A SPACESHIP... WE WANT TO CONNECT OURSELVES INSTITUTIONALLY TO OUR LEADERSHIP." IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THIS KIND OF REALISM WILL PERSUADE PALESTINIANS HERE TO URGE THE PNC NOT TO GO ALL THE WAY IN DECLARING A PALESTINIAN GOVERNMENT, WHETHER IT IS CALLED A "GOVERNMENT IN EXILE," OR A "PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT," AS SOME ADVOCATE. THEY MUST ALSO REALIZE THAT IF SUCH A GOVERNMENT WERE ESTABLISHED, LOCAL PALESTINIANS WHO ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH IT WOULD FACE A HEIGHTENED THREAT OF DEPORTATION OR DETENTION.

10. CONSERVATIVE WEST BANK POLITICIANS ARE DEEPLY SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE ENTIRE CONCEPT OF UNILATERAL ACTION, GIVEN PALESTINIAN DIVISIONS AND THE CONTINUED CONTROL OF THE ISRAELIS ON THE GROUND IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. BETHLEHEM MAYOR ELIAS FREIJ BELIEVES THE CONCEPT IS MERE POSTURING. HE TOLD US HE IS SENDING ARAFAT A MESSAGE URGING HIM TO "APPEAR BEFORE THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, ACCEPT ALL THE AMERICAN CONDITIONS, AND PROPOSE A NEW UNSC PEACE

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 MSC-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /055 W

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FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3240
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

SECTION 04 OF 05 JERUSALEM 02779

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: KPAL, IS, US, JO, PLO, PREL

SUBJECT: PALESTINIAN PEACE OFFENSIVE IN

RESOLUTION THAT VERNON WALTERS WILL NOT VETO."

A RADICAL LEAP

[[]]]]]]]]]]

11. THE U.S. AND MOST WESTERN GOVERNMENTS HAVE ALWAYS APPROACHED THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE AS A MATTER WHOSE OUTCOME CANNOT BE ORDAINED UNILATERALLY IN ADVANCE BY PALESTINIANS OR ISRAEL, BUT DECIDED BY ALL THE PARTIES THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. TO ENDORSE A PALESTINIAN STATE, EVEN IF THE CONCEPT WERE ACCEPTABLE TO THE U.S., AND EVEN IF THE PROPOSAL WAS PRESENTED IN A BENIGN AND CONSTRUCTIVE WAY, WHICH THE CURRENT CONCEPT IS NOT, BEFORE THE PALESTINIANS REACH AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL, WOULD BE A RADICAL LEAP FOR THE U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN GOVERNMENTS. IT



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WOULD PROBABLY ALSO VIOLATE OUR CAMP DAVID TREATY UNDERTAKINGS.

12. A UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND GOVERNMENT.IN EXILE WOULD BE REJECTED BY MOST ISRAELIS, GIVEN THEIR DEEP FEAR OF A PALESTINIAN STATE, NOT TO MENTION OPPOSITION ON THE RIGHT TO ANY TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE. WORSE YET, USING OF THE 1947 PARTITION BOUNDARIES BY THE PALESTINIANS AS A BASELINE FOR NEGOTIATIONS, THEREBY DISMISSING RESOLUTION 242 AS THE POINT OF DEPARTURE, WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR EVEN THE MOST DOVISH ISRAELIS TO TAKE SUCH AN INITIATIVE SERIOUSLY. BRIG. GEN. (RET) BAR-ON, A LEADING PEACE NOW ACTIVIST, HAS TOLD US THAT MANY ISRAELI DOVES ARE DESOLATE THAT THE DRAFT

DECLARATION CALLS FOR THE 1947 BASELINE, EVEN THOUGH IT ALSO CALLS FOR NEGOTIATING THE ULTIMATE BOUNDARIES.

13. OUR PALESTINIAN CONTACTS ARGUE THAT THE OPENING ISRAELI NEGOTIATING POSITION OFFER WILL BE NO LAND OR ONLY PART OF THE TERRITORIES, A LA THE ALLON PLAN. THUS, THEY SAY PALESTINIANS MUST START WITH THE '47 BOUNDARIES FOR NEGOTIATING PURPOSES, KNOWING WELL THAT THE ULTIMATE LINE WILL BE DRAWN FAR TO THE EAST. THEY ALSO ARGUE THAT 181, NOT 242, MUST BE THEIR POINT OF DEPARTURE SINCE IT ADOPTS A TWO-STATE SOLUTION AND 242 TREATS PALESTINIANS ONLY AS REFUGEES. THESE ARGUMENTSNGNORE THE POWERFUL EMOTIONAL OPPOSITION THIS EVOKES IN ISRAEL, AND THE BEDROCK U.S. AND WESTERN COMMITMENT TO

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RESOLUTION 242.

14. THE USE OF THE 1947 BASELINE IN THE CURRENT CONCEPT IS BASED, NOT JUST ON BARGAINING CONSIDERATIONS, BUT ON THE NEED TO DRAW IN THE PLO HARDLINER, INCLUDING ABU IYAD, HABASH AND HAWATMEH. IN ANY CASE, RESURRECTING THE 1947 PARTITION PLAN, WHICH THE ARABS ORIGINALLY REJECTED, AND STAKING A CLAIM TO THE GALILEE AND JAFFA, PROBABLY FATALLY CRIPPLES AN INITIATIVE WHICH IS ALREADY HIGHLY PROBLEMATIC. EVEN JEROME SEGAL, WHO WILL VISIT ISRAEL NEXT WEEK, HAS TOLD THE PRESS THAT USING THE 1947 PARTITION AS A BASELINE WAS A TACTICAL ERROR THAT WOULD UNDERMINE THE PALESTINIAN POSITION.

PROGNOSIS: DOUBTFUL

15. IN ITS CURRENT STATE, THE PALESTINIAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE/GOVERNMENT IN EXILE INITIATIVE WOULD SERIOUSLY MUDDY THE WATERS. IT WOULD BE A STEP BACK IN THE PEACE PROCESS, SINCE IT CONFRONTS THE APPROACH LONG PURSUED BY THE U.S., ISRAELI MODERATES AND THE EUROPEANS OF NEGOTIATIONS BASED ON 242 LEADING, VIA TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS, TO A FINAL STATUS TO BE DETERMINED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. IN ITS CURRENT FORM, IT WOULD ALSO FURTHER HARDEN ISRAELI

OPINION AND, PERHAPS, INCREASE SUPPORT FOR SCHEMES SUCH AS SHARON'S CALL FOR ANNEXING THE ALLON PLAN AREAS. FOR THESE REASONS, SOME ANALYSTS, SUCH AS HEBREW UNIVERSITY'S MATTI STEINBERG, THINK THAT IF THE PNC ACTS ON THIS



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BECTION 05 OF 05 JERUSALEM 02779

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: KPAL, IS, US, JO, PLO, PREL

SUBJECT: PALESTINIAN PEACE OFFENSIVE IN

INITIATIVE AT ALL, IT WILL DROP REFERENCES TO THE 1947 BOUNDARIES.

16. IF THE PALESTINIANS RESHAPED THIS PROPOSAL IN A WAY THAT CLEARLY ABOLISHES THE PALESTINIAN CONVENANT, ACCEPTS ISRAEL AND 242 AS THE BASELINE, FORESWEARS VIOLENCE, PROMISES TO END



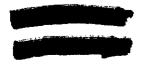
THE INTIFADA, AND MAKES CLEAR THAT EVERYTHING IS NEGOTIABLE, THE INITIATIVE MIGHT PUT A NEW FACE ON THE PEACE PROCESS BY CLEARLY BREAKING THE MOLD OF PLO REJECTION AND PROVIDING A CATHARSIS FOR ISRAELIS. IT WILL BE VERY HARD FOR THE PLO TO DO THIS, BASED ON PAST EXPERIENCE. INDEED, EVEN PLO SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL, WHICH IS EMBODIED IN THE CURRENT INITIATIVE, IS HARDLY

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ASSURED. (GEORGE HABASH, ALTHOUGH HE SUPPORTS A GOVERNMENT IN EXILE, HAS REPORTEDLY CRITICIZED ABU IYAD'S OFFER TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL AND TO DROP THE PALESTINIAN COVENANT AS GIVING CONCESSIONS TO ISRAEL "FOR FREE.")

17. EVEN THOUGH THE DECLARATION/EXILE STATE CONCEPT, IN ITS CURRENT FORM, IS GRAVELY FLAWED AND THE ENTIRE PROCESS IS PROBLEMATIC, THE DEBATE OVER IT REPRESENTS A GREATER WILLINGNESS IN PLO THINKING TO ACKNOWLEDGE ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE AND THE NEED TO NEGOTIATE WITH IT. IN THIS RESPECT, IT IS ENCOURAGING THAT THE PLO, UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE MORE PRAGMATIC PALESTINIANS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, IS THINKING MORE CREATIVELY ABOUT A POLITICAL AGENDA DESIGNED TO CHALLENGE ISRAEL AND MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD, AND TO QUESTION THE ORTHODOXY OF THE PAST, AS YOEL MARCUS OF HA'ARETZ SAID IN HIS AUGUST 9 COLUMN, "THIS CHICKEN IS NOT YET HATCHED; IT LIES IN INCUBATION IN SOME DRAWER, AND SERVES AS AN INDICATION THAT THE GAME INVOLVES NUMEROUS PLAYERS EACH OF WHOM HAS PUT ALL HIS EGGS IN ONE BASKET" ... "YET THE ENTIRE 'BASKET' POINTS TO THE AGONIZED BIRTH PANGS OF A PROCESS THAT WILL EVENTUALLY LEAD UP TO SOME SORT OF AGREEMENT AND COMPROMISE WITH ISRAEL, ONLY A BLIND MAN COULD FAIL TO SEE THAT THINGS ARE ON THE MOVE."

WHAT SHOULD THE U.S. DO?



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18. GIVEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE SEPTEMBER PNC COULD BE A WATERSHED IN PLO POLICY, WE SHOULD LOOK FOR WAYS TO INFLUENCE IT. AS THE MEETING APPROACHES, WE CAN DO SO BY ACKNOWLEDGING AND ENCOURAGING POSITIVE TRENDS IN PALESTINIAN THINKING AND INSISTING ON REALISM. WILCOX



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CONCEPTS= UNIVERSITY, OCCUPIED AREA, CONFERENCE, VIOLENCE, DEMONSTRATION TAGS= KPAL, PBTS, PREL, SCUL, IS, HEBREW UNIV



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RUSALEM 02778

E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: HEBREW UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE ON THE

INTIFADA

- 1. SUMMARY. A CONFERENCE ON THE UPRISING IN THE TERRITORIES SPONSORED BY HEBREW UNIVERSITY'S TRUMAN INSTITUTE AND THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH AUGUST 17 FEATURED AN ADDRESS BY DEFMIN RABIN WHO SAID THE INTIFADA WAS ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO DESTROY ISRAEL AND PROMISED TO CRACK DOWN ON PALESTINIAN POPULAR COMMITTEES. THERE WERE ALSO PANELISTS FROM ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM. EXCEPT FOR BETHLEHEM MAYOR FREIJ, NO PALESTINIANS WERE EVIDENT IN THE AUDIENCE. END SUMMARY.
- 2. RABIN ASSERTED THAT THE INTIFADA REPRESENTS THE THIRD MEANS, AFTER WAR AND TERRORISM, BY WHICH THE ARABS HAVE SOUGHT ISRAEL'S DESTRUCTION. HE ADDED THAT, ALTHOUGH THE

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SOLUTION TO THE INTIFADA MUST BE POLITICAL, PENDING A POLITICAL SOLUTION THE IDF WOULD MEET VIOLENCE WITH FORCE, WITHIN LEGAL LIMITS. FINALLY, HE PROMISED A CAMPAIGN TO IDENTIFY AND NEUTRALIZE THE LEADERS OF THE PALESTINIAN

POPULAR COMMITTEES ACTIVE IN MOST WEST BANK TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

- 3. THE PRECEDING PANEL DISCUSSION FEATURED PANELISTS FROM ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM. FROM ISRAELI-ARAB SCHOLAR SHUKRI ABED TO LIKUD MP DAN MERIDOR. OF INTEREST WERE REMARKS BY YONAH ALEXANDER, OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, WHO CALLED THE INTIFADA A FORM OF LOW LEVEL TERRORISM. YEHUDA BLUM, OF HEBREW UNIVERSITY, CLAIMED THAT UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW ISRAEL HAS A MORE VALID CLAIM THAN EITHER JORDAN OR A PLO "GOVERNMENT IN EXILE" TO THE WEST BANK, GENERAL EPHRAIM SNEH, FORMER CIVAD HEAD. BLAMED LIKUD'S OPPOSITION TO THE LAND FOR PEACE FORMULA FOR THE FEELINGS OF DESPERATION THAT TRIGGERED THE INTIFADA: HE ALSO SAID THE PLO HAD NOT YET PROVED THAT IT HAD CHANGED ITS POLICY TOWARD THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL.
- 4. THE ONLY PALESTINIAN WE NOTED IN THE AUDIENCE OF APPROXIMATELY 300 WAS BETHLEHEM MAYOR ELIAS FREIJ. WE UNDERSTAND THAT OTHER PALESTINIAN INVITEES BOYCOTTED THE CONFERENCE BECAUSE OF RABIN'S PRESENCE. THE CONFERENCE WAS ALSO HELD ON A STRIKE DAY, WHICH WOULD HAVE DISCOURAGED ATTENDANCE BY ARABS FROM THE WEST BANK.

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5. COMMENT. RABIN'S THREAT TO ROOT OUT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE POPULAR COMMITTEES COINCIDED WITH THE DEPORTATION OF FOUR GAZANS AND EXPULSION ORDERS FOR 25 MORE PALESTINIANS FROM THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. RABIN WAS CLEAR THAT, ABSENT A POLITICAL ACCOMODATION WITH THE PALESTINIANS, THE IDF WOULD CONTINUE ITS CURRENT POLICY OF MEETING VIOLENCE WITH FORCE. THIS MESSAGE SEEMED WELL RECEIVED BY THE AUDIENCE, WHICH CONSISTED PRIMARILY OF YOUNG, ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE AND OTHER JEWS OF WESTERN--PRIMARILY U.S.--ORIGIN. END COMMENT. WILCOX



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ERRORS= N/A

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TAGS= PREL, GZ, IS, UNSC, PLO

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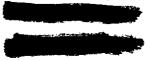
ECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 02464

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: PREL, IS, UNSC

SUBJECT: GAZA STRIP: SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION

TELEGRAM.

- 2. SUMMARY: UN SECURITY COUNCIL (UNSC) PRESIDENT LI (CHINA) AUGUST 16 INFORMED THE FOUR OTHER PERMANENT MEMBERS THAT HE HAD MET WITH AND RECEIVED A LETTER FROM THE PLO OBSERVER PROTESTING LATEST ISRAELI MEASURES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. LI URGED IMMEDIATE UNSC ACTION, IN THE FORM OF A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT, DRAWING ATTENTION TO ISRAELI "PRACTICES" AND CALLING ON ISRAEL TO ABIDE BY THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION. END SUMMARY
- 3. PLO COMMUNICATION: DURING CONSULTATIONS CONVENED TO CONSIDER A CHEMICAL WARFARE RESOLUTION, SECURITY COUNCIL

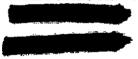


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PRESIDENT LI (CHINESE PERMREP) INFORMED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOUR OTHER PERMANENT MEMBERS THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A LETTER FROM PLO OBSERVER TERZI. TERZI, WHO ALSO MET

WITH LI, REQUESTED UNSC ACTION CALLING ATTENTION TO RECENT ISRAELI MEASURES TAKEN AGAINST PALESTINIANS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND URGING ISRAEL TO RESPECT THE PROVISIONS OF THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION. TERZI HAD NOT INDICATED WHETHER THE PLO WOULD INSIST ON A RESOLUTION OR WOULD BE SATISFIED BY A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT. TEXT OF THE LETTER IS IN PARA 8.

- 4. PRESIDENT'S VIEW: I CHARACTERIZED THE PLO REQUEST AS "REALISTIC", GIVEN THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. LI SAID THAT GAZA HAD BEEN COMPLETELY SEALED OFF AND THAT THE ISRAELIS HAD KILLED THREE PALESTINIANS AND INJURED 28. LI ALSO SAID THAT WHEN HE DISCUSSED THE LETTER WITH THE SYG, THE SYG LATER HAD ASKED HIM TO CONSULT WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL. LI INDICATED THAT CHINA FAVORED A UNSC PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT WHICH WOULD CONTAIN TWO POINTS: (A) DRAWING THE ATTENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND (B) URGING ISRAEL, AS THE OCCUPYING POWER, TO ABIDE BY THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION. LI WAS OF THE OPINION THAT IF AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON A STATEMENT, THERE WOULD BE NO NEED TO CALL FOR A UNSC MEETING TO CONSIDER THE MATTER.
- 5. UK REP INDICATED THAT A STATEMENT SEEMED APPROPRIATE IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES. AMBASSADOR OKUN CAUTIONED LI THAT USUN WOULD NEED TO SEEK INSTRUCTIONS FROM WASHINGTON BEFORE PROVIDING A U.S. REACTION TO HIS SUGGESTION.
 ALTHOUGH NEITHER THE FRENCH NOR RUSSIANS SPOKE, WE ASSUME THEY ALSO ARE AGREEABLE TO A STATEMENT.



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- 6. AMBASSADOR OKUN BRIEFED ISRAELI ACTING PERMREP BEIN ON THESE CONSULTATIONS. BEIN WILL MEET SC PRESIDENT AUGUST 17.
- 7. ACTION REQUESTED: MISSION WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING DEPARTMENT VIEWS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
- 8. TEXT OF PLO LETTER:

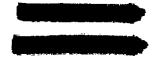
15 AUGUST 1988

H.E. THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL THE UNITED NATIONS NEW YORK



EXCELLENCY,

I AM INSTRUCTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO BRING THE FOLLOWING TO YOUR IMMEDIATE ATTENTION. THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES IS EXTREMELY GRAVE AND CALLS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS REPRESENTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL. REPORTS INDICATE THAT THE PRESS HAS BEEN BANNED FROM ENTERING THE GAZA AREA. THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF COLD-BLOODED KILLING OF UNARMED PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS IN THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES. THE ISRAELI MILITARY HAS SEALED OFF SEVERAL AREAS, AND IMPOSED CURFEWS ON QABATIAH (NEAR NABLUS) AND DHEISHEH PALESTINIAN REFUGEE CAMP (NEAR BETHLEHEM), AND OTHER PALESTINIAN TOWNS AND VILLAGES. THE CURFEWS HAVE BEEN IN EFFECT FOR MANY DAYS, THE CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH HAVE RESULTED IN NO ACCESS TO WATER WELLS AND SPRINGS, ELECTRICITY CUTS, AND THE ISRAELI ARMY IS CARRYING OUT



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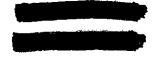
SUBJECT: GAZA STRIP: SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION

FREQUENT NIGHT RAIDS.

THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION CALLS UPON THE UNITED NATIONS TO ASSUME ITS RESPONSIBILITY BY ADDRESSING THE UNDER-LYING CAUSES, NAMELY, ISRAELI OCCUPATION, BUT IN THE INTERIM TO PROVIDE PROTECTION FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE UNDER OCCUPATION, AND TO ENSURE RESPECT FOR THE PROVISIONS OF THE FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION.

ACCEPT, EXCELLENCY, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

ZUHDI LABIB TERZI PERMANENT OBSERVER



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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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DATE= 16 AUG 88

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SUBJECT= WEEKLY WRAP-UP, AUGUST 9-15

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a .

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= INCIDENT, PALESTINIANS, VIOLENCE

TAGS= KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OPR-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NEA-04 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 CTME-00 PM-10 PA-02 CCO-00 OMB-01 INRE-00 OCS-06 CA-02 FBOE-06 A-00 USSS-00 USIE-00 SP-02 OC-02 M-01 SR-06 PRS-01 SCT-02 /069 W

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AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 JERUSALEM 02744

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS SUBJECT: WEEKLY WRAP-UP. AUGUST 9-15

1. SUMMARY: A HIGH LEVEL OF VIOLENCE CONTINUED DURING THE REPORTING PERIOD. IDF SOLDIERS SHOT AND KILLED FOUR PALESTINIANS AND WOUNDED FORTY-THREE OTHERS IN THE WEST BANK. ONE IDF SOLDIER WAS INJURED, A TOURIST WAS WOUNDED BY IDF GUNFIRE IN THE OLD CITY, AND A PALESTINIAN CIVILIAN WAS INJURED BY A PALESTINIAN FIREBOMB. ONE PALESTINIAN DIED IN AN ISRAELI DETENTION CENTER AND THREE AMERICAN TOURISTS WERE SLIGHTLY INJURED WHEN THEIR BUS WAS STONED. THE TOWN OF QABATIYA REMAINS UNDER MILITARY CURFEW FOR THE 23RD DAY. A BEITA WOMAN WAS SENTENCED TO SERVE FOUR ADDITIONAL MONTHS IN PRISON FOR SERIOUSLY INJURING AN ISRAELI SETTLER AFTER HE KILLED HER BROTHER. AN ISRAELI SETTLER WAS CHARGED WITH UNCLASSIFIED

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MANSLAUGHTER IN THE KILLING OF A PALESTINIAN YOUTH. ISRAEL LAUNCHES NEW MEASURES IN AN ATTEMPT TO REDUCE THE INFLOW OF MONEY INTO THE TERRITORIES, ERADICATE THE POPULAR COMMITTEES AND INCREASE ITS ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OVER THE TERRITORIES.

KILLED AND INJURED

- 2. ON AUGUST 9, ONE PALESTINIAN, HUSSEIN ABDUL RAHIM SUBHI NAZZAL, 14, WAS SHOT AND KILLED BY IDF SOLDIERS IN QALQILYA AND 22 PALESTINIANS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED THROUGHOUT THE WEST BANK. A CURFEW WAS PLACED ON QALIQILYA. ONE PALESTINIAN AND ONE TOURIST WERE SLIGHTLY INJURED WHEN SHOT BY AN ISRAELI BORDER POLICEMAN IN THE OLD CITY.
- -- ON AUGUST 10, A PALESTINIAN TEENAGER, AHMED FALEH ALI DARAGHMEH, WAS SHOT AND KILLED BY AN IDF SOLDIER IN TABUS, NEAR NABLUS, DURING CLASHES. IN YA'ABAD, NEAR JENIN, ONE PALESTINIAN, 10, WAS SHOT AND WOUNDED DURING CLASHES. IN RAMALLAH, TWO PETROL BOMBS INJURED AN IDF SOLDIER AND A PALESTINIAN PASSERBY. IT WAS THE FIRST TIME AN IDF SOLDIER HAD BEEN INJURED BY A PETROL BOMB SINCE JUNE 15. RAMALLAH WAS DECLARED A CLOSED MILITARY ZONE.
- -- ON AUGUST 11, ONE PALESTINIAN TEENAGER WAS SHOT AND WOUNDED BY IDF SOLDIERS IN YA'ABAD, NEAR JENIN.
- -- ON AUGUST 12, THREE PALESTINIAN WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED BY IDF SOLDIERS DURING CLASHES IN IMATIN, UNCLASSIFIED

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NEAR NABLUS. AT TULKAREM REFUGEE CAMP, ONE PALESTINIAN WAS SHOT AND WOUNDED; CURFEW WAS IMPOSED. IN DEIR LAGHSUN, NEAR TULKAREM, TWO PALESTINIANS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED BY IDF TROOPS.

- -- ON AUGUST 13, A PALESTINIAN BOY, 12, YOUSEF DAMAJ WAS SHOT AND KILLED BY IDF SOLDIERS IN THE JENIN REFUGEE CAMP DURING A DEMONSTRATION.
- -- ON AUGUST 14, TWO PALESTINIANS WERE SHOT AND INJURED BY IDF TROOPS IN THE BALATA REFUGEE CAMP NEAR NABLUS. TWO OTHER PALESTINIANS WERE SHOT AND INJURED IN JALAZONE REFUGEE CAMP NEAR RAMALLAH AND ANOTHER PALESTINIANS WAS WOUNDED IN CLASHES NEAR AL-BIREH.
- -- ON AUGUST 14, ONE PALESTINIAN, ATA YUSSUF AYYAD, 21, DIED IN ISRAEL'S DHAHRIYEH DETENTION CENTER IN THE WEST BANK.

-- ON AUGUST 15, A PALESTINIAN, JAMAL MUHAMMAD MUSA ODEH, 22, WAS SHOT AND KILLED BY IDF SOLDIERS IN THE TULKAREM REFUGEE CAMP. THREE PALESTINIANS IN NABLUS, TWO PALESTINIANS IN AL-AMARI REFUGEE CAMP NEAR RAMALLAH, AND TWO PALESTINIANS IN JALAZONE REFUGEE CAMP, WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED BY IDF TROOPS. IN EAST JERUSALEM, THREE AMERICAN TOURISTS WERE SLIGHTLY INJURED AFTER STONES WERE THROWN AT THEIR EGGED BUS.

CURFEW ON QABATIYA FOR 23RD DAY

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OPR-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NEA-04 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 CTME-00 PM-10 PA-02 CCO-00 OMB-01 INRE-00 OCS-06 CA-02 FBOE-06 A-00 USSS-00 USIE-00 SP-02 OC-02 M-01 SR-06 PRS-01 SCT-02 /069 W

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 JERUSALEM 02744

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS SUBJECT: WEEKLY WRAP-UP, AUGUST 9-15

3. AUGUST 15 IS THE 23RD DAY OF A CURFEW ON THE TOWN OF QABATIYA, POPULATION 17,000, NEAR NABLUS. THE TOWN HAS BEEN UNDER CURFEW SINCE JULY 24 WHEN YASSER SABA'NEH, 18, WAS SHOT AND KILLED BY IDF TROOPS. AL-FAJR REPORTS SEVERE SHORTAGES OF FOOD, WATER, MILK AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES IN THE TOWN. ELECTRICITY AND TELEPHONE LINES HAVE BEEN CUT. ACCORDING TO AL-FAJR, FARMERS HAVE BEEN PREVENTED FROM TENDING THEIR FIELDS AND QABATIYA'S 20 STONE-CUTTING FACTORIES AND 40 QUARRIES HAVE BEEN SHUT-DOWN, PREVENTING ITS EXPORT OF CONSTRUCTION STONE TO JORDAN.

BEITA WOMEN TO PRISON
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4. ON AUGUST 11, A WOMAN FROM THE WEST BANK VILLAGE OF BEITA, MUNIRA DAOUD, WAS SENTENCED FOR FOUR ADDITIONAL MONTHS IN PRISON AFTER BEING FOUND GUILTY OF WOUNDING ROMAM ALDUBI, THE ARMED JEWISH SETTLER WHO KILLED HER BROTHER AND ANOTHER PALESTINIAN IN BEITA ON APRIL 6. DAOUD HAS BEEN IN PRISON SINCE THE INCIDENT. (SEPTEL)

SETTLER CHARGED WITH MANSLAUGHTER

5. ON AUGUST 11, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BINYAMIN REGIONAL COUNCIL, PINHAS WALLERSTEIN, WAS CHARGED WITH MANSLAUGHTER AND AGGRAVATED ASSAULT IN THE KILLING OF A PALESTINIAN AND THE WOUNDING OF ANOTHER. HE IS THE FIRST SETTLER LEADER TO BE CHARGED WITH KILLING A PALESTINIAN SINCE THE START OF THE UPRISING. (SEPTEL)

RABIN PROMISES TOUGHER MEASURES FOR WEST BANK; WEST BANK VEHICLES TO BE RELICENSED

6. THE JERUSALEM POST, AUGUST 16, REPORTED THAT DEFENCE MINISTER RABIN SAID WHILE VISITING GAZA AUGUST 15 THAT TOUGHER MEASURES WOULD BE TAKEN

AGAINST THE INTIFADA IN THE WEST BANK IN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS. AUTHORITIES ARE PLANNING TO RELICENSE ALL VEHICLES IN THE WEST BANK, AS WAS DONE IN THE GAZA STRIP EARLIER THIS YEAR, IN ORDER TO TIGHTEN CONTROLS AND SECURITY OFFICIALS SAY THAT THERE WILL BE FURTHER ARRESTS OF MEMBERS OF "POPULAR UNCLASSIFIED

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COMMITTEES" AND INTIFADA ENFORCING "STRIKE FORCES".

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CONCEPTS= ELECTION, CAMPAIGN, REVIEW, POLITICAL PARTY, POLL

TAGS= PGOV, IS



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 MSC-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 AMAD-01 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /091 W

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ECTION 01 OF 03 TEL AVIV 11792

USIA FOR NEA AND R/NA

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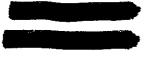
TAGS: PGOV, IS

SUBJECT: ISRAEL ELECTION CAMPAIGN REVIEW, AUGUST 12

REF: TEL AVIV 11407

1.

2. SUMMARY: TWO AND A HALF MONTHS BEFORE THE ELECTIONS, LIKUD AND LABOR SOURCES TELL US THEY FEEL THEY ARE RUNNING NECK AND NECK. BUT LIKUD CONTINUES TO REFLECT OPTIMISM THAT IT IS A WINNER RIDING A POSITIVE TREND, WHILE LABOR IS DISPIRITED. THE SMALLER PARTIES ARE STEPPING UP THEIR PUBLICITY EFFORTS, BUT THE CAMPAIGN WILL NOT REALLY GO INTO HIGH GEAR UNTIL LATE SEPTEMBER AFTER THE JEWISH HOLIDAYS, WHICH IS WHEN TELEVISION ADVERTISING BEGINS. THE LATEST ROUND OF PERSONAL POPULARITY POLLS ARE CONTRADICTORY. END SUMMARY.



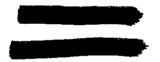
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ASSESSMENTS

3. LIKUD CAMPAIGN INFORMATION DIRECTOR RONI MILO AND LABOR CAMPAIGN RESEARCH DIRECTOR YOSSI BEILIN BOTH

TOLD US THIS WEEK THEY SENSED LIKUD AND LABOR WERE RUNNING NECK AND NECK AT THIS POINT, WITH THE ELECTION TO BE DECIDED BY THE "FLOATING VOTERS."

- 4. BUT MILO FELT LIKUD WAS RIDING A POSITIVE TREND, WHICH HE BELIEVED COULD GIVE IT THE OPTIONS OF ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT LED BY SHAMIR (HIS PREFERENCE) OR EVEN A NARROW RIGHT/RELIGIOUS COALITION. BEILIN'S GOAL, ON THE OTHER HAND, WAS MORE LIMITED. HE HOPED FOR A "BLOCKING MAJORITY" (OF LABOR, THE LEFT, AND THE NON-ZIONIST PARTIES) WHICH WOULD PREVENT BOTH A NARROW LIKUD-LED COALITION AND LIKUD HAVING THE EDGE IN THE FORMATION OF ANOTHER NUG ON ITS TERMS. UNDER THIS SCENARIO, LABOR WOULD SEEK TO FORM ITS OWN NARROW COALITION WITH THE SMALL LEFT ZIONIST PARTIES, SHAS AND AGUDAT YISRAEL. (HE DOUBTED LABOR COULD BRING THE NRP INTO A COALITION.) BEILIN BASED HIS ANALYSIS ON A HIGH ISRAELI ARAB VOTER TURNOUT (DUE TO THE "INTIFADA") WHICH WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE "BLOCKING MAJORITY" AGAINST LIKUD.
- 5. BUT HISTADRUT WOMEN'S ORGANZATION "NAAMAT" SECGEN MASHA LUBELSKY, A SENIOR LABOR PARTY FIGURE, DID NOT BUY THE POLL RESULTS SHOWING LABOR AND LIKUD TIED. SHE WAS CONCERNED LIKUD HAD THE EDGE AND LABOR MIGHT BE UNABLE TO CATCH UP. SHE WAS DISTURBED THAT LABOR LACKED FIGHTING SPIRIT AND SEEMED "TIRED."



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ISSUES

- 6. SHAMIR IS USING HUSSEIN'S DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE TERRITORIES AND THE LEAKED FAISAL HUSSEINI DRAFT PALESTINIAN "DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE" TO UNDERCUT LABOR'S LINE THAT THERE IS A JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN PARTNER FOR NEGOTIATIONS. RATHER, ACCORDING TO SHAMIR, THE HUSSEINI DOCUMENT DEMONSTRATES THE ARAB THREAT TO ELIMINATE ISRAEL.
- 7. PERES, MEANWHILE, HAS SHIFTED HIS PITCH AND IS STARTING TO PUT EMPHASIS ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH A PALESTINIAN AS WELL AS JORDANIAN DELEGATION, SEPARATELY OR TOGETHER. LABOR PLANS TO PUT THIS NEW LINE INTO ITS PLATFORM.

PUBLICITY

8. LABOR AND LIKUD HAVE AGREED TO LIMIT PRESS
CAMPAIGN PUBLICITY AT LEAST UNTIL SEPTEMBER 1. THE
SMALL PARTIES, HOWEVER, ARE GOING ON THE OFFENSIVE.
TEHIYA ADS MAKE CLEAR IT WOULD KNOW HOW TO PUT DOWN
THE "INTIFADA." THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY IS
PLAYING UP JEWISH EDUCATION AND ITS ACHIEVEMENTS.
MAPAM IS TRYING TO CONVINCE VOTERS TO OPT FOR IT
"THIS TIME." (MAPAM IS RUNNING INDEPENDENTLY FROM
LABOR FOR THE FIRST TIME IN YEARS.)
9. THE PARTIES ARE ALSO TRYING OUT THEIR SLOGANS.
LIKUD, FOR EXAMPLE, IS USING "THE HOPE OF THE LABOR
PARTY AND PERES IS TO BE A NATION FREE OF OUR COUNTRY
(I.E., THE WEST BANK AND GAZA). THE CITIZENS RIGHTS
MOVEMENT IS USING "THE FACTS POINT TO CRM."

LIKUD INFORMATION LINE



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SECTION 02 OF 03 TEL AVIV 11792

USIA FOR NEA AND R/NA



E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV. IS

SUBJECT: ISRAEL ELECTION CAMPAIGN REVIEW, AUGUST 12

10. AT AN AUGUST 11 TRAINING DAY FOR ACTIVISTS, CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR ARENS FOCUSED ON LIKUD AS THE PARTY OF PEACE, WITH ITS PROGRAM THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS. HE POINTED TO HUSSEIN'S ACTIONS AS SHOWING THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A JORDANIAN OPTION. HE ATTACKED LABOR FOR "LOSING" TABA, SUGGESTED LIKUD WOULD BRING BACK THE LAVI PROJECT, CALLED FOR RESTRUCTURING THE ECONOMY, AND DENIED THE EXISTENCE OF A DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEM. DEPUTY CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR KATZAV SAID THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE LAST 21 YEARS SHOWED LIKUD HAD BEEN RIGHT ALL ALONG; THAT TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE WAS NEVER AN OPTION; AND THAT LABOR HAD TURNED RADICAL-DOVISH. HE ALSO SOUGHT TO BUCK UP LIKUD ACTIVISTS TO REBUT LABOR ARGUMENTS THAT LIKUD OPPOSED WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON,



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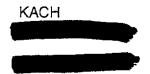
THAT PERES -- RATHER THAN MODAI AND NISSIM -- HAD ACHIEVED THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY, AND THAT SETTLEMENT IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT AT THE EXPENSE OF THE DEVELOPMENT TOWNS.

LIKUD: INTERNAL

11. DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN LIBERAL PARTY LEADERS MODA! AND SHARIR VERSUS NISSIM AND PATT OVER THE NAMING OF LIBERAL CANDIDATES TO THE NEW COMBINED LIKUD (HERUT AND LIBERAL) SECRETARIAT FORCED SHAMIR TO CANCEL THE FIRST SCHEDULED MEETING (THIS WEEK). NISSIM AND PATT REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MEETING SINCE THE LIBERAL CANDIDATES WERE NAMED SOLELY BY MODAI AND SHARIR, NISSIM AND PATT FEAR THAT IF MODAI AND SHARIR SUCCEED THIS TIME, THE RESULT WOULD BE ADDITIONAL LEVERAGE FOR THEIR CANDIDATES FOR THE LIKUD CENTRAL COMMITTEE. IF THIS INTERNAL LIBERAL DISPUTE IS NOT SETTLED, THERE WOULD BE NO AGREED LIBERAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS, AND LIKUD WILL HAVE TO DELAY A KEY LIKUD CAMPAIGN EVENT -- THE PLANNED AUG. 25 MEETING OF THE NEWLY COMPOSED LIKUD CENTRAL COMMITTEE. NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY

12. INTERNAL DIFFERENCES ON KEY ISSUES CONTINUE.

LIST LEADER SHAKI'S REPORTED ADVOCACY OF EXTENDING ISRAELI LAW TO ISRAELI SETTLEMENT AREAS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA HAS BEEN CRITICIZED BY MORE MODERATE FIGURES IN THE PARTY LIKE TIBERIAS MAYOR YIGAL BIBI (NO. 4 ON THE LIST).



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13. KACH ANNOUNCED ITS LIST ON AUGUST 9: MEIR KAHANE; MOSHE NEIMANN (A TEACHER AND ADMINISTRATOR FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF MIZPE JERICHO, AND A GUSH EMUNIM FOUNDER); RAHAMIM COHEN (ATTORNEY); RABBI AVRAHAM TOLEDANO OF KIRYAT ARBA; AND DAVID BEN-DAVID (AN ECONOMIST AND IRGUN VETERAN).

DAROUSHA

14. DAROUSHA'S ARAB DEMOCRATIC PARTY ELECTED HIM ITS LIST LEADER ON AUG. 9. THE OTHER CANDIDATES ON THE LIST WILL BE ELECTED ON AUGUST 26.

TEHIYA WANTS PLP BANNED

15. TEHIYA IS PLANNING TO REQUEST THE CENTRAL ELECTIONS BOARD TO BAN THE PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE FROM RUNNING IN THE ELECTIONS, BECAUSE IT IS OPPOSED TO THE STATE OF ISRAEL. (EXISTING LAW STATES THAT "RACIST" PARTIES AND PARTIES OPPOSED TO THE STATE OF ISRAEL ARE INELIGIBLE TO RUN IN ELECTIONS; KACH AND PLP WILL BE CHALLENGED.)

SURPLUS VOTE AGREEMENTS

16. LIKUD AND TEHIYA, AS WELL AS CENTER-SHINUI AND MAPAM, HAVE SIGNED SURPLUS VOTE AGREEMENTS. (PARTIES WHICH WIN MORE THAN ONE PERCENT OF THE VOTE CAN SHARE "SURPLUS VOTES" TO MAKE AN ADDITIONAL SEAT.)

POLLS

17. A PORI POLL (FBIS TA 0808141288) SUGGESTED



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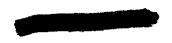
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TAGS: PGOV. IS

SUBJECT: ISRAEL ELECTION CAMPAIGN REVIEW, AUGUST 12

FLOATING VOTERS -- WHICH THIS SURVEY ASSERTED WERE TWENTY PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE -- LARGELY RESEMBLED THE LIKUD VOTER FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF OCCUPATION, INCOME AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN. PORI ASSERTED UNDECIDED VOTERS OR THOSE WHO REFUSE TO REVEAL FOR WHOM THEY WILL VOTE, TEND TO PREFER LIKUD OVER LABOR.

18. LIKUD POLLSTER "DAHAF" SURVEY RESULTS STATED THE PUBLIC PREFERS SHAMIR (47 PERCENT) TO PERES (43 PERCENT) AS PRIME MINISTER. SHAMIR INSPIRED MORE TRUST (49 PERCENT) THAN PERES (42 PERCENT) AS THE MAN TO LEAD ISRAEL INTO PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. DAHAF ALSO SAID THE LIKUD LEADERSHIP TEAM ENJOYED GREATER PUBLIC SUPPORT THAN THAT OF LABOR. REFERRING TO ISSUES, DAHAF NOTED THE PUBLIC WAS CONCERNED ABOUT THE



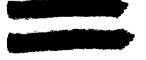
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DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEM AND THAT SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE HAD DROPPED. DAHAF ALSO FOUND THAT THE JEWISH PUBLIC WAS MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE DANGERS OF WITHDRAWAL TO THE 1967 BORDERS THAN THE DANGERS OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEM.

19. BUT OTHER POPULARITY POLLS CAME UP WITH DIFFERENT RESULTS. A PORI POLL (FBIS TA 0908115488) NOTED THE FOLLOWING SATISFACTION RATINGS: RABIN AS DEFENSE MINISTER (50.2 PERCENT DOWN FROM 55.7 PERCENT IN JUNE); PERES AS FOREIGN MINISTER (38.2 PERCENT UP FROM 36.8 PERCENT); SHAMIR AS PRIME MINISTER (32.9 PERCENT UNCHANGED); LEVY AS HOUSING MINISTER (25.6 PERCENT DOWN FROM 35.6 PERCENT); NISSIM AS FINANCE MINISTER (41 PERCENT DOWN FROM 45.2 PERCENT); AND SHARON AS TRADE MINISTER (23 PERCENT DOWN FROM 29.8 PERCENT).

20. IN ADDITION, THE "TELESEKER" TELEPHONE POLL RELEASED THE FOLLOWING SATISFACTION RATINGS: RABIN (61.4 PERCENT); PERES (56 PERCENT); NISSIM (52.3 PERCENT); AND SHAMIR (40.8 PERCENT).

21. A PORI POLL ALSO NOTED THE POSSIBLE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC ISSUES IN THE CAMPAIGN. A SEMI-ANNUAL SURVEY SHOWED 70.2 PERCENT OF THOSE INTERVIEWED COMPLAINED ABOUT THE RISE IN PRICES, AND 48.2 PERCENT SAID THEIR SALARIES WERE INSUFFICIENT TO COVER THE MONTH. ONLY 6.6 PERCENT SAID THEIR WAGES WENT UP MORE THAN PRICES AND 4.2 PERCENT SAID THEIR WAGES WERE BETTER ABLE TO LAST THE MONTH (COMPARED TO SIX MONTHS AGO). IN PORI'S SURVEY EARLIER THIS YEAR, 63.4 COMPLAINED ABOUT THE RISE IN PRICES AND 40.2



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PERCENT SAID WAGES WERE INSUFFICIENT TO COVER THE MONTH. AT THAT TIME, 15 PERCENT SAID THEIR WAGES HAD RISEN FASTER THAN PRICES AND 38 PERCENT SAID THEIR WAGES WERE SUFFICIENT TO COVER THE MONTH.

22. AN INSTITUTE OF APPLIED SOCIAL WORK SURVEY REPORTED THAT ALMOST HALF ITS SAMPLE SUPPORTED "TRANSFER" OF ARABS FROM THE WEST BANK AND GAZA IF



THESE TERRITORIES REMAINED UNDER ISRAELI RULE. WHEN ASKED TO REPLY TO THE QUESTION "IF THE TERRITORIES REMAIN UNDER ISRAELI RULE, WHAT SHOULD BE DONE TO PRESERVE THE DEMOCRATIC (THE JEWISH) CHARACTER OF THE STATE, ALMOST HALF THOSE ASKED CHOSE THE REPLY "CAUSE THE ARABS TO LEAVE."

23. A POLL TAKEN BY THE UNKNOWN "NATIONWIDE INSTITUTE FOR SURVEYS" REPORTED THAT PARTY PREFERENCES IN THE ELECTIONS AMONG ISRAELI ARABS WERE: HADASH (COMMUNISTS) - 50 PERCENT; PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE - 20 PERCENT; LABOR - 15 PERCENT; DAROUSHA - 10 PERCENT; AND THE REMAINDER SPLIT AMONG THE OTHER PARTIES.

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SUBJECT= CONFLICTING VIEWS ON NEW ISRAELI FINANCIAL CONTROLS IMPOSED ON CAJDP ACCOUNTS FROZEN

REFERENCE= 88 JERUSALEM 2648, 88 TEL AVIV 11556

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PALESTINIANS, PUBLIC OPINION, WEST BANK, FINANCE, RESTRICTION, OCCUPIED AREA, BOUNDARY, ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, BANK, POLICY, LEGISLATION

TAGS= KPAL, ECIN, EAID, PBTS, IS, JO





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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 SS-00 EB-00 EXIM-06 NSCE-00 COME-00 HA-09 L-03 AMAD-01 TRSE-00 PM-10 OPIC-07 CEA-01 OMB-01 FRB-03 USIE-00 SP-02 E-01 /055 W

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ECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 02714

DEPARTMENT FOR NEA/IAI

DEPARTMENT FOR AID ANE/MENA AND ANE/PD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: ECIN, EAID, PBTS, KPAL, IS, JO

SUBJECT: CONFLICTING VIEWS ON NEW ISRAELI

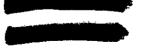
FINANCIAL CONTROLS IMPOSED ON CAB; JDP ACCOUNTS

FROZEN

REF: (A) JERUSALEM 2648, (B) TEL AVIV 11556



2. SUMMARY: WEST BANK CAIRO-AMMAN BANK (CAB)
DIRECTOR MEDHAT KANAAN'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE
NEWEST FINANCIAL RESTRICTIONS PLACED ON THE CAB
DIFFERS FROM THAT OF THE GOI'S OCCUPIED
TERRITORIES COORDINATOR SHMUEL GOREN. ACCORDING
TO KANAAN, GOREN ONLY THREATENED BUT DID NOT
IMPOSE A BIMONTHLY RESTRICTION OF JD 400/PERSON
ON WEST BANKERS RECEIVING FUNDS FROM OUTSIDE.
KANAAN DID NOT UNDERSTAND GOREN TO SAY THAT



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INSTITUTIONAL TRANSFERS BELOW THE JD 400 LIMIT WOULD BE PROHIBITED. HOWEVER, KANAAN BELIEVES THAT GOREN IS NOW REQUIRING THAT NO OUTSIDE

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INDIVIDUAL OR ORGANIZATION TRANSFER MORE THAN JD 400/MONTH INTO THE WEST BANK REGARDLESS OF THE NUMBER OF INTENDED RECIPIENTS. KANAAN ALSO SAID THAT CAB MUST NOW INFORM ITS CUSTOMERS THAT ANY INDIVIDUAL RECEIVING FUNDS FROM ABROAD IN ANY AMOUNT MUST FILE A FINANCIAL DECLARATION IF THOSE FUNDS BELONG TO OR ARE INTENDED FOR ANOTHER PERSON. KANAAN IS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT HE NEED ONLY SUBMIT MONTHLY LISTS OF ISSUED LOANS TO THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES AND NOT THAT THE CIVAD WILL NEED TO APPROVE LOANS PRIOR TO DISBURSAL. SHA'SHA' HAS BEEN TOLD BY THE HEAD OF JORDAN'S CENTRAL BANK THAT RECENT CHANGES IN JORDANIAN POLICY WILL NOT AFFECT CAB OPERATION SO LONG AS ISRAEL RESPECTS THE AGREEMENT IT SIGNED TO REESTABLISH WEST BANK BRANCHES. ON AUGUST 1, MOTA INSTRUCTED CAB TO FREEZE WEST BANK DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE AND SALARY SUPPORT ACCOUNTS, END SUMMARY.

3. ON AUGUST 10 WEST BANK CAIRO-AMMAN BANK DIRECTOR MEDHAT KANAAN DESCRIBED THE AUGUST 8 MEETING HE ATTENDED WITH GOI OCCUPIED TERRITORIES COORDINATOR SHMUEL GOREN, ISRAELI EXAMINER OF BANKS GAD MARX AND CAB CHAIRMAN JAWDAT SHA'SHA' AS WORSE THAN HE HAD IMAGINED. HE SAID THAT GOREN AGAIN COMPLAINED THAT THE CAB WAS A CONDUIT FOR FUNDS FINANCING THE INTIFADA. ACCORDING TO KANAAN, GOREN EXERTED EXTREME PRESSURE ON THE CAB OFFICIALS TO SERVE "AS THE

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CIVAD'S WATCHDOG". KANAAN'S RENDITION OF THE FINANCIAL RESTRICTIONS TO BE IMPOSED ON CAB DIFFERS FROM GOREN'S.

TRANSFER LIMIT

4. ACCORDING TO KANAAN, GOREN INFORMED THE CAB OFFICIALS THAT HE WAS UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE ISRAELI CABINET TO CLOSE THE CAB AND, BARRING THAT, HE MIGHT HAVE TO LIMIT TRANSFERS TO ONLY JD 400/PERSON EVERY TWO MONTHS. IT IS KANAAN'S UNDERSTANDING THAT GOREN THREATENED TO RESTRICT TRANSFERS TO JD 400/PERSON EVERY TWO MONTHS, NOT THAT SUCH A MEASURE HAD ACTUALLY BEEN IMPOSED.



RESTRICTION ON INSTITUTIONAL TRANSFERS

5. WHILE KANAAN DID NOT MENTION ANY RESTRICTION ON INSTITUTIONAL TRANSFERS PER SE, THE RESTRICTION HE DESCRIBED WILL HAVE MUCH THE SAME EFFECT. ACCORDING TO KANAAN, THOSE TRANSFERRING FUNDS WILL NOW BE RESTRICTED IN THE SAME WAY AS THOSE RECEIVING FUNDS: I.E. EACH INDIVIDUAL/INSTITUTION CAN ONLY TRANSFER JD 400/MONTH INTO THE WEST BANK. THIS, OF COURSE, DOES NOT ELIMINATE INSITUTIONAL TRANSFERS, IT ONLY MAKES THEM MORE COMPLICATED. KANAAN POINTED OUT TO US THAT JUST AS A TRANSFERRED SUM CAN BE DISBURSED IN JD 400 TRANCHES TO MANY INDIVIDUALS FOR COLLECTION LATER BY THE INTENDED

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 SS-00 EB-00 EXIM-06 NSCE-00 COME-00 HA-09. L-03 AMAD-01 TRSE-00 PM-10 OPIC-07 CEA-01 OMB-01 FRB-03 USIE-00 SP-02 E-01 /055 W

R 121421Z AUG 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3197 AMEMBASSY AMMAN AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV



DEPARTMENT FOR NEA/IAI



DEPARTMENT FOR AID ANE/MENA AND ANE/PD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: ECIN, EAID, PBTS, KPAL, IS, JO

SUBJECT: CONFLICTING VIEWS ON NEW ISRAELI

RECIPIENT, SO TOO CAN A SUM BE DISAGGREGATED BY AN INSTITUTION OR INDIVIDUAL PRIOR TO TRANSFER AND THEN TRANSFERRED IN JD 400 TRANCHES BY MANY DIFFERENT INDIVIDUAL AGENTS. KANAAN SAID HE TOLD GOREN THAT THIS NEW RESTRICTION WOULD SERVE ONLY TO MAKE MORE WORK FOR CAB.

6. KANAAN TOLD US THAT GOREN HAD INFORMED THE CAB AUTHORITIES OF A NEW REGULATION DESIGNED TO PROHIBIT INDIVIDUALS FROM SENDING OR RECEIVING TRANSFERRED FUNDS ON BEHALF OF SOMEONE ELSE. THE CIVAD IS NOW REQUIRING ALL CAB BRANCHES TO POST AN ARABIC TRANSLATION OF THE FOLLOWING NOTICE: "SECURITY LEGISLATION REQUIRES THAT ANY PERSON RECEIVING MONIES FROM ABROAD IN ANY

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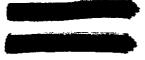
AMOUNT MUST SIGN A DECLARATION IF THOSE MONIES BELONG TO OR ARE INTENDED FOR ANOTHER PERSON." KANAAN BELIEVES THAT PALESTINIANS WILL DISREGARD THIS NOTICE, HOWEVER. THEREFORE, IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER GOREN IS CORRECT IN ASSUMING THAT ONLY INDIVIDUALS ACTING IN THEIR OWN NAMES CAN BRING MONEY IN WITHOUT PRIOR APPROVAL. (REF B)

RESTRICTING LOANS

7. ACCORDING TO KANAAN, GOREN TOLD THE CAB OFFICIALS THAT FAMILIES WERE USING THEIR BUSINESSES TO FINANCE THE INTIFADA. KANAAN THOUGHT THIS WAS A REFERENCE TO THE ACTIVITIES OF BASSAM SHAKA (FORMER NABLUS MAYOR AND SOAP FACTORY OWNER). EXPLAINING TO GOREN THAT CAB IS VERY CAREFUL AND RESTRAINED IN ITS LENDING, KANAAN NOTED BY EXAMPLE THAT THE HEBRON BRANCH HAS ONLY GRANTED 25 LOANS/OVERDRAFTS SINCE IT OPENED IN FEBRUARY. AFTER MUCH DISCUSSION, KANAAN WAS LEFT WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT GOREN



WOULD NOT PLACE A LIMIT ON THE LOANS CAB COULD GIVE (REF A) AND THAT MARX HAD CONVINCED GOREN THAT THE CIVAD COULD SUFFICIENTLY MONITOR CAB LOANS BY REVIEWING THE MONTHLY LOAN REPORT ALREADY PROVIDED BY CAB TO THE EXAMINER OF BANKS. CONTRARY TO GOREN'S COMMENTS REF B, KANAAN DOES NOT CURRENTLY INTEND TO PROVIDE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES WITH THE OPPORTUNITY TO APPROVE OR REJECT LOANS PRIOR TO DISBURSAL.



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JORDANIAN POLICY MEASURES

- 8. ACCORDING TO KANAAN, CAB AMMAN RECEIVED WORD FROM MOTA ON AUG 1 AT 1:00 PM THAT CAB SHOULD STOP TRANSACTIONS ON ALL PROGRAM ACCOUNTS IN THE WEST BANK AND THAT AUTHORIZED SIGNATURES ON THOSE ACCOUNTS WOULD NO LONGER BE VALID. IN THIS MESSAGE MOTA REQUESTED BALANCES ON ACCOUNTS FOR THE NINE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES AND FOR THE SALARY SUPPORT ACCOUNTS. SHA'SHA' AND KANAAN ARE AWARE THAT DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE HEADS HAVE OUTSTANDING BILLS TO PAY, BUT SHA'SHA' TOLD KANAAN THAT HE DOES NOT KNOW WHO IN THE JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT TO QUESTION ABOUT THE FATE OF THE FROZEN FUNDS NOW THAT MOTA IS DISSOLVED AND IT IS UNCLEAR WHO IS IN CHARGE OF THE NEWLY FORMED DEPARTMENT.
- 9. ACCORDING TO KANAAN, THE HEAD OF JORDAN'S CENTRAL BANK TOLD SHA'SHA' THAT RECENT CHANGES IN JORDANIAN POLICY WILL NOT AFFECT CAB'S OWN OPERATION SO LONG AS ISRAEL RESPECTS THE AGREEMENT SIGNED TWO YEARS AGO TO REESTABLISH WEST BANK CAB BRANCHES, AND THAT JORDAN WILL NOT ATTEMPT TO RESTRICT CAB'S WEST BANK ACTIVITIES UNLESS ISRAEL TRIES TO ANNEX THE WEST BANK.
- 10. SHA'SHA' TOLD KANAAN THAT AID'S CAIRO-AMMAN BANK LOAN GUARANTEE PROGRAM WILL PROCEED WITHOUT INVOLVEMENT OF THE JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT EXCEPT THAT FUNDS WILL FLOW THROUGH THE CENTRAL BANK TO

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 SS-00 EB-00 EXIM-06 NSCE-00 COME-00 HA-09 L-03 AMAD-01 TRSE-00 PM-10 OPIC-07 CEA-01 OMB-01 FRB-03 USIE-00 SP-02 E-01 /055 W

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DEPARTMENT FOR NEA/IAI

DEPARTMENT FOR AID ANE/MENA AND ANE/PD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: ECIN, EAID, PBTS, KPAL, IS, JO

SUBJECT: CONFLICTING VIEWS ON NEW ISRAELI

CAB

- 11. COMMENT: WHILE WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT INCREASING ISRAELI INTERFERENCE IN CAB OPERATIONS, WE FORESEE THAT NEW FINANCIAL RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED ON CAB WILL ONLY SLOW THE FLOW OF FUNDS TO THE WEST BANK UNTIL WEST BANKERS INEVITABLY FIND A WAY AROUND THOSE RESTRICTIONS OR RELY INCREASINGLY ON THE MANY OTHER AVAILABLE CHANNELS FOR FUNDS.
- 12. KING HUSSEIN HAS ANNOUNCD THAT JORDANIAN EMPLOYEES WILL BE PAID THROUGH AUGUST 16, AND IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT JORDAN INTENDS TO FUND



THE COMPLETION OF JDP PROJECTS ALREADY

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UNDERWAY. WE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION AMEMBASSY AMMAN COULD PROVIDE ON WHAT JORDAN INTENDS TO DO WITH THE FROZEN DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE AND SALARY SUPPORT ACCOUNTS. END COMMENT. WILCOX





*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a <<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>> DOC_NBR= 88JERUSA03167 FILM= D880853-0895 **DATE= 23 SEP 88** TYPE= TE FROM= JERUSALEM DRAFTER= n/a OFFICE= ACTION NEA DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO= STATE RELEASE () DECLASSIFY **USUN NEW YORK**) EXCISE () DECLASSIFY EO Citations) DENY IN PART () DELETE Non-Responsive Info CHANNEL= n/a TS suthority to: FOIA Exemptions PA Exemptions ORIGHAND= n/a ORIGPHAND= n/a ORIGCLASS= UNCLASSIFIED ORIGPCLASS= n/a EO= N/A SUBJECT= WEST BANK WRAP UP, SEPTEMBER 12-19, 1988

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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

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CONCEPTS= WEST BANK, OCCUPIED AREA, ANNIVERSARY, PALESTINIANS, ALLEGATION, CASUALTY

TAGS= KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 RP-10 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SR-06 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /100 W

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03167

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, SEPTEMBER 12-19, 1988

1. SUMMARY: THERE WERE NUMEROUS VIOLENT CONFRONTATIONS IN THE WEST BANK AS PALESTINIAN GROUPS UNITED TO OBSERVE A GENERAL STRIKE SEPTEMBER 17 TO MARK THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF SABRA AND SHATILA. A PALESTINIAN SUSPECTED OF COLLABORATING WITH THE ISRAELIS WAS KILLED IN NABLUS. TWO PALESTINIANS WERE REPORTED KILLED AND 76 WOUNDED IN CLASHES WITH THE IDF. THIS REPORT WAS COMPILED MAINLY FROM PRESS ACCOUNTS. END SUMMARY.

WEEKLY WRAP UP

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PALESTINIANS KILL SUSPECTED COLLABORATOR

SEPTEMBER 13

THE BODY OF A NABLUS MAN, BEARING MARKS OF BLOWS TO THE HEAD AND SEVERAL STAB WOUNDS IN THE NECK, WAS FOUND IN NABLUS' OLD CITY. LOCAL RESIDENTS SAID THE VICTIM HAD BEEN INVOLVD IN THE SALE OF ARAB-OWNED LAND TO ISRAELIS. THIS WAS THE LATEST IN A SERIES OF ATTACKS ON PERSONS SUSPECTED OF COLLABORATING WITH ISRAEL.

A MAN FROM HUWWARA, NEAR NABLUS, WHO WAS CONSIDERED A COLLABORATOR WITH ISRAELI AUTHORITIES, WAS INJURED SEPTEMBER 18 WHILE RIDING HIS MOTORBIKE WHEN HE WAS HIT BY THE DRIVER OF A STOLEN TRUCK. THE MAN'S HOME WAS LATER SET ON FIRE.

_	GENERAL	STRIKE	RESULTS	IN DEATH	OF TWO
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SEPTEMBER 17

PALESTINIANS OBSERVED A GENERAL STRIKE MARKING THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE KILLINGS AT SABRA AND SHATILA. THE STRIKE WAS CALLED BY BOTH THE PLO-BACKED UNIFIED LEADERSHIP AND THE ISLAMIC GROUP HAMAS. DEMONSTRATIONS ERUPTED THROUGHOUT THE WEST BANK DURING THE STRIKE. ONE MAN WAS KILLED BY IDF FIRE IN TULKAREM; A SECOND WAS SHOT AND KILLED BY THE IDF AT LUBBAN SHAQIEH, NORTH OF UNCLASSIFIED

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RAMALLAH.

76 INJURED

SEPTEMBER 14

THREE PALESTINIANS WERE WOUNDED BY GUNFIRE WHEN SOLDIERS RAIDED BEIT LID, NEAR TULKAREM.

ONE PERSON WAS WOUNDED BY THE IDF AT BURQIN, NEAR JENIN.

SEPTEMBER 15

IDF SHOT AND SERIOUSLY WOUNDED FIVE PALESTINIAN YOUTHS DURING CLASHES IN NABLUS.

SEPTEMBER 16

AN ISRAELI SETTLER SUFFERED A FRACTURED SKULL WHEN SHE WAS HIT BY A STONE THROWN AT HER CAR NEAR AZZAHIRIYEH, SOUTH OF HEBRON.

SEPTEMBER 17

TROUBLE BEGAN IN QALQILYA WHEN SOLDIERS INTERVENED TO STOP MASKED YOUTHS WHO HAD ATTACKED AND WOUNDED A MAN SUSPECTED OF COLLABORATING WITH ISRAELI AUTHORITIES. PALESTINIAN SOURCES SAID NINE PERSONS WERE WOUNDED IN THE SUBSEQUENT CLASHES.

AT EIN BEIT ILMA REFUGEE CAMP, NEAR NABLUS, IDF SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED SIX PERSONS.

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INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, SEPTEMBER 12-19, 1988

IDF CLASHED WITH RESIDENTS AT BALATA REFUGEE CAMP, NEAR NABLUS. 20 PERSONS WERE HOSPITALIZED WITH INJURIES FROM BEATING AND RUBBER BULLETS.

IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED FOUR PALESTINIANS AT QALANDIA REFUGEE CAMP, NEAR RAMALLAH. CURFEW WAS IMPOSED AND THE CAMP DECLARED A CLOSED MILITARY ZONE.

IDF SHOT AND INJURED THREE PALESTINIANS AT THE AMARI REFUGEE CAMP NEAR RAMALLAH. SOLDIERS CLOSED THE AREA TO JOURNALISTS.

SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED THREE PALESTINIANS AT SHWEIKEH, NEAR TULKAREM; ONE AT NEARBY ZEITA UNCLASSIFIED

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VILLAGE; AND ANOTHER AT QUFFIN, NEAR NABLUS.

CLASHES WERE REPORTED IN THE EAST JERUSALEM NEIGHBORHOODS OF SILWAN, ABU TOR AND ISSAWIYEH, WHERE POLICE FIRED TEARGAS CANNISTERS AND USED RUBBER BULLETS AGAINST DEMONSTRATORS.

SEPTEMBER 18

DURING AN IDF SWEEP IN VILLAGES NEAR TULKAREM, SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED A YOUTH IN ILLAR VILLAGE AFTER HE ALLEGEDLY ATTACKED AN OFFICER WITH A HATCHET.

IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED FIVE PALESTINIANS DURING CLASHES IN JENIN. TWO OTHERS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED IN NABLUS, A THIRD IN BURQIN, AND A FOURTH IN QALQILYA.

SEPTEMBER 19

IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED FOUR PALESTINIANS IN NABLUS. THREE OTHERS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED IN JENIN. ANOTHER YOUTH WAS SHOT AND WOUNDED IN QALQILYA, WHERE SOLDIERS IMPOSED CURFEW FOLLOWING CLASHES.

DEMOLITION AND SEALING OF ARAB-OWNED HOMES

SEPTEMBER 14

ISRAELI MILITARY AUTHORITIES DESTROYED A TOTAL OF 13 HOMES IN THE VILLAGES OF SHUYOUKH AND SA'IR, UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

NEAR HEBRON, AND AT EIN YABROUD AND JABA' NEAR RAMALLAH, CLAIMING THAT THE HOUSES HAD BEEN BUILT WITHOUT A LICENSE.

SEPTEMBER 15

ISRAELI AUTHORITIES SEALED THE HOME OF A QALQILYA RESIDENT FOR TWO YEARS AFTER THEY DISCOVERED A NUMBER OF IRON NAILS INSIDE THE HOUSE.

SEPTEMBER 18

AUTHORITIES DEMOLISHED SIX HOMES IN AZZAHIRIYEH, SOUTH-WEST OF HEBRON, CLAIMING THAT THE HOUSES HAD BEEN BUILT WITHOUT PERMITS.

- AUTHORITIES UPROOT TREES IN ARAB VILLAGES

SEPTEMBER 15

ISRAELI BULLDOZERS GUARDED BY A CONTINGENT OF IDF SOLDIERS UPROOTED 25 OLIVE TREES ALONG THE ROAD LEADING FROM TURMUS AYYA AND SINJEL, RAMALLAH DISTRICT, TO NEARBY SHILO SETTLEMENT.

SEPTEMBER 19

ISRAELI MILITARY BULLDOZERS UPROOTED OLIVE AND CAROB TREES PLANTED ALONG THE MAIN ROAD BETWEEN AZZOUN AND QALQILYA.

CURFEWS

SEPTEMBER 16 UNCLASSIFIED

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 RP-10 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SR-06 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /100 W

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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03167

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SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, SEPTEMBER 12-19, 1988

AUTHORITIES LIFTED THE SIEGE ON THE VILLAGE OF TEL AFTER 33 DAYS (SEPTEL).

SEPTEMBER 17

CURFEW WAS IMPOSED ON QALQIYA FOLLOWING VIOLENT CLASHES BETWEEN THE IDF AND VILLAGERS.

IDF IMPOSED CURFEW ON QALANDIA AND AM'ARI REFUGEE CAMPS, NEAR RAMALLAH, AZZAHIRIYEH, SOUTH OF HEBRON AND ARRABEH, NEAR JENIN. THE CURFEW REMAINED AS OF ON SEPTEMBER 19.

SEPTEMBER 19 UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

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THE VILLAGES OF KUFR MALIK AND BEIT RIMA, NEAR RAMALLAH AND BURQA, NEAR NABLUS WERE CLOSED OFF BY THE IDF, FOLLOWING CLASHES.
WILCOX



***	Current Classification ***	
	**************************************	n/a

DECLASSIFY

DECLASSIFY

EO Citations

) CLASSIFY as

) DOWNGRADE TS to (

9204029



<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 88TUNIS09857

FILM= D880848-0080

DATE= 22 SEP 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= TUNIS

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE ALGIERS

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS=

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO = OA

SUBJECT= ARAB LEAGUE DEMARCHE ON U.S.-IRAQI DISPUTE - AND ISRAELI SATELLITE

Distanta Non-Responsive Into

FOIA Exemptions

Exemptions

REFERENCE= 88 STATE 299492

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= DEMARCHE, SATELLITE, DISPUTE SETTLEMENT, NEGOTIATION, FOREIGN RELATIONS

TAGS= PREL, US, XF, TS, IS, IR, AL



PAGE 01 TUNIS 09857 01 OF 02 220821Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /054 W

----072534 220827Z /25

R 220819Z SEP 88 FM AMEMBASSY TUNIS TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7879 AMEMBASSY ALGIERS INFO ARAB LEAGUE COLLECTIVE AMEMBASSY ANKARA

SECTION 01 OF 02 TUNIS 09857

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, XF, TS

SUBJECT: ARAB LEAGUE DEMARCHE ON U.S.-IRAQI DISPUTE

AND ISRAELI SATELLITE

REF: STATE 299492

1.

SUMMARY

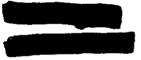
2. ARAB LEAGUE SYG KLIBI IS CRITICAL OF U.S. TACTICS IN CONFRONTING IRAQ OVER CHEMICAL WARFARE (CW) AND SUGGESTS THAT THE USG SHOULD ENLIST GULF STATES AND ARAB LEAGUE TO PURSUE SUCH ISSUES. HE IS FEARFUL THAT IRAN WILL BE PERMITTED TO RE-ARM AND SWITCH FROM NEGOTIATIONS TO ARMED CONFRONTATION AFTER A BREATHING SPELL. ISRAEL'S SATELLITE HAS ALSO TOUCHED A NERVE. ON LEBANON, THE SYG FAVORS EITHER ELECTION OF RAYMOND



PAGE 02 TUNIS 09857 01 OF 02 220821Z

EDDE OR CONTINUATION OF THE AL HOSS GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

- 3. AMBASSADOR, ACCOMPANIED BY POLCOUSELOR, CALLED ON ARAB LEAGUE SYG KLIBI AT HIS REQUEST SEPT. 21 TO DISCUSS THE GULF AND OTHER REGIONAL QUESTIONS. KLIBI WAS JOINED BY HIS DIRECTOR FOR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AHMED EL HERGUEM.
- 4. THE FOCAL POINT OF THE MEETING WAS A LOW-KEY DEMARCHE ON U.S. HANDLING OF IRAQI CW. NOTING RECENT STORMY RELATIONS, KLIBI QUESTIONED THE WAY IN WHICH THE U.S. RAISED THE ISSUE. IF U.S. OBJECTIVE HAD BEEN POLITICAL -- I.E. TO HUMILIATE OR EMBARRASS IRAQ -- IT SUCCEEDED. HOWEVER, IF U.S. OBJECTIVE WAS HUMANITARIAN, THEN U.S. TACTICS WERE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. OVERALL, IRAQI POLICY HAS EVOLVED IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION IN RECENT YEARS TO THE POINT THAT IRAQ NOW CONTRIBUTES TO THE MODERATE ARAB CONSENSUS RATHER THAN CHALLENGING IT. THE U.S. APPROACH RISKS RADICALIZING IRAQ AND OFFENDING AMERICA'S FRIENDS IN THE GULF. A FAR BETTER APPROACH, KLIBI SUGGESTED, WOULD HAVE BEEN TO WORK THROUGH MODERATE GULF STATES OR EVEN THE ARAB LEAGUE.
- 5. IN RESPONSE, AMBASSADOR STRESSED THAT U.S. GOAL WAS INDEED HUMANITARIAN, BUT BROADLY CONCEIVED. RECENTLY, THE WORLD HAS WITNESSED SIGNIFICANT EROSION IN THE PROHIBITION OF CW. THE U.S. BELIEVES THE WORLD COMMUNITY MUST RETURN TO THE POST-WWI CONSENSUS IN THIS REGARD. IN GENERAL, THE U.S. VALUES ITS RELATIONS WITH IRAQ WHICH HAS COME OUT OF THE WAR AS A REGIONAL POWER. THE U.S. IS NOW TRYING TO



PAGE 03 TUNIS 09857 01 OF 02 220821Z

DE-EMOTIONALIZE THE ISSUE AND RETURN IT TO THE REALM OF CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE. FOREIGN MINISTER AZIZ' AND THE USG RESPONSE SHOULD FACILITATE THAT EFFORT.

6. RAISING A NEW ISSUE, KLIBI THEN EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE RE-ARMING OF IRAN. SUCH A DEVELOPMENT IS EXTREMELY DANGEROUS. THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP, NOTABLY RAFSANJANI, MAY APPEAR RELATIVELY MODERATE, BUT IT MAY BE DISSEMBLING. NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT BE STRETCHED OUT FOR SIX MONTH OR SO TO ALLOW IRAN "TO CATCH ITS BREATH" THEN FIGHTING RESUMED. ALTERNATELY, RAFSANJANI MIGHT BE THRUST ASIDE BY MILITANTS. HE HOPED THE U.S. WOULD MAINTAIN ITS EFFORTS TO DISSUADE OTHERS, SUCH AS CHINA, NORTH KOREA, EVEN EUROPEANS, FROM RE-ARMING IRAN.



- 7. AMBASSADOR AGREED. ONE SHOULD NOT PRESUME THAT THE CURRENT CEASE FIRE WILL ENDURE INDEFINITELY. IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN THIS REGARD, THE U.S. UNDERSTANDS THAT IRAQI AND IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL CONFER WITH UN SYG IN NEW YORK IN EARLY OCTOBER, THEN NEGOTIATIONS WILL RESUME SUBSEQUENTLY IN GENEVA. KLIBI VOLUNTEERED THAT THE GULF STATES WOULD BE URGING IRAQ TO TAKE FLEXIBLE POSITIONS.
- 8. KLIBI THEN NOTED NEWS OF ISRAEL'S LAUNCH OF A "MILITARY" SATELLITE. THE ARAB STATES, KLIBI SAID, HAD HOPED THAT AN END TO GULF FIGHTING MIGHT PERMIT ALL COUNTRIES IN THE REGION TO RE-ORIENT THEMSELVES IN PEACEFUL DIRECTIONS. WITH THE HELP OF THE GERMANS, FRENCH, BRITISH AND AMERICANS, ISRAEL HAD NOW SHARPLY ESCALATED TENSIONS. HE RECOMMENDED THE



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R 220819Z SEP 88 FM AMEMBASSY TUNIS TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7880 AMEMBASSY ALGIERS INFO ARAB LEAGUE COLLECTIVE AMEMBASSY ANKARA

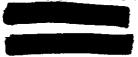
SECTION 02 OF 02 TUNIS 09857

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, XF, TS

SUBJECT: ARAB LEAGUE DEMARCHE ON U.S.-IRAQI DISPUTE U.S. CAREFULLY STUDY RECENT STATEMENTS CARRIED BY THE ALGERIAN NEWS AGENCY TO UNDERSTAND BETTER THE EVOLVING ARAB POSITION.

9. AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT ISRAEL FOR YEARS HAD REQUESTED UNRESTRICTED ACCESS TO U.S. SATELLITES, WHICH U.S. CONSISTENTLY HAD DENIED. NO DOUBT THIS WAS ONE FACTOR IN ISRAEL'S DECISION TO GO IT ALONE. AS FOR LAUNCH AND SATELLITE TECHNOLOGY, THERE WERE NUMEROUS SOURCES, INCLUDING THIRD-WORLD COUNTRIES LIKE INDIA AND CHINA. IT WAS ESSENTIALLY A QUESTION OF A COUNTRY'S TECHNOLOGICAL LEVEL. KLIBI WONDERED WHAT THE U.S. AND ISRAELI REACTION WOULD BE IF AN ARAB STATE WERE TO LAUNCH A MILITARY RECONNAISSANCE SATELLITE.

0. KLIBI ALSO RAISED LEBANON. HE REGRETTED THAT THE U.S. HAD NOT BEEN MORE SUCCESSFUL IN "SELLING"



PAGE 02 TUNIS 09857 02 OF 02 220822Z

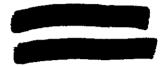
THE U.S.-SYRIAN COMPROMISE CANDIDATE IN LEBANON. DRAWING FROM REFTEL AND PRESS GUIDANCE, AMBASSADOR EXPLAINED BACKGROUND OF U.S. EFFORT. HE NOTED THAT A/S MURPHY HAD TWO NOTABLE ACCOMPLISHMENTS WHICH THE CHRISTIANS SHOULD CREDIT. FIRST, SYRIA HAD ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF ELECTIONS FIRST THEN REFORM. SECOND, SYRIA HAD WITHDRAWN ITS PRIMARY CANDIDATE. AND, THE COMPROMISE ONE WAS AFTER ALL A MARONITE. KLIBI AGREED AND SAID DAHER HAD EVEN TAKEN POSITIONS INDEPENDENT OF SYRIA ON FOUR OR FIVE OCCASIONS IN THE PAST. OTHER POSSIBILITIES, HOWEVER, MIGHT INCLUDE RAYMOND EDDE'S ELECTION OR CONTINUATION OF THE AL HOSS GOVERNMENT. AMBASSADOR NOTED EDDE HAD BEEN AWAY FOR MANY YEARS AND QUESTIONED WHETHER HE COULD BE APPROVED BY THE CURRENT LEBANESE PARLIAMENT. HE RE-EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE U.S. ATTACHES TO SUCCESSFUL HOLDING OF ELECTION.

11. IN CLOSING, AMBASSADOR RAISED PEACE PROCESS. IN PARTICULAR, HE NOTED, THE POSITIVE REACTION OF BASSAM ABU SHARIF TO SECRETARY SHULTZ SPEECH OF SEPT. 16



WHICH CONTRASTED MARKEDLY WITH MALL WILL CLOVIS MAKSOUD'S TOTALLY NEGATIVE ASSESSMENT. KLIBI TOOK THE POINT, NOTED IN TURN FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER DUMAS' POSITIVE CHARACTERIZATION OF HIS TALK WITH ARAFAT AND OBSERVED THAT ALL PARTIES WOULD BE LOOKING FOR A VEHICLE TO MAKE PROGRESS AFTER THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS.

COMMENT



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11. IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT MAKSOUD CLEARS HIS REMARKS WITH TUNIS, BUT WE NEVERTHELESS FELT HIS RECENT NEGATIVISM WARRANTED MENTION. BY CONTRAST, ARAB LEAGUE HQ. HERE HAS TRIED TO AÇCENTUATE THE POSITIVE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, MOST RECENTLY A NOTE PRAISING U.S.-SOVIET COOPERATION (SEPTEL).

12. ACTION FOR ALGIERS. KLIBI DEFLECTED A REQUEST FOR FURTHER SPECIFICS ON THE ALGERIAN POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE ISRAELI SATELLITE. APPRECIATE ANY CLARIFICATION YOU CAN SUPPLY.

13. BAGHDAD AND BEIRUT MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

PELLETREAU.

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IN PART



*** Current Classification *** *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a	UNOLAUUII IEU
<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>	

DOC NBR= 88STATE311484

FILM= D880851-0607

DATE= 22 SEP 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= STATE

DRAFTER= INR/SFA:RHOLT

OFFICE= ORIGIN INR

TO= TEL AVIV

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS=

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO = OA

SUBJECT= MEETING WITH CHIEF OF ISRAELI SPACE PROGRAM

REFERENCE= 88 TEL AVIV 13594

CONTROL NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

<<<<>>>>>

CONCEPTS= SPACE PROGRAM, MEETING, OUTER SPACE, SATELLITE

TAGS= KSCA, TSPA, MCAP, MNUC, MOPS, PINR, IS

PARTMENT OF STATE

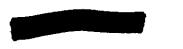
FOIA Exemptions

Exemptions

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PAGE 01 STATE 311484 ORIGIN INR-10

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NEA-06 NSCE-00 NSF-01 NSAE-00 NASA-01 SSO-00 L-03 PM-10 INRE-00 OES-09 ACDA-12 DOEE-00 T-01 /053 R

DRAFTED BY: INR/SFA:RHOLT APPROVED BY: INR/SFA:RWALPOLE

NEA/IAI:MSCOBEY OES/SAT:LROSE

INR/NESA:DHERTZBERG

INR/FAR:MLOWENTHAL

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O 222304Z SEP 88

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

STATE 311484

FOR JACK SEGAL

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS:

KSCA, TSPA, MCAP, MNUC, MOPS, PINR, IS SUBJECT: MEETING WITH CHIEF OF ISRAELI SPACE PROGRAM

REFTEL: TEL AVIV 13594

IN WASHINGTON INTEREST IS HIGH CONCERNING THE OFFEQ SATELLITE AND LAUNCHER, AND WE HAVE MANY QUESTIONS THAT WE HOPE THE DIRECTOR OF THE ISRAELI SPACE PROGRAM WILL ANSWER. THE LAUNCH CAUGHT ALMOST EVERYONE BY SURPRISE, AND WE FIND WE HAVE MUCH TO LEARN ABOUT THE ISRAELI SPACE PROGRAM.

2. (U) THE QUESTIONS IN THIS CABLE COME FROM A NUMBER OF INTERESTED ANALYSTS. THE QUESTIONS FALL INTO SEVERAL CATEGORIES: THE SPACE PROGRAM, THE TECHNICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GROUND LAUNCH VEHICLE, THE SPACE LAUNCH VEHICLE AND THE SATELLITE, AND THE ORBIT. CONFIDENTIAL

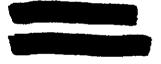


PAGE 02 **STATE 311484**

A. WHAT IS THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ISRAELI SPACE PROGRAM? WHO ARE THE PRINCIPALS IN THE ORGANIZATION? WHAT IS THE BUDGET? WHAT IS THE CONNECTION WITH THE MILITARY? WHAT ARE THE GOALS OF THE ISRAELI SPACE

PROGRAM? ARE THERE PLANS TO LAUNCH GEOSYNCHRONOUS SATELLITES? WHY WOULD ISRAEL NEED A COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE, AS THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN CALLED? WHAT IS THE SCHEDULE FOR OTHER LAUNCHES? WHAT IS THE ORDER OF SUBSEQUENT TYPES OF PAYLOADS? HAS THE ISRAELI SPACE AGENCY BEEN IN CONTACT WITH NASA; DOES IT ANTICIPATE COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS? WHAT KIND OF EARTH RESOURCES SATELLITES DOES ISRAEL PLAN TO DEVELOP? DOES ISRAEL PLAN TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE GLOBAL WEATHER SATELLITE NETWORK?

- B. WHAT IS THE DESIGNATION OF THE SPACE LAUNCH VEHICLE (SLV)? WHAT IS THE NUMBER OF STAGES? WAS ONE AN ORBITAL-INSERTION BOOSTER? WHAT ARE THE MEASUREMENTS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF ALL THE PARTS? WHAT IS THE WEIGHT OF THE ENTIRE SLV AND PAYLOAD? WHAT ARE THE WEIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL STAGES? WHAT WAS THE PROPELLANT OF EACH STAGE? WHAT WAS THE PROPELLANT LOADING AND BINDER FOR EACH STAGE? WHAT WAS THE SPECIFIC IMPULSE OF THE PROPELLANT? WHAT SIGNALS WERE USED TO ACTIVATE EACH STAGE? WHAT IS THE MATERIAL OF THE ROCKET MOTOR CASING? WHERE IS THE ROCKET PRODUCED? WAS THE BOOSTER FIRED TO DEPLETION?
- C. WHAT WAS THE GROUND LAUNCH VEHICLE? WHAT KIND OF MOBILITY DOES IT PROVIDE? WHAT OTHER SUPPORT VEHICLES ARE REQUIRED?
- D. WHAT WAS THE GUIDANCE PACKAGE? WHERE WAS IT



PAGE 03 STATE 311484

DEVELOPED? WHAT IS THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE 58KG "POWER SUPPLY SYSTEM?" WHAT IS THE COMPOSITION OF THE 32KG "INSTRUMENTION" PACKAGE? WAS ANY FOREIGN TECHNOLOGY INCLUDED IN THE SATELLITE? IS THE SATELLITE SPIN STABILIZED; IF SO, AT WHAT SPIN RATE? DID THE PAYLOAD MONITOR THE PERFORMANCE OF THE LAUNCH VEHICLE?

E. WHAT WAS THE LAUNCH TIME (TO THE SECOND)? WHAT WAS THE LENGTH OF BURN TIME OF EACH STAGE? WHAT WAS THE THRUST OF EACH STAGE? WILL THERE BE LAUNCH NOTIFICATION OF FUTURE LAUNCHES (TO ALLOW US TO CLEAR OUR AIRCRAFT)? HOW DO THE ISRAELIS TRACK THE LAUNCH AND ORBIT? DO THEY HAVE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE IN TRACKING? IS THE SATELLITE ORBITING STABLY NOW? WHAT IS THE RATIONALE FOR THE ORBIT CHOSEN: ONLY POSSIBLE? HIGHEST POSSIBLE? BEST FOR GROUND ACCESSIBILITY?

3. PLEASE DIRECT ANY INFORMATION ABOUT THE DEASONS ED TO INR/SFA FOR RUSH HOLT. SHULTZ

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification ***



*** Current Classification ***

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 88DAMASC05478

FILM= D880845-0241

DATE= 21 SEP 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= DAMASCUS

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE TEL AVIV MOSCOW

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

.

ORIGCLASS=

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= OA

SUBJECT= SYRIAN EDITORIAL AND CONCERN ABOUT ISRAELI - SATELLITE AND MISSILE

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

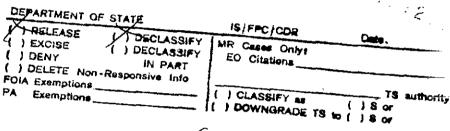
LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= SATELLITE, MISSILE, NEWSPAPER, REPORT, MILITARY COOPERATION, INF

TAGS= PREL, MARR, SY, IS, UR

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PAGE 01 DAMASC 05478 211456Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 NASA-01 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 CIP-08 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 OES-09 ACDA-12 SCSC-01 USIE-00 SP-02 DOEE-00 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 SARN-01 SART-01 P-02 T-01 /087 W

O 211454Z SEP 88 FM AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6654 INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

DAMASCUS 05478

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MARR, SY, IS, UR

SUBJECT: SYRIAN EDITORIAL AND CONCERN ABOUT ISRAELI

SATELLITE AND MISSILE

1.

- 2. SYRIAN PRESS HAS CARRIED THE EXPECTED ARTICLES CRITICIZING U.S.-ISRAEL COOPERATION IN LAUNCHING A "SPY SATELLITE," SEPTEMBER 19. HOWEVER, A SEPTEMBER 21 QUASI-EDITORIAL IN "AL-BA'TH" TOOK THE ISSUE BEYOND ARAB-ISRAELI CONCERNS BY SUGGESTING THAT THE LAUNCH MISSILE IS A U.S. ATTEMPT TO CIRCUMVENT U.S.-SOVIET AGREEMENTS ON MEDIUM RANGE MISSILE DRAWDOWNS.
- 3. ON BOTH SEPTEMBER 20 AND 21, SYRIAN PRESS CARRIED REPORTS OF THE SEPTEMBER 19 ISRAELI LAUNCH OF A SATELLITE. REPORTS LINKED THE SATELLITE WITH U.S.-ISRAELI COOPERATION, MENTIONING IN PARTICULAR COOPERATION IN THE STAR WARS PROGRAM. MOST REPORTS FOCUSSED ON THE THREAT POSED TO THE ARAB HOMELAND BY AN ISRAELI

PAGE 02 DAMASC 05478 211456Z

SPY SATELLITE. A FEATURE ARTICLE OF SOME SIX COLUMNS IN "TISHRIN" ON THE 21ST SAID THE U.S. SPOKESMAN HAD TRIED TO HIDE US INVOLVEMENT IN THE LAUNCH. THE ARTICLE WENT ON TO SPECULATE ON ITS MILITARY USE.

4. A QUASI-EDITORIAL IN "AL-BA'TH" SEPTEMBER 21, MADE
.THE EXPECTED ACCUSATIONS THAT THE LAUNCH DEMONSTRATED
ONE OF THE MOST DANGEROUS FACTORS OF CURRENT STRATEGIC
COOPERATION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL. THE PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH SWITCHED GEARS, HOWEVER, HIGH
LIGHTING THE DANGER OF THE MISSILE TO THE PEACE
AND STABILITY OF THE WORLD. A ROUGH TRANSLATION IS
AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN QUOTE: "ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL, THE SATELLITE IS AN AMERICAN ATTEMPT TO COMPENSATE FOR ITS AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIETS TO DESTROY MEDIUM RANGE MISSILES IN EUROPE. IT PROVIDES, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF COOPERATION WITH ISRAEL IN THE STAR WARS PROGRAM, AND SEVERAL MONTHS AFTER THE EXPERIMENT WITH WHAT IS CALLED THE ARIHA (?) MISSILE, A MISSILE CLEARLY OF AMERICAN MANUFACTURE AND GOALS." END QUOTE.

5. COMMENT: DATT WAS VISITED BY SOVIET COUNTERPART SEPTEMBER 21 ON WHAT HE CALLED AN "URGENT MATTER" WHICH WAS, IN FACT, SUBJECT OF PARA 4. DATT WILL REPORT SEPTEL.

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification ***

*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a <<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>> DOC_NBR= 88STATE308219 FILM= D880842-0451 **DATE= 21 SEP 88** TYPE= TE FROM= STATE DRAFTER= NEA/IAI:MSCOBEY OFFICE= ORIGIN NEA DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO= TEL AVIV () DECLASSIFY RELEASE Cases Only: () DECLASSIFY EXCISE **ĚO Citations**, CHANNEL= n/a IN PART () DELETE Non-Responsive Info TS authority to:) CLASSIFY ... FOIA Exemptions. ORIGHAND= n/a) DOWNGRADE TS to () & or PA Exemptions ORIGPHAND= n/a ORIGCLASS= UNCLASSIFIED ORIGPCLASS= n/a EO= N/A SUBJECT= MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY: ISRAEL'S SATELLITE LAUNCH -REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PRIME MINISTER, CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE, TEXT, SATELLITE, TECHNO SPACE PROGRAM, COMMITMENT, PEACE

TAGS=TSPA, IS, US, (SHULTZ, GEORGE P)

<<<<.>>>>

PAGE 01 STATE 308219 ORIGIN NEA-04

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DRAFTED BY: NEA/IAI:MSCOBEY APPROVED BY: THE SECRETARY

NEA:RWMURPHY OES:RJSMITH INR:RCLARKE

NEA:ESWALKER NEA/IAI:JLHIRSCH PM/ISP:CDUELFER

S/S:MMLEVITSKY S/S-ODDTROTTER

S:LJOHNSON

----367112 210315Z/72

O 210308Z SEP 88 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 308219

E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: TSPA, IS

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY: ISRAEL'S SATELLITE

LAUNCH

- 1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING ORAL MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY TO PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR, FOREIGN MINISTER PERES. AND DEFENSE MINISTER RABIN.
- 2. BEGIN TEXT: CONGRATULATIONS ON ISRAEL'S SUCCESSFUL SATELLITE LAUNCH. THIS IMPRESSIVE TECHNOLOGICAL ACHIEVE-MENT REFLECTS YOUR NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO SCIENTIFIC EXCELLENCE. ISRAEL'S SPACE PROGRAM WILL CONTRIBUTE NOT ONLY TO SCIENTIFIC ADVANCES BUT ALSO TO THE GREAT GOAL OF PEACE ON THE PLANET EARTH, END TEXT. SHULTZ

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PAGE 02 STATE 308219



*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC NBR= 88CAIRO22567

FILM= D880845-0185

DATE= 21 SEP 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= CAIRO

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ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS= UNCLASSIFIED

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO = N/A

SUBJECT= CAIRO PRESS REVIEW, SEPTEMBER 21, 1988 UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

) DECLASSIFY

IN PART

DECLASSIFY

) DELETE Non-Respensive Into

FOIA Exemptions

Exemptions

REFERENCE= n/a

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ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= REVIEW, NEWSPAPER, ECONOMIC REFORM, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, SATELLITE, ANNIVERSARY, CAMP DAVID

TAGS= PREL, PGOV, PINS, ECON, EG, IS, US, IMF

MR Cases Only: EO Citations) S of

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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 CAIRO 22567 01 OF 04 211438Z ACTION NEA-04

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 EUR-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 IO-19 NSAE-00 AMAD-01 PM-10 PA-02 INRE-00 SP-02 PRS-01 /051 W

----021551 211440Z/38

O 211430Z SEP 88

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0064

INFO USDOC WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA

AMEMBASSY BAGHDAD

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

COMSIXTHFLT

USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL

FBIS RESTON VA

USIA WASHDC 9763

USINFO WASHDC

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04 CAIRO 22567

USDOC FOR 4520/IEP/ANESA/ONE/JOHNSON USCINCCENT FOR POLAD ROME PASS MFO LONDON FOR MILLIKEN

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PINS, ECON, EG, IS, US

SUBJECT: CAIRO PRESS REVIEW, SEPTEMBER 21, 1988

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THIS REVIEW COVERS THE ESTABLISHMENT PRESS (GOVERNMENT-INFLUENCED; AROUND ONE MILLION CIRCULATION)

AND THE OPPOSITION PRESS (NORMALLY WEEKLIES). BOTH CATEGORIES REFLECT THE INCREASING INDEPENDENCE OF THE EGYPTIAN PRESS. THE OPPOSITION PAPERS ARE NOT ONLY LIMITED IN CIRCULATION (10,000-60,000, EXCEPT FOR THE WIDER CIRCULATION AL-WAFD), BUT ALSO WIDELY RECOGNIZED AS IRRESPONSIBLE. NONETHELESS, THEIR STORIES FORM PART OF THE CAIRO RUMOR MILL; THEY CAN PROMPT DEFENSIVE GOVERNMENT ACTION AND INSPIRE PARALLEL STORIES IN THE ESTABLISHMENT PRESS.

HIGHLIGHTS

- -- MUBARAK SAYS IMF PRESCRIPTIONS SHOULD NOT "KILL" THE POOR CITIZEN, AND CALLS UPON THE IMF TO CHANGE ITS POLICY AND TAKE INTO ACCOUNT SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF LOW-INCOME EARNERS.
- -- ARAFAT STILL EXPECTED TO ARRIVE IN CAIRO TODAY.
- EDITORIALISTS WARN AGAINST ISRAEL'S LAUNCHING OF A SATELLITE.
- MINISTER OF AWQAF TO HOLD WEEKLY MEETINGS AT THE ADAM MOSQUE IN AIN SHAMS, THE SITE OF LAST MONTH'S CLASHES.
- OPPOSITION AL-AHALI ATTACKS THE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENT ON ITS TENTH ANNIVERSARY.

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ESTABLISHMENT PRESS: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

1. STATEMENTS BY MUBARAK. THE LEAD ITEM IN ALL PAPERS REPORTS MUBARAK'S STATEMENTS AFTER HIS PARTICIPATION IN THE DIAMOND JUBILEE OF THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE. IN HIS STATEMENTS, MUBARAK SAID THAT HIS EUROPEAN TOUR, TO START SEPTEMBER 22 WITH A VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA, WOULD CONCENTRATE ON VARIOUS ISSUES, INCLUDING THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN EGYPT, BILATERAL COOPERATION, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE GULF WAR. WHEN ASKED IF HE WOULD VISIT THE US, MUBARAK SAID "THE US IS BUSY WITH THE ELECTIONS ... AND WE ARE FOLLOWING THEM TOO TO BENEFIT FROM THEM."

MUBARAK STATED THAT THE REFORM POLICY DEMANDED BY THE IMF MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE POOR CITIZEN AND NOT "KILL" HIM, AND THAT IS WHY SUBSIDIES COULD NOT BE ABOLISHED AT ONE GO ... "BUT THE FUND DOES NOT WANT TO UNDERSTAND THIS." MUBARAK POINTED OUT THAT THE ECONOMIC REFORM COURSE WOULD NEED BETWEEN TEN AND TWENTY YEARS AND WOULD BE SET ACCORDING TO EGYPTIAN CIRCUMSTANCES. ON THE SCHOOL YEAR BONUS USUALLY PAID TO GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, MUBARAK SAID THE STATE COULD NOT PROVIDE IT THIS YEAR BECAUSE OF THE BUDGET DEFICIT, ADDING THAT SUCH A BONUS WOULD HAVE LED TO MORE PRICE INCREASES. MUBARAK CALLED UPON THE MASSES TO CONFRONT GREEDY MERCHANTS FIRMLY. MUBARAK ALSO CALLED UPON THE YOUTH TO ABANDON GOVERNMENT JOBS AND THINK ABOUT OTHER FIELDS.

IN A RELATED STATEMENT, AHRAM QUOTES THE HEAD OF THE SEEDS SECTOR AT THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AS EXPRESSING THE

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USDOC FOR 4520/IEP/ANESA/ONE/JOHNSON USCINCCENT FOR POLAD ROME PASS MFO LONDON FOR MILLIKEN

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PINS, ECON, EG, IS, US

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BELIEF THAT EGYPT WILL ACHIEVE SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN WHEAT WITHIN FIVE YEARS.

- 2. ARAFAT TO ARRIVE WITHIN HOURS. PAPERS REPORT THAT ARAFAT WILL ARRIVE IN CAIRO WITHIN HOURS TODAY TO HOLD TALKS WITH MUBARAK ON THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE. FOREIGN MINISTER ABDEL MEGUID WILL RECEIVE ARAFAT AT THE AIRPORT.
- 3. EGYPT/ISRAEL. AHRAM REPORTS SHAMIR ANNOUNCED THAT THE VERDICT ON TABA WOULD NOT BY ANY MEANS AFFECT THE FUTURE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL. SEPARATELY, AKHBAR REPORTS ABDEL MEGUID CONFERRED WITH THE EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR IN TEL AVIV ON THE CONDITIONS IN ISRAEL.

AHRAM'S DAILY COLUMNIST AHMAD BAHA' EL-DIN CALLS UPON THE ARABS TO ORGANIZE A PRESS CAMPAIGN BEFORE AND AFTER THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS TO UNMASK THE ISRAELI REPRESSION CARRIED OUT AGAINST THE UPRISING. BAHA' EL-DIN ALSO CALLS UPON THE PLO TO ORGANIZE A COMPREHENSIVE ARAB CAMPAIGN TO

ESCALATE WORLD PRESSURE ON THE US AND CONFRONT IT WITH THE FACT THAT IT IS ACTUALLY THE STUMBLING BLOCK IN THE WAY OF FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE.

AKHBAR'S DAILY COLUMNIST ABDEL MONEIM MURAD CALLS UPON THE ARAB COUNTRIES NOT TO MAKE LIGHT OF THE LAUNCHING OF AN ISRAELI "RECONNAISSANCE SATELLITE" TO SPY ON THEM AND TO KEEP CLOSE TRACK OF THIS EVENT. AKHBAR'S DAILY COLUMNIST ABDEL SALAM DAWOUD ADDS THAT HIGH TECHNOLOGY WILL ONLY DRAIN ISRAELI RESOURCES AND WILL NEVER HELP ISRAEL HUMBLE THE ARAB NATION, SUBDUE THE PALESTINIANS, OR ESTABLISH AN EMPIRE FROM THE NILE TO THE EUPHRATES. (SEE OPPOSITION UNCLASSIFIED

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COMMENT)

4. EGYPT/UAE. AHRAM REPORTS THAT THE ABU DHABI DEVELOPMENT FUND'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH EGYPT WILL INCLUDE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TOURIST COMPANY CAPITALIZED AT LE 100 MILLION (90 PERCENT UAE, 10 PERCENT EGYPT) TO BUILD 3 INTERNATIONAL TOURIST VILLAGES AND PARTICIPATE IN FLOATING HOTELS. IN ADDITION, A FINAL AGREEMENT ON LAND RECLAMATION WILL BE SIGNED.

DOMESTIC NEWS

5. RELIGIOUS MEETINGS. AHRAM REPORTS THAT THE MINISTER OF AWQAF WILL HOLD A SEMINAR EVERY TUESDAY AT THE ADAM MOSQUE IN AIN SHAMS, THE SITE OF POLICE/ISLAMIC GAM'AAT CLASHES LAST MONTH. THE MINISTER WILL CONDUCT

A DIALOGUE WITH THE YOUTH OF AIN SHAMS ON SOUND ISLAMIC CONCEPTS AND TEACHINGS. THE MINISTER NOTED THAT THE HIGHER COUNCIL FOR ISLAMIC AFFAIRS WILL PUBLISH A NUMBER OF BOOKS AT COST TO PROTECT THE YOUTH FROM MISLEADING IDEOLOGIES.

- 6. APPOINTMENT OF GRADUATES. ALL PAPERS REPORT THAT 35,000 GRADUATES WILL APPOINTED TO GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC SECTOR JOBS AS OF OCTOBER 1.
- 7. SYMPOSIUM ON INVESTMENT IN EGYPT. AHRAM REPORTS A SYMPOSIUM IS SCHEDULED TO BE HELD IN EARLY NOVEMBER ON THE

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LONDON FOR MILLIKEN

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PINS, ECON, EG, IS, US

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PROMOTION OF EGYPTIAN EXPORTS AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF INVESTMENT IN EGYPT. THE SYMPOSIUM WILL BE ORGANIZED IN AUSTRIA.

- 8. EGYPTIAN PHARACEUTICALS SAFE. ALL PAPERS QUOTE THE MINISTER OF HEALTH AS DENYING RUMORS ABOUT THE CONTAMINATION OF EGYPTIAN PHARMACEUTICALS AND MEDICINES. THE MINISTER ALSO DENIED REPORTS IN THE OPPOSITION PRESS THAT SOME INJECTIONS WERE CONTAMINATED WITH AIDS.
- 9. TV NEWS SEPTEMBER 20: MUBARAK PARTICIPATES IN THE CELEBRATIONS OF THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE; EGYPT-UAE TALKS IN CAIRO; CONFERENCE OF THE COUNCIL FOR AFRICAN MINISTERS OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION HELD IN CAIRO AND ATTENDED BY 12 AFRICAN COUNTRIES; THE END OF A SEMINAR ON THE GULF WAR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF AL-MINYA; THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER AFFIRMED THAT ARAFAT HAD RECOGNIZED THE EXISTENCE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL; THE SITUATION IN LEBANON; THE SHURA COUNCIL SPEAKER OPENS A SCHOOL IN THE GOVERNORATE OF SHAROIYYA.
- 10. DOLLAR EXCHANGE RATE FOR SEPTEMBER 21: USD 1 EQUALS PT 231.0 (BUYING) AND PT 231.6 (SELLING).

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11. CAMP DAVID TENTH ANNIVERSARY. AN UNSIGNED AL-AHALI EDITORIAL EXPRESSES REJECTION OF THE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENT AND WRITES THAT PEACE HAS NOT BEEN ESTABLISHED FOR THE ARMAMENT RACE IS STILL GOING ON BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL. UNCLASSIFIED

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MOREOVER, ISRAELI HOOLIGANISM HAS INCREASED, NO SOLUTION HAS BEEN REACHED TO THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE, AND THE EGYPTIAN ECONOMY HAS DETERIORATED AT A TIME WHEN ISRAEL BENEFITS FROM EGYPTIAN PETROLEUM AND ENHANCES ITS MILITARY SUPERIORITY AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE LAUNCHING OF AN ESPIONAGE SATELLITE. AL-AHALI ARGUES THAT THE BUDGET ALLOCATED FOR DEFENSE HAS NEVER BEEN CHANNELLED TO DEVELOPMENT AS SADAT SAID WOULD OCCUR BECAUSE NO WISE MAN WOULD DARE DO THIS WHILE ISRAEL POSES A DANGER TO EGYPT AND WHILE SINAI IS PARTLY A DEMILITARIZED ZONE, FULL OF FOREIGN FORCES (I.E. THE MFO) THAT ARE ACTUALLY THERE TO PROTECT ISRAELI SECURITY. AL-AHALI CONCLUDES BY CALLING FOR ABOLISHING THE PALESTINIAN PART OF THE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENT AND FREEZING NORMALIZATION AS A FIRST STEP TOWARD CANCELLING THE TREATY.

ON THE LAUNCHING OF AN ISRAELI RECONNAISSANCE SATELLITE, AL-AHALI QUOTES FORMER WAR MINISTER MUHAMMAD FAWZY AS SAYING THAT IT HAS BECOME A NECESSITY TO LAUNCH AN ARAB MILITARY SATELLITE BECAUSE THE ISRAELI ONE WOULD UPSET THE BALANCE OF POWER IN FAVOR OF ISRAEL, ESPECIALLY AFTER MONITORING ALL THE MOVES OF THE EGYPTIAN ARMY.

ON THE SAME ISSUE, AL-WAFD'S EDITORIALIST GAMAL BADAWY WRITES THAT FROM NOW ON ISRAEL WILL KNOW EVERY LITTLE THING ABOUT THE ARAB COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY EGYPT. ISRAEL WILL HAVE NO MORE NEED FOR THE PICTURES OF US SATELLITES; ISRAEL WANTS ITS DECISION TO BE INDEPENDENT FROM THE SUPERPOWERS SO THAT THESE COUNTRIES MAY NOT STAND IN ITS WAY ONE DAY WHEN IT DECIDES TO LAUNCH A WAR AND ANNIHILATE THE ARABS. CONCLUDING, THE EDITORIALIST CALLS UPON THE ARABS TO "WAKE UP."

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12. "EGYPT' REVOLUTION." AL-AHALI REPORTS THAT UNDER THE MOTTO "THE DEFENSE OF EGYPT'S REVOLUTION IS A DEFENSE OF NATIONAL DIGNITY", THE NASSERISTS WILL ORGANIZE A POLITICAL RALLY IN COMMEMORATION OF NASSER AT THE BAR

ASSOCIATION SEPTEMBER 29.

- 13. BREAD. AL-AHALI RUNS AN INTERVIEW WITH MANY PEOPLE ON THE NEW "TABAQI" FIVE PLASTER BREAD, IN WHICH THEY SAID THAT THIS STEP ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT IS MAINLY AIMED AT ABOLISHING SUBSIDIES ON BREAD AND NOT IMPROVING ITS QUALITY AS CLAIMED. LOW-INCOME EARNERS INTERVIEWED SAID THEY COULD NOT AFFORD TO BUY THE NEW BREAD, AND CALLED FOR IMPOSING CONTROL OVER BAKERIES TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF THE CURRENT TWO PLASTER BREAD INSTEAD OF PRODUCING A NEW "TABAQI" TYPE FOR FIVE PLASTERS.
- 14. FOREIGN EXCHANGE. AL-WAFD SEPTEMBER 20 REPORTS THAT THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE SHORTAGE DURING THE PAST 8 MONTHS REACHED ALMOST USD 500 MILLIONS. ECONOMIC SOURCES INDICATE THAT THE SHORTAGE WILL CONTINUE IN THE NEXT MONTHS DUE TO LOW INTERNATIONAL PRICES OF PETROLEUM AND BASIC EXPORTS. WISNER

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^{***} Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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SUBJECT= ISRAEL LAUNCHES FIRST SATELLITE REFERENCE= n/a CONTROL NBR= n/a ENCLOSURE= n/a LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM ERRORS= N/A CONCEPTS= SATELLITE. SPACE PROGRAM, GUIDANCE, MILITARY CAPABILITY TAGS= KSCA, TSPA, MCAP, MNUC, MOPS, PINR, IS <<<<.>>>> UNCLASSIFIED PAGE 01 TEL AV 13566 201026Z **ACTION NEA-04** INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 NASA-02 SSO-00 L-03 PM-10 INRE-00 OES-09 ACDA-12 DOEE-00 T-01 /051 W -----317475 201033Z /20 O 201020Z SEP 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0847
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TAGS: KSCA, IS, TSPA, MCAP, MNUC, MOPS, PINR SUBJECT: ISRAEL LAUNCHES FIRST SATELLITE

1. SCIATT HAS ARRANGED A MEETING ON FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23 WITH PROFESSOR YUVAL NEEMAN. CHAIRMAN OF THE ISRAEL SPACE AGENCY TO DISCUSS ISRAEL'S SEPTEMBER 19 SATELLITE LAUNCH.

- 2. SEPTEL LISTS PRINCIPAL ITEMS THAT SCIATT EXPECTS TO RAISE AT THE MEETING AND REQUESTS GUIDANCE ON ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATE QUESTIONS.
- 3. PRESS EXCERPTS PROVIDE THE FOLLOWING GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE SATELLITE:

QUOTE:

"OFFEQ-1" WAS LAUNCHED WESTWARDS OVER THE MEDITERRANEAN INTO A LOW, ELIPTICAL ORBIT WITH ITS PERIGREE (POINT AT WHICH IT IS CLOSEST TO EARTH) AT 250 KMS OVER THE MIDDLE EAST AND ITS HIGH POINT AT UNCLASSIFIED

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1,000 KMS. THE SATELLITE ORBITS EAST TO WEST EVERY 90 MINUTES REPEATING THE FLIGHT PATH EVERY 7 REVOLUTIONS OF THE GLOBE. THE SATELLITE ROTATES ON ITS AXIS ONCE EVERY SECOND ENSURING INERTIAL STABILITY SO THAT THE BODY-MOUNTED SOLAR PANELS FACE THE SUN IN ORDER TO GENERATE ELECTRICITY REQUIRED BY ITS SYSTEM. OFFEQ-1 WILL HAVE A LIFE-SPAN OF ABOUT ONE MONTH AND WILL BURN UP AS IT RE-ENTERS THE ATMOSPHERE.

THE LAUNCH VEHICLE WAS A "SHAVIT" THREE-STAGE ROCKET. THE FIRST STAGES CRASHED INTO THE SEA.

ACCORDING TO FOREIGN SOURCES, THE SHAVIT IS BASED ON THE JERICHO-III SOLID-FUEL ROCKET, DEVELOPED BY RAFAEL, THE WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY.

THE DECLARED PURPOSE OF THE LAUNCH, ACCORDING TO IAI, IS TO "DEMONSTRATE A CAPABILITY TO ORBIT A SATELLITE AND TO CHECK THE FUNCTIONAL ABILITY OF ITS SUBSYSTEMS IN A SPACE ENVIRONMENT." THIS, THE COMPANY SAID, ENTAILED COLLECTING DATA ON SPACE ENVIRONMENT CONDITIONS AND THE EARTH'S MAGNETIC FIELD, GENERATING SOLAR POWER, AND TESTING THE QUALITY OF TRANSMISSION FROM SPACE AND ITS ABILITY TO WITHSTAND VACUUM AND WEIGHTLESS CONDITIONS.

MINISTER OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY GIDEON PATT SAID YESTERDAY THAT THE OFFEQ IS THE ONLY SATELLITE IN THE WORLD TO BE LAUNCHED WESTWARDS. THE REASON IS TO AVOID HEAVILY-POPULATED AREAS, IN CASE OF FAILURE.

ACCORDING TO IAI OFFICIALS, ABOUT 190 MILLION UNCLASSIFIED

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DOLLARS HAVE BEEN INVESTED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SATELLITE SINCE THE 1960S, WITH THE LAUNCH OF THE SHAVIT-II. THE PACE OF SPENDING, HOWEVER, THEY SAID, HAS PICKED UP IN RECENT YEARS, WITH ANNUAL INVESTMENTS ON THE ORDER OF 30 MILLION DOLLARS...

- OFFEQ-1 - SPECIFICATIONS

- SHAPE OCTAGONAL - HEIGHT 2.3 METERS

- LOWER BASE DIAMETER 1.2 METERS

- UPPER BASE DIAMETER 0.7 METERS - WEIGHT 156 KG

- WEIGHT 156 KG - PAYLOAD 3 KG

- SOLAR POWER SUPPLIED 246 WATTS

AVERAGE POWER CONSUMPTION 53 WATTS

VOLTAGE, UNREGULATED 25-42 VOLTS

- COMMUNICATION S BAND

- TELEMETRY RATE 2.5 KBITS/SECOND

- ON-BOARD MEMORY 128 KBYTES

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SUBJECT= MEETING WITH CHIEF OF ISRAELI SPACE PROGRAM

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REFERENCE= 88 TEL AVIV 13550, 88 TEL AVIV 13566

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= SPACE PROGRAM, MEETING, MONITORING, TECHNOLOGY

TAGS= KSCA, TSPA, MCAP, MNUC, MOPS, PINR, IS

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Citations

PAGE 01 TEL AV 13594 201410Z ACTION OES-09

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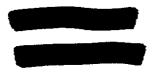
TAGS: KSCA, TSPA, MCAP, MNUC, MOPS, PINR, IS

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH CHIEF OF ISRAEL SPACE PROGRAM

REF: (A) TEL AVIV 13550, (B) TEL AVIV 13566

1.

2. AS NOTED REFTEL B, EMBOFF WILL MEET WITH DIRECTOR OF THE ISRAELI SPACE PROGRAM, PROF. YUVAL NE'EMAN, ON FRIDAY, SEPT. 23 TO DISCUSS THE LAUNCH OF THE "OFFEQ (HORIZON) 1" SATELLITE. WITH THE VIRTUAL SHUTDOWN OF ISRAEL FOR THE YOM KIPPUR HOLIDAY, THIS WAS EARLIEST NE'EMAN COULD MEET WITH US. WE HAVE FORMULATED A LIST OF RELATIVELY TECHNICAL QUESTIONS (OUTLINED BELOW) THAT WE WILL ATTEMPT TO EXPLORE WITH HIM. THE OFFICER CONDUCTING THE INTERVIEW SPENT TWO YEARS IN INR/SFA MONITORING SOVIET SPACE PROGRAMS AND IS FAMILIAR WITH THE TECHNOLOGY. WE WOULD WELCOME ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS FROM WASHINGTON BY CABLE OR PHONE.

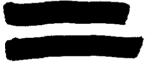


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3. THE ISRAELIS HAVE ALREADY PUBLICIZED NUMEROUS TECHNICAL PARAMETERS OF THE SATELLITE (REF B). A PHOTOGRAPH PUBLISHED IN THE JERUSALEM POST, REPORTEDLY PROVIDED BY IAI, SHOWS A SPACECRAFT SHAPED MUCH LIKE THE GRILL OF AN AUTOMOBILE. IT IS RELATIVELY FLAT WITH A MILD OBLIQUE ANGLE (ABOUT 200 DEGREES) TO ITS FACE. SOLAR PANELS ARE ARRANGED IN

TWO HORIZONTAL ROWS OF TEN, WITH FIVE PANELS ON EACH SIDE OF THE APEX ON EACH ROW. EACH PANEL CONSISTS OF A GRID OF INDIVIDUAL COLLECTORS IN APPROXIMATELY 7 COLUMNS OF 20 COLLECTORS -- 140 COLLECTORS PER PANEL. ALONG THE PERIMETER OF THE "GRILL" IS A SINGLE ROW OF COLLECTORS (NOT SOLAR) WHICH ARE NOT IDENTIFIED. ONLY ONE SIDE OF THE SPACECRAFT IS VISIBLE, SHOWING ABOUT 20 OF THESE COLLECTORS.

- 4. SOME REPORTS INDICATE THAT A TWO-STAGE LAUNCH VEHICLE WAS USED; OTHERS SAY A THREE-STAGE SOLID-FUELED ROCKET (DESCRIBED AS A "JERICHO THREE"). WE WILL ATTEMPT TO CLARIFY THIS AND, IF POSSIBLE, ASCERTAIN THE TYPE OF PROPELLANT USED. IF THIS HAS ALREADY BEEN DETERMINED, PLEASE LET US KNOW. JUDGING FROM A STATEMENT FROM THE ISA, WE BELIEVE THE ORBITAL INCLINATION IS 36 DEGREES. WE PRESUME THIS DATA IS AVAILABLE TO YOU.
- 5. ONE REPORT INDICATES THE PAYLOAD WAS 3 KILOGRAMS. THE ISRAELI DATA GIVES THE "WEIGHT" AS 156 KG. WE EXPECT THE LARGER FIGURE INCLUDES THE WEIGHT OF THE STAGE USED FOR ORBITAL INSERTION, NOT THE PAYLOAD. WE WILL ATTEMPT TO CLARIFY THIS.
- 6. WE EXPECT THE ISRAELIS TO BECOME INCREASINGLY



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CLOSE-MOUTHED AS THE EUPHORIA SURROUNDING THE LAUNCH WEARS OFF. THEREFORE WE DON'T WANT TO USE OUR MEETING TO DELVE INTO AREAS ALREADY WELL-UNDERSTOOD BY WASHINGTON. PLEASE SHARE WHATEVER DATA YOU ALREADY HAVE WITH US SO THAT WE DO NOT WEAR OUT OUR WELCOME ON QUESTIONS THAT ARE ALREADY ANSWERED.

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ENCLOSURE= n/a						
LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM						

CONCEPTS= SATELLITE, NEWSPAPER, REPORT, ARABS, ELECTION, GOVERNMENT REFC

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TAGS= PREL, IS, LE, KU

ERRORS= N/A

PAGE 01 KUWAIT 05444 201055Z ACTION NEA-04

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 L-03 PM-10 CIP-08 PA-02 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 /044 W

R 201053Z SEP 88
FM AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3599
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
USCINCCENT MACDILL AFB FL
CJTFME
SECDEF WASHDC
JCS WASHDC

UNCLAS KUWAIT 05444

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, IS, LE, KU

SUBJECT: ISRAELI SATELLITE MAKES "REVOLUTIONARY"

EVERY 99 MINUTES, DAILY SAYS

1. IN A SERENDIPITOUS TYPOGRAPHICAL ERROR, AN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE KUWAIT DAILY SEPTEMBER 20 QUOTED A U.S. OFFICIAL AS SAYING THAT ISRAEL'S NEW SATELLITE IS "MAKING A REVOLUTIONARY EVERY 98.836 MINUTES". AT THE SAME TIME, THE DAILY AL-WATAN MADE A PARTICULARLY IMAGINATIVE LEAP OF ANALYSIS BY COMPARING ISRAEL'S LAUNCHING OF THE SATELLITE TO WHAT IT TERMED THE U.S. LAUNCHING OF A "SATELLITE MAN" IN LEBANON, AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO WIDESPREAD ARAB PRESS REPORTS OF ALLEGED U.S.-SYRIAN AGREEMENT TO SUPPORT THE CANDIDACY OF DEPUTY MIKHAEL DAHER FOR THE LEBANESE PRESIDENCY. UNCLASSIFIED

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2. THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE KUWAIT TIMES, IN AN OTHERWISE STRAIGHTFORWARD WIRE-SERVICE REPORT ON THE ISRAELI SATELLITE LAUNCHING, ATTRIBUTED THE FOLLOWING QUOTE TO U.S. NAVY COMMANDER DUGALD GILLIES, A SPOKESMAN FOR THE SPACE COMMAND AT PETERSON AFB IN COLORADO

SPRINGS: "WE'RE WATCHING IT AND IT IS MAKING A REVOLUTIONARY EVERY 98.836 MINUTES."

- 3. AL-WATAN SAID: "ISRAEL HAS LAUNCHED ITS FIRST SATELLITE AND AT THE SAME TIME, THE U.S. HAS LAUNCHED ITS FIRST SATELLITE-MAN IN LEBANON. IF THE DANGER OF THE ISRAELI SATELLITE LIES IN THAT IT WILL ENABLE ISRAEL TO SPY ON THE ARAB COUNTRIES, THEN THE DANGER OF THE FIRST SATELLITE-MAN IN LEBANON LIES IN THAT HE WILL, BY VIRTUE OF HIS POST, BE INFORMED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN LEBANON AND THE SECRETS OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES (IF THERE ARE ANY SECRETS)."
- 4. IN A SARCASTIC REFERENCE TO THE RECENT VISIT OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE RICHARD MURPHY TO THE REGION, THE NEWSPAPER SAID THE LEBANESE "SATELLITE-MAN" WILL "PARALYZE THE WILL OF THE LEBANESE PEOPLE, BECAUSE THE MISSILE WHICH LAUNCHED HIM IS OF THE MURPHY CLASS." THE NEWSPAPER ADDED THAT "THE LAUNCHING OF THE FIRST LEBANESE SATELLITE-MAN IS FAR MORE DANGEROUS THAN THE LAUNCHING OF THE ISRAELI SATELLITE, FOR THE SIMPLE REASON THAT IT IGNORES THE ROLE OF THE LEBANESE PEOPLE IN SELECTING THE PRESIDENT OF THEIR REPUBLIC."
- 5. BEIRUT MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. HOWELL

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^{***} Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

^{***} Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED





*** Current Classification ***

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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FILM= D880834-0743

DATE= 19 SEP 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= TEL AVIV

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION OES

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TO= STATE

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CHANNEL= n/a

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ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= OA

SUBJECT= ISRAEL LAUNCHES FIRST SATELLITE DEPT ALSO FOR OES/SAT

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

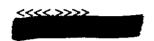
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ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= SATELLITE, SPACE PROGRAM, ENVIRONMENT, TECHNOLOGY, RESEARCH, POLITICAL INITIATIVE

TAGS= PREL, TSPA, MCAP, MNUC, MOPS, PINR, IS



PAGE 01 TEL AV 13550 01 OF 02 191723Z ACTION OES-09

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 EB-00 DINT-05 DODE-00 H-01 NEA-06 NSCE-00 NSF-01 ARA-00 NSAE-00 COME-00 NASA-01 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 EAP-00 CIP-08 ITC-01 AIT-02 PA-01 NAS-01 OMB-01 STR-17 HHS-04 INRE-00 AGRE-00 ACDA-12 TST-02 USIE-00 SP-02 DOEE-00 SNP-01 FAIM-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /113 W

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O 191715Z SEP 88
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0837
AFSPACECOM PETERSON AFB CO, IMMEDIATE
ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BEIJING PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

SECTION 01 OF 02 TEL AVIV 13550

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, TSPA, MCAP, MNUC, MOPS, PINR, IS SUBJECT: ISRAEL LAUNCHES FIRST SATELLITE

DEPT ALSO FOR OES/SAT

1.

2. SUMMARY: THE MFA CALLED US AT 1300 LOCAL TIME TO ANNOUNCE THAT ISRAEL HAD LAUNCHED A SATELLITE DESIGNED TO COLLECT DATA ON SPACE ENVIRONMENT CONDITIONS AND THE EARTH'S MAGNETIC FIELD. ALTHOUGH TOP ISRAELI OFFICIALS HAVE ALREADY DOWNPLAYED THE MILITARY IMPLICATIONS OF THE LAUNCH, THIS DEMONSTRATION OF ISRAELI TECHNOLOGICAL PROWESS IS CERTAIN TO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT ISRAEL'S LONG-RANGE



BALLISTIC MISSILE CAPABILITY. END SUMMARY.

3. AT 1300 LOCAL TIME, THE MFA CALLED TO INFORM US, PRIOR TO RELEASE OF THE STORY TO THE MEDIA, THAT ISRAEL HAD LAUNCHED A SATELLITE INTO EARTH ORBIT. HE



READ THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT:

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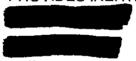
QUOTE

OFFEQ-I, AN EXPERIMENTAL SATELLITE, WAS SUCCESSFULLY LAUNCHED TODAY BY ISRAEL AIRCRAFT INDUSTRIES (IAI) AND THE ISRAELI SPACE AGENCY (ISA). OFFEQ-I WAS PLACED IN ORBIT BY A SHAVIT SATELLITE LAUNCHER FROM ISRAEL. TODAY'S LAUNCH IS DESIGNED TO DEMONSTRATE A CAPABILITY TO ORBIT A SATELLITE, AND TO CHECK THE FUNCTIONAL ABILITY OF ITS SUB-SYSTEMS IN A SPACE ENVIRONMENT.

SPECIFIC ITEMS ARE: GENERATION OF SOLAR POWER, QUALITY OF TRANSMISSION RECEPTION FROM SPACE, VERY FINE SYSTEMS ABILITY TO WITHSTAND VACUUM AND WEIGHTLESS CONDITIONS. IN ADDITION, OFFEQ-I WILL COLLECT DATA ON SPACE ENVIRONMENT CONDITIONS AND THE EARTH'S MAGNETIC FIELD.

OFFEQ-I ORBITS EAST TO WEST EVERY NINETY MINUTES. THE ORBIT IS LOW AND ELLIPTICAL, WITH A PERIGEE OF 250 KILOMETERS. THISIS THE POINT AT WHICH THE SATELLITE IS CLOSEST TO EARTH.

OFFEQ-I ROTATES ABOUT ITS MAIN AXIS AT THE RATE OF ONE REVOLUTION PER SECOND. THIS CHARACTERISTIC PROVIDES INERTIAL STABILITY, THUS THE SATELLITE'S



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SOLAR PANELS FACE THE SUN AND SUPPLY THE ELECTRICAL ENERGY REQUIRED BY THE SATELLITE.

OFFEQ-1'S EXPECTED LIFE SPAN IS A FEW WEEKS. A NUMBER OF LEADING ISRAELI HIGH-TECH INDUSTRIES AND ACADEMIC INSTITUTES HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN A WIDE SPECTRUM OF BASIC RESEARCH SINCE THE EARLY 60'S. THE NATIONAL SPACE RESEARCH PROGRAM IS COORDINATED BY ISA, IAI AND OTHER SOPHISTICATED ISRAELI INDUSTRIES. BY ACCELERATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF OFFEQ-1, ISRAEL'S FIRST SATELLITE, (ISRAEL HAS BEGUN TO ACHIEVE ITS) SPACE RESEARCH GOALS:

A. TO PLACE ISRAEL IN THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS ENGAGED IN SPACE RESEARCH FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES AND TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCEMENT.

B. TO ESTABLISH AN IN-DEPTH, NATIONAL CAPABILITY IN

THE AREA OF SPACE RESEARCH, AN ARENA THAT IS FORECASTED TO DEVELOP IN THE YEARS TO COME.

C. TO DEMONSTRATE THE MATURITY OF SPACE-RELATED EQUIPMENT BUILT BY ISRAELI INDUSTRIES.

MANY ISRAELI HIGH-TECH FIRMS PARTICIPATED IN THE SUCCESSFUL LAUNCH OF OFFEQ-I. THIS EFFORT WAS ACCOMPLISHED UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF MBT SYSTEMS IN THE SPACE TECHNOLOGY PLANT OF IAI'S ELECTRONIC DIVISION.

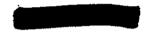
END QUOTE

4. A SUBSEQUENT PRESS ANNOUNCEMENT INDICATED THAT THE LAUNCH TOOK PLACE AT 1132 HOURS LOCAL (0932 HOURS ZULU). RESPONDING TO REPORTER'S QUESTIONS, VICE PRIME MINISTER PERES SAID THE LAUNCH IS NOT PART OF

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 EB-00 DINT-05 DODE-00 H-01 NEA-06 NSCE-00 NSF-01 ARA-00 NSAE-00 COME-00 NASA-01 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 EAP-00 CIP-08 ITC-01 AIT-02 PA-01 NAS-01 OMB-01 STR-17 HHS-04 INRE-00 AGRE-00 ACDA-12 TST-02 USIE-00 SP-02 DOEE-00 SNP-01 FAIM-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /113 W

O 191715Z SEP 88
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0838
AFSPACECOM PETERSON AFB CO, IMMEDIATE
ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY BEIJING PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

SECTION 02 OF 02 TEL AVIV 13550

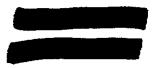
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, TSPA, MCAP, MNUC, MOPS, PINR, IS SUBJECT: ISRAEL LAUNCHES FIRST SATELLITE

AN ARMS RACE. HE SAID "THE ARABS HAVE ACQUIRED AND ARE MANUFACTURING MISSILES...THERE IS NO QUESTION HERE OF A TYPE OF WEAPON, BUT, RATHER OF MITTER OF TECHNOLOGY." THIS STANCE WAS HAVE BY THE MINISTER SHAMIR WHO SAID THAT THE UNIVERSE HAS NO



CONNECTION WITH ARMS RACES...IT IS MORE A RACE OVER TECHNOLOGICAL AND SCIENTIFIC CAPABILITIES." SHAMIR DID NOT ATTEND THE LAUNCH. HE URGED THAT THE LAUNCH NOT BEEN SEEN AS A MAJOR POLITICAL EVENT, BUT RATHER ONE OF GREAT TECHNOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE WHICH HAS INCREASED ISRAEL'S INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE.



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5. THE HEAD OF ISRAEL'S SPACE AGENCY, PROFESSOR YUVAL NE'EMAN, PROVIDED ADDITIONAL DETAILS TO REPORTERS: THE ORBIT HAS AN APOGEE OF 1000 KM.; ISRAEL PLANS TO LAUNCH ADDITIONAL PAYLOADS INCLUDING A SCIENTIFIC SATELLITE (WHICH HE DID NOT FURTHER DESCRIBE OTHER THAN TO SAY IT WOULD BE "MORE ADVANCED AND STABLE"). HE SAID ELEVEN PROPOSALS FOR SPACE-BASED EXPERIMENTS ARE UNDER CONSIDERATION AND TWO OR THREE WOULD BE CHOSEN. NE'EMAN ALSO DOWNPLAYED THE SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF THE LAUNCH, SAYING THAT THIS WAS A MATTER FOR SECURITY OFFICIALS TO DECIDE. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE WORK (ON THE SATELLITE AND LAUNCH SYSTEM) HAS A SECURITY POTENTIAL, BUT SAID THE IMPORTANCE, AT THE MOMENT, IS TECHNOLOGICAL.

6. COMMENT: DESPITE THE TOP-LEVEL PROTESTATIONS TO THE CONTRARY, THE LAUNCH HAS MAJOR MILITARY AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS. BY JOINING THE HANDFUL OF NATIONS CAPABLE OF ORBITING A SATELLITE, ISRAEL HAS CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED THAT IT CAN ALSO LAUNCH A MILITARY PAYLOAD OVER MUCH GREATER DISTANCES THAN HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN THOUGHT -- PERHAPS EVEN INTERCONTINENTAL RANGES. THIS DEVELOPMENT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY INCREASE THE CONCERNS OF PLAYERS WELL OUTSIDE THE REGION ABOUT ISRAEL'S MISSILE AND NUCLEAR PROGRAMS. END COMMENT.

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***	Current Classification ***	
***	Current Handling Restrictions **	* n/a

<<<***** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

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FILM= D880827-0787

DATE= 16 SEP 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= JERUSALEM

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

CHANNEL= n/a

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SUBJECT= THE INTIFADA AFTER NINE MONTHS: WAITING FOR THE PNC

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ENCLOSURE= n/a

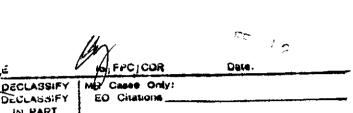
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ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= LIBERATION FRONT, PALESTINIANS, PROGRESS REPORT, PEACE. DEMONSTRATION, HUMAN RIGHTS, VIOLATION, VIOLENCE

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, IS, US, PLO, PNC





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O 161407Z SEP 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3492
INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

BECTION 01 OF 04 JERUSALEM 03112

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: KPAL, PREL, PLO, IS, US

SUBJECT: THE INTIFADA AFTER NINE MONTHS:

WAITING FOR THE PNC

REF: A) JERUSALEM 1823, B) JERUSALEM 2367,

C) JERUSALEM 2779



SUMMARY #

2. AFTER NINE MONTHS THE INTIFADA HAS BECOME A PART OF LIFE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. IT IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE UNTIL A POLITICAL PROCESS EMERGES. VIOLENCE HAS REACHED A PLATEAU, DUE TO TOUGH IDF MEASURES, BUT IT WILL CONTINUE, ALONG WITH VARIOUS FORMS OF PEACEFUL PROTEST. PALESTINIANS SEEM ABLE TO ENDURE THE SACRIFICE AND TURMOIL INDEFINITELY. ISRAEL'S "IRON FIST" POLICY HAS FAILED, AND IT HAS BROUGHT A GROSS INCREASE IN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. ONLY A PROCESS IN WHICH PALESTINIANS GAIN THE RIGHT TO

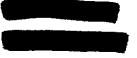
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EXPRESS THEMSELVES POLITICALLY WILL END THE VIOLENCE; YET ISRAELI POLICY, DRIVEN BY PRE-ELECTION POLITICS, IS DESIGNED TO CRUSH NOT ONLY VIOLENCE, BUT MOST VESTIGES OF PEACEFUL POLITICAL ACTIVITY AS WELL. WHILE MOST

PALESTININIANS HERE ARE READY FOR MUTUAL RECOGNITION AND A TWO STATE SOLUTION. ISRAELIS. FEARFUL AND CONFUSED, STILL LAG IN CONFRONTING PALESTINIAN NATIONALISM. THE PLO'S WAFFLING STRENGTHENS DEEP DOUBTS ABOUT PALESTINIAN INTENTIONS AND BOLSTERS THE HARDLINE LIKUD. LABOR, STUNNED BY JORDAN'S DISENGAGEMENT, GROPES FOR A WAY TO EXPLOIT BOTH THE PEACE AND SECURITY ISSUES. PALESTINIANS, FRUSTRATED BY THE PLO, DESPERATELY HOPE FOR A CONVINCING PEACE INITIATIVE AT THE PNC, BUT MANY ARE SKEPTICAL. SOME ADVOCATE FREE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS AS A TRANSITIONAL PHASE TO CREATE LOCAL LEADERS WHO WOULD SUPPORT THE PLO BUT SHIFT THE CENTER OF PALESTINIAN POLITICS FROM THE DIASPORA TO THE TERRITORIES. IF THERE IS NO MOVEMENT TOWARD A POLITICAL PROCESS, THE MODERATE MAINSTREAM CONSENSUS IN THE TERRITORIES COULD ERODE, GIVING WAY TO TERRORISM AND A SPOILER ROLE FOR THE MUSLIM MILITANTS WHO ARE A SIGNIFICANT, THOUGH NOT YET POWERFUL, FORCE, END SUMMARY

INTIFADA: PERMANENT PROTEST

3. IN A RECENT INTERVIEW, DEFENSE MINISTER
RÄBIN SAID THE IDF HAD HALTED MAJOR INTIFADA
DEMONSTRATIONS, "PUSHED THE PLATEAU OF VIOLENCE



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DOWN" AND WOULD PUSH IT DOWN MORE. HE CLAIMED THAT MORE FREQUENT USE OF PLASTIC BULLETS AND USD 800 SURETY BONDS FROM FATHERS OF FIRST OFFENDERS, AS WELL AS INCREASED ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION (NOW RUNNING AT 2600) AND "SELECTIVE DEPORTATION" WILL HELP STEM THE INTIFADA. RABIN IS RIGHT THAT MASS DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE STOPPED. BUT THE FACT THAT 29 PALESTINIANS DIED IN CONFRONTATIONS WITH THE IDF IN AUGUST, VS. 25 IN JULY, SHOWS HOW SERIOUS THE VIOLENCE STILL IS. THE IDF'S NEW TACTIC OF MASSIVE VILLAGE SWEEPS AND ARRESTS MAY REDUCE VIOLENCE, BUT STONE THROWING AGAINT THE IDF, A PRIMARY SYMBOL OF THE INTIFADA, CONTINUES. STONING OF VEHICLES, AN INCREASING PRACTICE WHICH HAS CAUSED AN ANGRY UPROAR, ESPECIALLY AMONG SETTLERS, IS VERY DIFFICULT TO HALT. ALSO, MASSIVE DETENTIONS AND DEPORTATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN A DETERRENT. THERE

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ARE MANY AREAS, SUCH AS THE CASBAH IN NABLUS, WHERE THE ARMY SELDOM ENTERS AND INTIFADA INSURGENTS ARE IN CONTROL, SINCE THE IDF IS RELUCTANT TO COMMIT MORE FORCES. THE LACK OF JAILS TO HOLD MORE PRISONERS IS ALSO A CONSTRAINT.

4. STRIKES, THE OTHER HIGHLY VISIBLE INTIFADA TACTIC, ALSO CONTINUE AND THERE ARE NO SIGNS THAT PUBLIC SUPPORT IS WANING. STRIKES HAVE A HEAVY ECONOMIC COST, BUT CONSTRUCTION AND RETAIL TRADE CONTINUES AT A REDUCED RATE AND SUBSTANTIAL PRIVATE FUNDS STILL FLOW INTO THE TERRITORIES, NOTWITHSTANDING ISRAELI LIMITATIONS. (THE GOI CLAIMS GNP IN THE

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /057 W ------131674 161414Z/43

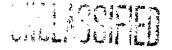
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FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3493
INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

SECTION 02 OF 04 JERUSALEM 03112

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

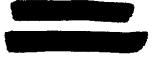
TAGS: KPAL, PREL, PLO, IS, US

SUBJECT: THE INTIFADA AFTER NINE MONTHS:



TERRITORIES HAS DROPPED 29 PERCENT SINCE THE INTIFADA BEGAN.) FACTORY OWNERS AND THE INTIFADA HAVE MADE PEACE, AND MOST CONTINUE TO OPERATE AND PAY TAXES, NOTWITHSTANDING THE NOMINAL INTIFADA TAX BOYCOTT. TE GOI HAS NOT LIMITED IMPORTS INTO THE TERRITORIES. IT HAS IMPOSED SOME LIMITED BANS ON HARVESTING AND SALE OF PRODUCE AS A FORM OF COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT IN CERTAIN AREAS, BUT IT HAS NOT YET USED THIS DRACONIAN TACTIC WIDELY. HOWEVER, OLIVE SEASON IS APPROACHING, AND MANY WEST BANK VILLAGES WILL BE VULNERABLE TO THIS TACTIC. SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY CLOSURES IMPOSE A HEAVY COST TO PALESTINIANS, BUT PROBABLY HELP SUSTAIN RATHER THAN DETER THE INTIFADA.

5. THE CRACKDOWN ON PEACEFUL POLITICAL ACTIVITIES HAS INCREASED IN SCOPE AND SEVERITY, WITH MUCH TOUGHER CURBS ON MEETINGS, BANNING OF



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PROFESSIONAL AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS AND HEAVIER SURVEILLANCE AND INTERROGATION. THESE STEPS AGAINST PEACEFUL POLITICAL AND COMMUNAL ACTIVITY REFLECT GROWING PRE-ELECTION PRESSURES ON RABIN TO FIND NEW WAYS TO HALT THE INTIFADA. THEY ARE ALSO A REACTION IN PART TO JORDAN'S DISENGAGE-MENT AND THE MISCONCEPTION, ABETTED BY BOASTING FROM THE PLO, THAT THIS CREATED A POLITICAL "VACUUM" THAT THE PLO WOULD FILL. IN FACT. JORDAN'S ROLE WAS QUITE LIMITED, AND THE TIES IT DID HAVE WERE WITH INSTITUTIONS THAT WERE LARGELY INDIGENOUS. THE CRACKDOWN IS ALSO AN ATTEMPT TO PREVENT AN ALTERNATIVE INFRASTRUCTURE, A GOAL OF THE INTIFADA, FROM EMERGING. THIS GOAL IS STILL MORE THEORY THAN REALITY, BUT ISRAEL UNDERSTANDS THAT ALL COLLECTIVE PALESTINIAN ACTIVITY TENDS TO BUILD INDIGENOUS STRENGTH AND NATIONALISM.

WAR AGAINST ISRAEL BY ANOTHER MEANS OR LEGITIMATE PROTEST?

6. ISRAELI OFFICIALS, OUT OF CONVICTION, OR BECAUSE OF THE NEED TO MEET THE PUBLIC DEMAND TO BE TOUGH ON THE INTIFADA, HAVE AVOIDED ALL



CONCILIATORY POLITICAL GESTURES. THERE IS ALMOST NO ACKOWLEDGEMENT AT THE OFFICIAL LEVEL OF ANY LEGITIMACY TO PALESTINIAN CLAIMS. ALTHOUGH RABIN HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THE NEED FOR POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS, HIS POLICIES HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO BREAK NOT ONLY THE VIOLENCE, BUT THE POLITICAL CORE OF THE INTIFADA, SAYING ISRAEL

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WILL NEGOTIATE ONLY AFTER IT HAS DEFEATED THE ENEMY. SHAMIR, MORE SIMPLY, DISMISSES THE INTIFADA AS "TERRORISM".

7. ALTHOUGH RABIN ACKNOWLEDGES THE NEED FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION, HE ALSO LIKENS THE INTIFADA TO ALL PREVIOUS WARS BY THE ARABS AGAINST THE STATE OF ISRAEL. IN FACT, ISRAEL IS FACING A CLASSIC POPULAR UPRISING BY A SUBJECT PEOPLE TO END AN OCCUPATION THAT HAS BECOME, LIKE MOST LONG-TERM MILITARY OCCUPATIONS, EXPLOITATIVE. HUMILIATING, AND CORRUPT. IT SHOULD BE NO SUPRISE THAT IN THE ABSENCE OP MOVEMENT TOWARD A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AND CHANNELS FOR PEACEFUL POLITICAL EXPRESSION AND PROTEST, THERE IS VIOLENCE. ALTHOUGH OVERALL PALESTINIAN OBJECTIVES ARE UNCLEAR BECAUSE OF DIVISION AND AMBIVALENCE IN THE PLO, AND THE LACK OF ANY VISIBLE AND RECOGNIZED LEADERSHIP IN THE TERRITORIES, IT IS INCREASINGLY CERTAIN THAT THE MAINSTREAM LEADERSHIP IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, INCLUDING THE UNDERGROUND INTIFADA. ARE READY TO ACCEPT A TWO STATE SOLUTION THAT WOULD ACCOMMODATE ISRAEL'S SECURITY NEEDS. THE INTIFADA THUS HAS A LIMITED OBJECTIVE. IT IS NOT JUST ANOTHER WAR AGAINST ISRAEL, UNLESS ONE ACCEPTS THE ZERO-SUM-GAME THESIS OF THE ISRAELI FAR RIGHT THAT THE PALESTINIANS' IMMUTABLE GOAL IS TO DESTROY ISRAEL, AND THAT ANY COMPROMISE BY PALESTINIANS IS A SMOKESCREEN AND PART OF THE "POLICY OF PHASES" THAT WILL UNTIMATELY ACHIEVE THIS END.

8. RABIN'S THEORY THAT THERE CAN BE NO



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /057 W

O 161407Z SEP 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3494 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

SECTION 03 OF 04 JERUSALEM 03112

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: KPAL, PREL, PLO, IS, US

SUBJECT: THE INTIFADA AFTER NINE MONTHS:

POLITICAL MOVEMENT UNTIL THE INTIFADA IS BROKEN IS PROBABLY WISHFUL THINKING. PALESTINIANS ARE UNLIKELY TO ABANDON THE INTIFADA UNTIL THEY ARE SURE THERE WILL BE A PROCESS IN WHICH THEY CAN PRESS THEIR POLITICAL GOALS, UNLESS ISRAEL RESORTS TO FAR MORE DRACONIAN MEASURES. THIS IS UNLIKELY, GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL'S RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND SUBSTANTIVE OPINION IN ISRAEL THAT WOULD RESIST SUCH POLICIES AS MASS TRANSFER AND MORE BRUTAL METHODS, WHICH SOME RIGHTISTS ADVOCATE.

HEAVY TOLL ON HUMAN RIGHTS

9. THE SUM OF ISRAEL'S EFFORTS TO SUPPRESS THE INTIFADA IS, NEVERTHELESS, STARTLING IN TERMS OF ITS WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE TRADITIONAL STANDARDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS IS A SYMPTOM.



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NOT ONLY OF THE MISCONCEPTION THAT ISRAEL IS, INDEED, FIGHTING A WAR FOR SURVIVAL, BUT ISRAELIS' DEEP AMBIVALENCE ABOUT ARABS. ALUF HARAVEN, THE DIRECTOR OF THE VAN LEER INSTITUTE IN JERUSALEM WHICH WORKS FOR ISRAELI-ARAB RECONCILIATION, SUMMED UP THIS CONFUSION, QUOTING THE PRESCRIPTION OF A TEL AVIV TAXI DRIVER FOR DEALING WITH PALESTINIANS AND THE INTIFADA: "WE MUST BEAT THEM AND BEAT THEM AND BEAT THEM UNTIL THEY STOP HATING US."

WAITING FOR ARAFAT

10. PALESTINIANS HERE DESPERATELY HOPE THE NEXT PNC WILL RECOGNIZE RECOGNIZE ISRAEL AND PRESENT IT AND THE U.S. WITH A COMPELLING CHALLENGE THAT WILL LEAD TO RECOGNITION OF THE PLO. EARLY ENTHUSIASM ABOUT A PLO PEACE INITIATIVE HAS GIVEN WAY, HOWEVER, TO INCREASED SKEPTICISM ABOUT ARAFAT'S LEADERSHIP AND THE WILLINGNESS OF THE PFLP AND THE DFLP, AS WELL AS FATAH HARDLINERS LIKE KHADDOUMI, TO COMPROMISE. AS ONE PALESTINIAN SAID, "THE PROBLEM IS NOT ONLY ISRAEL; IT IS TOO MANY ABU'S IN TUNIS."

11. OPINION IS DIVIDED HERE ON THE WISDOM OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, BUT MOST AGREE THAT THE IMPORTANT THING IS FOR THE PLO TO CHANGE ITS SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS. SOME SEE A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AS A WAY TO GET OVER THE HURDLE OF RECOGNIZING ISRAEL AND SELF DETERMINATION AND TO START A HIGH LEVEL DIALOGUE WITH THE U.S., EVEN

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THOUGH THEY KNOW WE WOULD NOT RECOGNIZE IT.
OTHERS SEE IT AS A WAY OF ISOLATING SYRIA AND
THE ARAB RADICALS BY GAINING RECOGNITION FROM
THE MODERATE ARAB STATES. PALESTINIAN SOURCES
HERE SAY THE PLO IS NOW DEBATING WHETHER TO
PRESERVE THE PLO, AS WELL AS ESTABLISHING A
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, OR TO ABOLISH THE PLO.
*THE ARGUMENTS FOR PRESERVATION ARE THAT TO



ABOLISH THE PLO BUREAUCHACY AND ITS VESTED INTERESTS WOULD LEAVE A CADRE OF DISAFFECTED DISSIDENTS; BETTER TO KEEP THEM WELL PAID AND SATISFIED WHILE THE REAL ACTION TAKES PLACE ELSEWHERE. THE OPPOSING ARGUMENT IS THAT IF THE PLO SURVIVES THE CREATION OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, IT WOULD TRY TO HAVE IT BOTH WAYS BY CONTINUING TO STRADDLE ISSUES, AND THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT WOULD THUS LACK CREDIBILITY.

12. FRUSTRATION HERE WITH THE PLO LEADERSHIP IS REAL AND GROWING. A FEW EVEN QUESTION WHETHER ARAFAT AND HIS COLLEAGUES CAN SURVIVE, AS LEADERS, IF THEY DO NOT MEET THE CURRENT TEST. MOST PALESTINIANS HERE NEVERTHELESS CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE PLO, MAKING A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE ORGANIZATION AND ITS LEADERS. THEY SEE NO ALTERNATIVE TO IT AS THE SYMBOL OF THEIR NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND THEIR LINK TO THE DIASPORA.

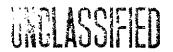
AUTONOMY TALK

13. SOME PALESTINIANS, DOUBTFUL THAT THE PLO WILL BE ABLE TO BITE THE BULLET AND CHANGE,

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el.

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O 161407Z SEP 88
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3495
INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

ECTION 04 OF 04 JERUSALEM 03112

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL, PREL, PLO, IS, US

SUBJECT: THE INTIFADA AFTER NINE MONTHS:

ADVOCATE LOCAL MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. THEY SEE THIS AS A CONCRETE WAY TO END THE TURMOIL OF THE INTIFADA AND CREATE A TRANSITIONAL PHASE THAT WOULD LEAD EVENTUALLY TO A PALESTINIAN STATE. THEY ARGUE THAT ELECTIONS (WHICH THE UNDERGROUND INTIFADA LEADERSHIP HAS ENDORSED) WOULD BE A DISCRETE INTERIM STEP THAT BOTH ISRAEL AND THE PLO COULD ACCEPT, EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE UNREADY TO DEAL WITH THE ISSUES OF TERRITORY AND SOVEREIGNTY, WHICH WOULD PROVIDE A FRAMEWORK FOR PEACEFUL DIALOGUE IN PLACE OF THE INTIFADA. THE THEORY IS THAT LOCAL MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, IF FREE, OPEN, AND GUARANTEED BY SOME EXTERNAL MONITORING, WOULD RESTORE POLITICAL LIFE TO THE TERRITORIES AND GIVE A POPULAR MANDATE TO PALESTINIAN LEADERS. ELECTED OFFICIALS WOULD REPLACE THE LOOSE NETWORK OF NOTABLES AND POLITICIANS WHO HAVE NO CLAIM TO LEGITIMACY AND * THE UNDERGROUND INTIFADA LEADERSHIP, WHOSE

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SPECIALTY IS PROTEST, NOT SERIOUS POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT. THE NEW LEADERS WOULD NOT CLAIM TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THE PLO. BUT THEY WOULD IDENTIFY WITH IT. BUT EVENTUALLY, BY VIRTUE OF THEIR POPULAR MANDATE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, THEIR INFLUENCE WOULD GROW; THE **CENTER OF GRAVITY IN PALESTINIAN POLITICS COULD** SHIFT FURTHER TO THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES; THIS COULD ULTIMATELY TRANSFORM THE PLO AND BRING IT AND ISRAEL TO NEGOTIATE WITH EACH OTHER FOR AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND A PALESTINIAN STATE. POSSIBLY WITH CLOSE TIES TO JORDAN. THE THESIS THAT AN ISRAELI GOVERNMENT THAT COULD NOT FACE TERRITORY AND SOVEREIGNTY ISSUES COULD AGREE, NEVERTHELESS, TO GENUINELY FREE ELECTIONS, WHICH WOULD FEATURE PLO CANDIDATES AND VIEWS, IS



QUESTIONABLE. STILL, THE CONGRUENCE BETWEEN LOCAL SUPPORT FOR MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS AS A TRANSITIONAL PHASE AND THE SHULTZ PLAN IS INTERESTING. THE U.S. WILL WANT TO EXPLORE THIS AS WE CONSIDER OUR NEXT STEPS AFTER ISRAEL'S ELECTION.

FEAR OF EXTREMISTS

14. MODERATE PALESTINIANS WHO PONDER THE FUTURE ARE WORRIED THAT THE PRAGMATIC CONSENSUS THAT HAS GOVERNED THE INTIFADA SO FAR IS FRAGILE AND MIGHT ERODE IF THERE IS NO POLITICAL MOVEMENT TOWARD A SOLUTION. THUS FAR THERE HAS BEEN A GENERAL CONSENSUS AMONG ALL THE FACTIONS WHO CONTRIBUTE TO THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP, WHICH DRAFTS THE LEAFLETS AND ORGANIZES STRIKES AND

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OTHER PROTEST ACTIVITIES, TO THESE PRINCIPLES: OPPOSITION TO TERRORISM AGAINST ISRAELIS AS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE; THE LIMITATION OF THE STRUGGLE TO THE TERRITORIES, EXCEPT FOR A BRIEF AND QUICKLY-ABANDONED ADVOCACY OF ARSON IN ISRAEL; AND A WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE WITH ISRAEL ON A TWO-STATE SOLUTION.

15. THERE IS FEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE REALISM AND MODERATION THAT NOW PREVAILS MAY NOT BE PERMANENT. (AN UGLY PHENOMENON THAT IS GROWING AS THE INTIFADA WEARS ON IS THE MURDER OF PALESTINIANS REGARDED AS COLLABORATORS WITH ISRAEL.) GROWING FRUSTRATION WITH THE LACK OF TANGIBLE GAINS BY THE INTIFADA COULD GIVE WAY TO D SPAIR AND THE STRENGTHENING OF EXTREMIST AND TERRORIST ELEMENTS. THESE CADRES, ALTHOUGH A SMALL MINORITY, ARE PROBABLY STILL INTACT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND THEIR FOREIGN PATRONS. SYRIA AND LIBYA, HAVE NOT ABANDONED THEIR REJECTIONISM. THE OTHER POSSIBILITY. INCREASINGLY DISCUSSED, IS THAT ISLAMIC MILITANTS, WHO LATELY HAVE BEEN MORE ASSERTIVE, AND WHO BY AND LARGE OPPOSE ANY COMPROMISE WITH ISRAEL, COULD SEW GREATER STRIFE AND DISUNITY. THE DOMINANT CENTER OF PALESTINIAN POLITICS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IS NOW SECULAR AND PRAGMATIC BUT, AS IN ISRAEL, RADICAL GROUPS TEND TO HAVE NEGATIVE POWER BEYOND THEIR NUMBERS.



WITHOUT A POLITICAL BREAKTHROUGH THEY ARE LIKELY TO GROW STRONGER.
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FROM= STRASBOURG

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION EUR

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SUBJECT= ARAFAT VISIT TO STRASBOURG LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONCEPTS= VISIT, SCHEDULE, DISCUSSION, FOREIGN RELATIONS, PALESTINIANS, NEGOTIATION, PEACE PLAN

TAGS= PREL, PTER, IS, FR, XE, EEC, PLO, (ARAFAT, YASSER)



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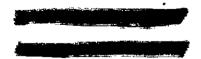


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DEPT ALSO FOR EUR/RPE PGARLAND, EUR/WE AND NEA BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC PARIS ALSO FOR DCM AND CONGEN

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, IS, FR, XE, EEC, PLO, PTER SUBJECT: ARAFAT VISIT TO STRASBOURG



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REFS: A)BRUSSELS 12596, B)STRASBOURG 30728

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1. SUMMARY: THE YASSAR ARAFAT VISIT TO THE SOCIALIST GROUP OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN STRASBOURG SEPTEMBER 13,14 IS BEING TERMED HERE AS A MEDIA VICTORY FOR THE

PLO. BUT NOT WITHOUT SOME COST TO THE CREDIBILITY OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE FRENCH SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT. THE FRENCH JEWISH COMMUNITY WAS DEEPLY ANGERED BY THE VISIT, AND WITH DUMAS' MEETING WITH ARAFAT. DUMAS REPORTEDLY PUSHED ARAFAT HARD TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL. THE WISDOM OF THE INVITATION AND MEETING WILL BE DEBATED FOR SOME TIME. CRITICS CHARGE THAT THE VISIT PROVIDED THE PLO WITH UNDUE LEGITIMACY AND ARAFAT WITH "AN UNWARRANTED IMAGE AS MODERATE PEACE SEEKER." SUPPORTERS VIEW THE VISIT AS STRENGTHENING MODERATE GROUPS IN THE PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL AND INCREASING PRESSURE ON ISRAEL TO DEAL WITH THE PLO. END SUMMARY.

2. YASSAR ARAFAT ARRIVED IN STRASBOURG SEPTEMBER 13TH, COMING BY AIR FROM TUNIS. HIS TWO "MYSTERE 20" JETS LANDED AT STRASBOURG ENTZHEIM AIRPORT, OFFLOADING THEIR 46 PASSAGERS (INCLUDING 15 ARMED BODYGUARDS) AT THE MILITARY BASE TERMINAL. HE WAS MET BY IBRAHIM SOUSS, PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN FRANCE, EP SOCIALIST GROUP CHAIRMAN RUDI ARNDT AND TWO VICE CHAIRMEN, AND A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FRENCH PREFECTURE. SECURITY FOR HIS ARRIVAL WAS PARTICULARLY TIGHT. HIS ARRIVAL TIME WAS KEPT SECRET TIL THE FINAL MOMENTS. GENDARMES LINED THE ROUTE INTO STRASBOURG AND SURROUNDED BOTH HIS HOTEL AND THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT BUILDING. SPECIALLY TRAINED MARKSMAN WATCHED FROM THE TOP OF NEIGHBORING STRUCTURES. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT EVEN PROVIDED ARAFAT

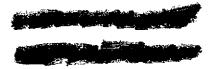
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WITH A FLEET OF THREE FULLY ARMORED RENAULT 25S AND A SCORE OF ARMED POLICE GUARDS. THEY WISHED TO ASSURE HIS SAFETY DURING HIS STAY ON FRENCH SOIL.

3. A GROUP OF SOME 200 ARAFAT SUPPORTERS WERE BROUGHT TO HIS HOTEL MINUTES BEFORE HIS ARRIVAL. THIS WAS THE ONLY DEMONSTRATION ARAFAT WAS TO SEE. A PROTEST DEMONSTRATION HAD WOUND ITS WAY THROUGH STRASBOURG EARLIER IN THE DAY, BEFORE ARAFAT HAD LANDED. THE LOCAL JEWISH COMMUNITY HAD COME OUT IN FORCE TO PROTEST THE ARAFAT VISIT. THEIR MARCH WAS PEACEFUL, FULLY IN CHARACTER WITH THE JEWISH HIGH HOLIDAY SEASON. A CROSS SECTION OF LOCALLY ELECTED OFFICIALS LED THE 2000 PERSON PROTEST MARCH, INCLUDING STRASBOURG MAYOR (UDF SENATOR) MARCEL RUDLOFF, AND UDF SENATE LEADER DANIEL HOEFFEL. COE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT LOUIS JUNG, AND PIERRE PFLIMLIN, PAST PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, ALSO JOINED THE PROTEST MARCHERS. THE ONLY

NOTED FRENCH SOCIALIST IN THE GROUP WAS STRASBOURG SUBURB MAYOR ALFRED MULLER (WHO IS CONSIDERED A CLOSE FRIEND OF MICHEL ROCARD). A NOISY COUNTERMARCH WAS HELD IN THE AFTERNOON GROUPING TOGETHER SOME 500 PRO ARAFAT DEMONSTRATORS. THEY WERE JOINED BY COMMUNIST EX MINISTER OF HEALTH JACK RALITE, AND SENATOR CHARLES LEDERMANN.

4. THE DAYS ACTIVITIES WERE CENTERED WITHIN THE PALAIS D'EUROPE: MEETINGS WITH THE SOCIALIST GROUP (165 MEMBERS), THE COMMUNIST GROUP (48 MEMBERS), THE ECOLOGISTS (20 MEMBERS), PARLIAMENT PRESIDENT LORD PLUMB, GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER CAROLOS PAPOULIAS, EC COMMISSIONER CLAUDE CHEYSSON, AND FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER ROLAND DUMAS. ARAFAT ALSO HAD SEVERAL SUCCESSFUL ENCOUNTERS WITH THE PRESS, INCLUDING A CONCLUDING PRESS CONFERENCE.



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5. ARAFAT MET PRIVATELY FOR 56 MINUTES WITH ROLAND DUMAS IN A SPECIAL OFFICE PROVIDED BY LORD PLUMB, 26 MINUTES LONGER THAN SCHEDULED. THE FRENCH BILLED THE MEETING AS INFORMAL AND WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF ARAFAT'S



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AMCONSUL MARSEILLE

AMCONSUL LYON

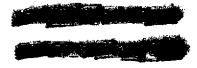
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DEPT ALSO FOR EUR/RPE PGARLAND, EUR/WE AND NEA

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC PARIS ALSO FOR DCM AND CONGEN

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, IS, FR, XE, EEC, PLO, PTER SUBJECT: ARAFAT VISIT TO STRASBOURG



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VISIT TO THE SOCIALIST EP GROUP. DUMAS MAINTAINED THAT IT DID NOT CONSTITUTE AN OFFICIAL RECEPTION OF ARAFAT IN FRANCE. HE REFUSED TO ANSWER PRESS QUESTIONS ABOUT THE DISCUSSIONS, MAKING ONLY A BRIEF STATEMENT TO THE PRESS (SEE BELOW). DUMAS REPORTEDLY ENCOURAGED ARAFAT TO TAKE A CLEARER STAND ON ISRAELS RIGHT TO RECOGNIZED AND SECURE BOUNDARIES. HE TOLD ASSOCIATES THAT ARAFAT APPEARED TO HIM MORE FORTHCOMING, AND MORE REALISTIC ABOUT ISRAEL, THAN DURING HIS PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH ARAFAT. THE DUMAS ENCOUNTER OVERSHADOWED ARAFAT'S MEETING WITH GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER CAROLOS PAPOULIAS WHO HAD FLOWN TO STRASBOURG ESPECIALLY FOR THE OCCASION. THE LATTER MEETING RECEIVED ONLY LIMITED PLAY IN THE INTERNATIONAL FRENCH AND ENGLISH PRESS.

6. DUMAS PRESS STATEMENT READS AS FOLLOWS (UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATIONS FROM FRENCH): "I MET WITH MR. ARAFAT TO TALK TO HIM ABOUT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND TO DO SO BEFORE THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING. I TOLD HIM THAT FRANCE IS A FRIEND OF ISRAEL. AND THAT ISRAEL WANTS PEACE. BUT ISRAEL HAS NEITHER PEACE OR SECURITY. THE PALESTINIANS ALSO WANT PEACE. BUT THE ISRAELI-ARAB CONFLICT IS HARDENING. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE. FIRST WE MUST TALK TO THE PARTIES AND CONVINCE THEM TO ACT. I TOLD HIM THAT ISRAEL HAS THE RIGHT TO LIVE WITHIN SAFE AND ACKNOWLEDGED BORDERS. THE PALESTINE PEOPLE ARE ENTITLED TO A HOMELAND AND TO ASSURE THEIR OWN DESTINY. THIS FUTURE CAN ONLY BE BUILT BY DIALOGUE. THE FACILITATING SUCH A DIALOGUE: IN BRINGING THE PARTIES TOGETHER, GETTING THEM TO SPEAK TO EACH OTHER, HELPING THEM CARRY OUT A PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION, CONFIRMING THE PRINCIPLES OF ACCORD THEY ESTABLISH, AND GUARANTEEING <u>THEIR AGREEMENTS. T</u>HIS IS THE OBJECTIVE OF AN

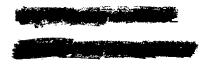


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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WHICH WOULD BRING TOGETHER ALL THE INTERESTED PARTIES AND THE FIVE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. ANY GESTURE WHICH COULD LEAD THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL, AND TO CONSTRUCT A POLITICAL PROGRAM THAT IS REALISTIC AND JUST IS DESIRABLE. FRANCE WOULD ENCOURAGE ANY SUCH ACTION. SIMILIARLY, FRANCE WOULD ENCOURAGE ANY GESTURE THAT WOULD LEAD ISRAEL TO OPEN A DIALOGUE WITH THE PALESTINIANS, AND TO DRAW CONCLUSIONS THEREFROM. THIS IS WHAT I TOLD MR. ARAFAT, ASKING HIM IN TURN IF THE MOMENT HAD NOT COME TO SILENCE THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND TO GIVE THE FLOOR TO THE NEGOTIATORS." DUMAS MAINTAINED THAT FRANCE'S POLICIES VIS A VIS ISRAEL AND THE PLO HAD NOT CHANGED. IT WAS PRECISELY AS STATED BY PRESIDENT MITTERRAND IN JERUSALEM IN 1982, HE TOLD THE PRESS.

7. REACTION'S TO THE ARAFAT VISIT, AND TO THE MEETING WITH DUMAS WERE VARIED. FRENCH MEPS ALFRED COSTE-FLORET (CONSERVATIVE) AND SIMONE VEIL, PRESIDENT OF THE LIBERAL GROUP REPORTEDLY TERMED THE VISIT AS "HARMFUL TO THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS AND TOTALLY INOPPORTUNE." PAST EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT PRESIDENT PIERRE PFLIMLIN WAS ALSO VERY CRITICAL OF LORD PLUMB FOR RECEIVING ARAFAT. "WE HAVE NOT ADVANCED ONE IOTA TOWARDS PEACE," HE SAID. CRITICS CHARGED THAT THE VISIT PROVIDED THE PLO WITH UNDUE LEGITIMACY AND ARAFAT WITH "AN UNWARRANTED IMAGE AS MODERATE PEACE SEEKER," FRENCH UDF POLITICAL LEADERS, MEETING IN PARIS, ALSO STRONGLY CONDEMNED THE ROCARD GOVERNMENT FOR AUTHORIZING DUMAS' MEETING WITH ARAFAT. THEY FOUND THE MEETING "SHOCKING" AND TERMED THE ROCARD GOVERNMENT AS "TWO FACED" WHEN IT CAME TO ISRAEL AND THE PLO. GISCARD D'ESTAING ALSO INDICATED "SUPRISE" THAT MITTERRAND AND ROCARD WOULD AUTHORIZE SUCH A MEETING AT THIS TIME. THE ALSATIAN FRENCH SOCIALISTS BROKE WITH THEIR MOTHER PARTY, CALLING THE



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O 152310Z SEP 88 FM AMCONSUL STRASBOURG TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3431 INFO EC COLLECTIVE AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BAGHDAD
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
AMCONSUL LYON
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE

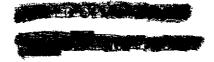


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VISIT "A SERIOUS MISTAKE," AND "INOPPORTUNE."

8. FRANCE'S 700,000 MEMBER JEWISH COMMUNITY, THE LARGEST IN EUROPE, IS REPORTED TO BE "ANGRY AND UPSET" OVER THE ARAFAT VISIT. THEY ARE EVEN MORE DISTURBED BY THE POSITIVE PRESS REACTION. SOME JEWISH LEADERS HAVE WARNED THAT THE JEWISH COMMUNITY WILL NOT QUICKLY FORGET. IT WILL REFLECT ITSELF IN SEVERAL FUTURE ELECTIONS, ONE CONTACT SAID. HE ARGUED THAT THE JEWISH VOTE IN FRANCE IS A SWING VOTE AND THAT THE DUMAS MEETING MAY COST THE SOCIALISTS IN THE UPCOMING CANTONAL, MUNICIPAL AND EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS. BUT THE ISRAELI EMBASSY HAS ALREADY BEGUN TAKING DAMAGE CONTROL STEPS. ISRAEL AMBASSADOR SOFER HAS CONFIRMED THAT ISRAEL PRESIDENT CHAIM HERZOG WILL VISIT FRANCE BEFORE YEAR'S END.

9. THERE WAS ALSO STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE VISIT AND DUMAS-ARAFAT MEETING. ARAFAT'S TRIP TO STRASBOURG WAS INTENDED, ONE FRENCH GOVERNMENT CONTACT TOLD CONGEN, TO PURPOSEFULLY HEIGHTEN HIS INTERNATIONAL IMAGE PRIOR TO THE PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING. THE MODERATE

IINNI ASSIFIED

PLO WING, WHICH ARAFAT NOW CALLS HIS OWN, NEEDS AS MUCH STRENGTH AS IT CAN GATHER FOR THE CRUCIAL COUNCIL MEETING, HE SAID. THAT IS WHY THE GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER CAME, THAT IS WHY DUMAS CAME, WITH THE FULL AGREEMENT OF THE ELYSEE. LE MONDE ALSO STATED THAT THE DECISION FOR DUMAS TO MEET ARAFAT CAME FROM MITTERAND. HE WAS CONCERNED, THE ARTICLE SAID, THAT SHAMIR WAS TOO OBSTINATE TO COME TO TERMS WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF THE WEST BANK. IF FRANCE WANTS TO HELP IN A SETTLEMENT, IT MUST TALK TO ALL PARTIES, THE ARTICLE SAID. THE FIGARO QUOTED GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER PAPOULIAS AS DESCRIBING ARAFAT AS "A MODERATE WHO WAS



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SEACHING FOR SOLUTIONS." "ONE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT FACT AND TAKE IT INTO ACCOUNT," PAPOULIAS SAID. EC COMMISSIONER CLAUDE CHEYSSON REPORTEDLY CALLED THE MEETING A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY AND INDICATED THAT HE THOUGHT ARAFAT HAD INDICATED A FIRM COMMITMENT TO ACCEPT, AT THE APPROPRIATE MOMENT, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE PROCESS AND FIRM GUARANTEES FOR ISRAEL'S SECURITY. OTHER DEFENDERS ARGUED THAT ARAFAT HAD EXTENDED THE OLIVE BRANCH AND HAD GONE AS FAR AS HE COULD GO, PRIOR TO THE PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING, TO SIGNA. HIS ATTENTION FOR PEACE. THE FIGARO ALSO REPORTED THAT THE ARAFAT VISIT AND THE PALESTINE 10. IF SEDUCING THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA WAS HIS OBJECTIVE, ARAFAT SUCEEDED. AND HIS AUDIENCE WAS LARGE. SOME 380 MEMBERS OF THE PRESS SIGNED UP FOR THE ARAFAT PRESS CONFERENCE. ONE COULD HARDLY SEE OVER THE WALL OF CAMERAS. THE DERNIERE NOUVELLE D'ALSACE CALLED HIM AN "EXCELLENT ACTOR" PORTRAYING A GENTLE, ALMOST LIKEABLE CHARACTER." OTHER PRESS LINES ALSO READ FAVORABLE: "HE DEFENDED HIS CAUSE EXCELLENTLY WITH ALMOST DIABOLIC SMOOTHNESS." "HE SPEAKS PEACE, HE OFFERS HIS HAND." "HE SEEKS AN ISRAELI DE GAULLE, WITH THE COURAGE TO MAKE PEACE." "HE WISHES ISRAELIS A HAPPY NEW YEAR AND JEWS A CHANA TOVA." BUT THE PRESS CONCLUDES ALSO THAT "HE HAD NOTHING NEW TO SAY." "NO CLEAR ANSWERS TO ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS -- PERHAPS SOME NUANCES OPEN TO INTERPRETION."

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SUBJECT= ARAFAT PRESS CONFERFRENCE AT THE EUROPEAN					
REFERENCE= 88 BRUSSELS 12195, 88 BRUSSELS 12512					
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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

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CONCEPTS= PRESS CONFERENCE, LET BARDU BOUNLISM, WEST BANK, OCCUPIED AL ELECTION, CAMPAIGN, DEMONSTRATION, PALESTINIANS, FOREIGN RELATIONS

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, IS, XE, JO, EEC, PLO



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 AMAD-01 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /055 W

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AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
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AMCONSUL STRASBOURG
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

SECTION 01 OF 03 BRUSSELS 12596

FROM USEC

DEPT ALSO FOR EUR/RPE GARLAND

DEPT FOR NEA

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, IS, XE EEC, PLO

SUBJECT: ARAFAT PRESS CONFERFRENCE AT THE EUROPEAN

PARLIAMENT

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REFS: (A) BRUSSELS 12195, (B) BRUSSELS 12512

1. SUMMARY/INTRODUCTION. ARAFAT'S PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT SEPTEMBER 14 TOOK PLACE BEFORE A PACKED AUDITORIUM WITH TIGHT SECURITY MEASURES IN EFFECT. SURROUNDED BY A LARGE ENTOURAGE, ARAFAT TOOK QUESTIONS FROM THE PRESS BUT MADE NO OPENING REMARKS. HIS SPEECH THE PREVIOUS EVENING TO A CLOSED MEETING OF THE SOCIALIST GROUP (TEXT FAXED TO EUR/RPE) HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED TO US PRIVATELY BY BOTH ISRAELI DIPLOMATS AND SOCIALIST GROUP MEMBERS AT THE EP AS "NOTHING NEW." TO SOME OBSERVERS HERE, ARAFAT APPEARED SOMEW AT MORE

OPEN IN HIS RESPONSES AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE. 2. ARAFAT SAID THE PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL (PNC) WOULD MEET IN OCTOBER AND CONSIDER THE OPTION OF SETTING UP A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THE PLO WOULD TAKE OVER FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EXPENSES IN THE WEST BANK FOLLOWING JORDAN'S ADMINSTRATIVE DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE AREA. HE SAID HIS MEETING WITH GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER PAPOULIAS THIS MORNING WAS "EXTREMELY POSITIVE" BUT HE DECLINED TO GO INTO DETAILS. (FOR HIS PART, PAPOULIAS, WE UNDERSTAND, TOLD A GROUP OF JOURNALISTS THAT ARAFAT WAS A RESPONSIBLE INTERLOCUTOR AND THAT THERE WAS NOW AN OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.) ARAFAT TOLD THE PRESS CONFERENCE THAT HE LOOKED FORWARD TO HIS MEETING THE AFTERNOON OF SEPTEMBER 14 WITH FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER DUMAS. HE SAID THE DECISION OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO HAVE DUMAS MEET WITH ARAFAT WAS "BRAVE" GIVEN THE CURRENT FRENCH LOCAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN. ARAFAT SAID HE WISHED A HAPPY NEW YEAR TO ALL ISRAELIS AND JEWS. BEFORE ARAFAT TOOK QUESTIONS, RUDI ARNDT, SOCIALIST GROUP CHAIRMAN, SAID HE

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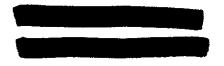
WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT THE PRESS HAD FOCUSSED ON THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN STRASBOURG RATHER THAN ARAFAT'S VISIT TO THE SOCIALIST GROUP AND HAD IGNORED THE DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE AIRPORT TO WELCOME ARAFAT. WE HAVE HEARD ESTIMATES OF BETWEEN 500 AND 1,000 PARTICIPANTS IN THE DEMONSTRATION AGAINST ARAFAT. HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE ARE BELOW. END OF SUMMARY/INTRODUCTION.

PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL OPTIONS

3. ASKED FOR THE DATE FOR THE PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL, AND WHAT HIS PERSONAL ADVICE WOULD BE ABOUT A GOVERNMENT IN EXILE, ARAFAT SAID THE PNC WOULD MEET "NEXT MONTH" AND WOULD DISCUSS OPTIONS PUT FORWARD BY THE PLO LEGAL AND POLITICAL COMMITTEE IN RESPONSE TO THE VACUUM LEFT BY KING HUSSEIN'S LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE WEST BANK. THE OPTIONS WERE: (A) AN INTERNATIONAL MANDATE BASED ON UN RESOLUTIONS FOLLOWING ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORY AND (B) ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. ARAFAT SAID HE WONDERED IF EUROPE WOULD RECOGNIZE SUCH A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. EUROPE'S RESPONSE WAS VERY IMPORTANT.

PLO RESPONSIBILITIES IN WEST BANK

4. ARAFAT SAID THAT FOLLOWING KING HUSSEIN'S ACTION, THE PLO HAS TAKEN THE DECISION TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE 23,000 PALESTINIAN OFFICIALS WHO RECEIVED PAYMENT FROM THE JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THE PLO



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 AMAD-01 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /055 W
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO
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FROM USEC

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, IS, XE EEC, PLO

SUBJECT: ARAFAT PRESS CONFERFRENCE AT THE EUROPEAN HAS DECIDED TO SHOULDER THE "ENTIRE FINANCIAL, ECONOMIC, LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY." HE ALSO SAID

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HE HAD DECIDED TO APPLY JORDANIAN AND PALESTINIAN LAW IN GAZA AND THE WEST BANK UNTIL NEW LAWS ARE PASSED.

TALKING TO ISRAEL

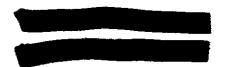
5. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM A.B. NATHAN OF THE VOICE OF PEACE, ARAFAT SAID HE WAS PREPARED TO MEET WITH ANYONE REPRESENTING ISRAEL. HE SAID, "I AM EXTENDING THE HAND OF PEACE."

MEETING WITH PAPOULIAS

6. ARAFAT CHARACTERIZED HIS MEETING WITH GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER PAPOULIAS AS "EXTREMELY POSITIVE." THEY HAD, HE SAID, A LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF HOW BEST TO COOPERATE TO PROMOTE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HE SAID THEY DISCUSSED "MORE DELICATE ISSUES" WHICH HE DID NOT REVEAL.

QUESTION ABOUT POSSIBLE MEETING OF ARAFAT WITH ECFOREIGN MINISTERS

7. A JOURNALIST ASKED WHETHER PAPOULIAS HAD GIVEN ARAFAT ANY INDICATION WHETHER PAPOULIAS AND HIS EC COLLEAGUES INTENDED TO INVITE HIM TO MEET WITH THE EC FOREIGN AFFAIRS COUNCIL. NO ANSWER WAS GIVEN AS RUDY ARNDT, SOCIALST GROUP CHAIRMAN, JUMPED IN AT THIS POINT



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INFERRING THAT THE QUESTION CONCERNED AN INVITATION TO SPEAK BEFORE THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. HOWEVER, AN EC PERMDEL CONTACT WHO WAS PRESENT, RECALLED PRIVATELY THAT THE EC FOREIGN MINISTERS HAD MET WITH JORDAN'S KING HUSSEIN NOT LONG AGO IN THE CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION AND HE SUGGESTED THE UNANSWERED QUESTION UNDOUBTEDLY REFERRED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A SIMILAR MEETING WITH ARAFAT.

MEETING WITH DUMAS

7. ASKED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN AT HIS MEETING LATER IN THE DAY WITH FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER DUMAS IN STRASBOURG, ARAFAT COMMENTED THAT ONE MUST REMEMBER THIS WAS NOT THE FIRST TIME HE HAD MET WITH FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTERS. HE SAID IT WAS A "BRAVE DECISION" BY THE FRENCH AT THE "HIGHEST LEVEL TO TAKE IN AN ELECTION PERIOD."

GETTING THE US AND BRITAIN TO RECOGNIZE A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

8. THE UK, ARAFAT SAID, HAD A MORAL, LEGAL, AND POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. IT HAS AN "HISTORICAL DUTY TO CORRECT ITS MISTAKE." WITH REGARD TO THE US, ARAFAT REFERRED TO WILSONIAN PRINCIPLES. HE SAID THE US HAD RECOGNIZED ISRAEL ON THE BASIS OF UN RESOLUTION 181, WHICH CALLED FOR CREATION OF BOTH A JEWISH STATE AND A PALESTINIAN STATE. HE SAID WE ASKED THE US TO "BE MORE FAIR."



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9. ASKED WHETHER HE FAVORED **SALL AUGUARIS** ARAFAT SAID THAT IT WAS AN INTERNAL MATTER FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO DECIDE. HE SAID HE HOPED THE NEW PRESIDENT WOULD GIVE IMPETUS TO SOLVING REGIONAL CONFLICTS, THE ARMS RACE, ETC.

ON THE CAIRO DECLARATION

10. ASKED ABOUT THE CAIRO DECLARATION, ARAFAT ACCUSED ISRAEL OF ENGAGING IN TERRORISM. HE SAID THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE WERE THE VICTIMS OF ISRAELI TERRORISM.

ISRAELI ELECTION

11. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER PERES OR SHAMIR WAS THE MORE CAPABLE OF PROMOTING PEACE, ARAFAT SAID HE WAS "LOOKING FOR A DEGAULLE OF ISRAEL."KINGON



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SUBJECT= INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 25, 9/6/88

REFERENCE= 88 JERUSALEM 3004

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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

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CONCEPTS= PUBLICATION, POLITICAL LEADER, ALLEGATION, PALESTINIANS, LIBERATIO; FRONT, VIOLENCE, DEMONSTRATION, OCCUPIED AREA

TAGS= KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

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AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 05 JERUSALEM 03056

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 25, 9/6/88

REF: JERUSALEM 3004

1. LEAFLET NO. 25 OF "PLO/UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING" (UNLU), DATED SEPTEMBER 6, CRITICIZES THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, HAMAS, FOR ATTEMPTING TO ORGANIZE PARALLEL STRIKES AND ACCUSES IT OF AIDING THE ENEMY BY DIVIDING PALESTINIANS. IT ALSO CALLS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF MORE POPULAR COMMITTEES AND ADDITIONAL ATTACKS ON SUSPECTED COLLABORATORS. UNLU URGES STUDENTS NOT TRAVEL ABROAD TO STUDY, BUT TO SEEK POPULAR EDUCATION ORGANIZED BY THE INTIFADA LEADERSHIP. IT ALSO CALLS ON ARAB STATES TO MEET THEIR ALGIERS SUMMIT PLEDGES, AND CALLS AGAIN FOR THE UPCOMING PNC CONFERENCE TO TAKE UNCLASSIFIED

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"IMPORTANT AND DEFINITIVE POLITICAL RESOLUTIONS."
THE LEAFLET CALLS FOR GENERAL STRIKES ON THE 8,
17, AND 26 OF SEPTEMBER. PALESTINIANS ARE ALSO
URGED TO HOLD DEMONSTRATIONS OUTSIDE EUROPEAN
CONSULATES IN JERUSALEM ON SEPTEMBER 13, WHEN

ARAFAT ADDRESSES THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE A CALL ... A C

O MASSES OF OUR GREAT PEOPLE: SOON YOUR INTIFADA WILL END THE NINTH MONTH OF ITS AGE AND INAUGURATE ITS TENTH MONTH. IT HAS BECOME STRONGER, DETERMINED TO ESCALATE AND CONTINUE DESPITE ALL PROBLEMS AND FACIST METHODS OF OPPRESSION. DESPITE COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT, STARVATION, ECONOMIC SIEGES, DEMOLITION OF HOMES, MASSIVE ARREST CAMPAIGNS, DEPORTATION, BURNING PEOPLE ALIVE, ASSASINATION OF RESISTANCE FIGHTERS, DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY, AND LONG CURFEWS. YOUR GREAT POPULAR INTIFADA CONTINUES ITS DAILY STRUGGLE WITH MORE PERSEVERENCE AND AN EXTENSIVE MANNER, AIMING AT DISMANTLING AND DESTROYING THE UNCLASSIFIED

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MECHANISM OF THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITY. IT HOPES TO BUILD UP THE NATIONAL AUTHORITY OF THE POPULACE, REPRESENTED BY THE POPULAR COMMITTEES AND THE UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE INTIFADA. ON THE BEGINNING OF THE TENTH MONTH YOUR GLORIOUS INTIFADA PRODUCED NEW ACHIEVEMENTS TO BE ADDED TO THE COLLECTION OF POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS MADE DURING THE PAST MONTHS. THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION IS WORRIED AND HAS RETRACTED ITS PREVIOUS DECISION TO CLOSE DOWN THE PLO DELEGATION'S OFFICE AT THE U.N. THE UNITED NATIONS, THROUGH ITS SECRETARY GENERAL JAVIER PERES DE CUELLAR, WHO MET WITH THE LEADER OF THE PLO. EMPHASIZES THE EXISTANCE OF PALESTINIANS AND PALESTINIAN LAND. THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL HAS AGAIN DENOUNCED UNANIMOUSLY THE DEPORTATION OF PALESTINIANS FROM THEIR HOMELAND. ALL THESE ACHIEVEMENTS PRODUCED THE HEALTHY RESOLUTIONS

ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS ON THE INTIFADA IN GENEVA, PARTICULARLY THE RESOLUTION WHICH EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO PROVIDE INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION FOR PALESTINIANS - ONE OF THE SLOGANS AND DEMANDS OF THE INTIFADA. ANOTHER ACHIEVEMENT IS THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ZIONIST OPPRESSION MECHANISM, WHO INDICATED THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BREAK THE INTIFADA THROUGH MILITARY METHODS, AS IS THE STATEMENT OF THE ZIONIST ABRAHAM TAMIR, DIRECTOR OF THE ENEMY'S FOREIGN OFFICE, WHO SAID THAT ISRAELIS HAVE TO REALIZE THAT THE PLO IS THE ONLY PARTY WHICH

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 05 JERUSALEM 03056

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 25, 9/6/88

REPRESENTS PALESTINIANS. THIS RESULTED IN THE SETTLERS' HYSTERICAL FEAR OF MOLOTOV COCKTAILS AND STONES WHICH LED THEM TO ABANDON SOME SETTLEMENTS, CASTING ASIDE TALK OF APPEASEMENT BY THE TERRORIST RABIN, AND AROGANT SHAMIR, WHO PROMISED TO PROVIDE MAXIMUM PROTECTION AND GAVE THEM MORE AUTHORITY TO FIRE LIVE AMUNITION AT PALESTINIANS. IT ALSO LED TO THE CRITICAL ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE ENEMY, AS PER STATISTICS PUBLISHED DAILY BY THE ZIONIST ECONOMIC AND PLANNING EXPERTS.

O MASSES OF OUR HEROIC PEOPLE: THE MALIGNANT EFFORTS OF THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES TO IMPLEMENT THE TRANSFER POLICY, THROUGH SO-CALLED TEMPORARY DEPORTATION, BY FORCING DEPORTEES TO SIGN AN UNCLASSIFIED

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UNDERTAKING NOT TO INDULGE IN ANY ANTI-ISRAEL ACTIVITIES UNTIL THEY ARE PERMITTED TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMELAND, ARE A CLEAR BREACH OF THE GENEVA CONVENTION ON OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND ARE NO DIFFERENT THAN THE DEPORTATION POLICY CONDEMNED BY THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE WHOLE WORLD.

O COURAGEOUS CHILDREN OF OUR PEOPLE: AT THIS TIME REMEMBER THE MASSACRES OF BLACK SEPTEMBER, SABRA AND SHATILA, WHEN TENS OF THOUSANDS OF OUR CHILDREN IN THE DIASPORA WERE EXTERMINATED. THESE MASSACRES CAME TO FINISH THOSE COMMITTED AT DEIR YASSIN, QIBYA, DAWAYMEH AND KUFR QASEM. ALL AIMED AT OBLITERATING THE SPECIAL NATIONALIST FEELINGS OF OUR PEOPLE. YOU CAN TELL THOSE WHO COMMITTED THESE MASSACRES THAT HISTORY AND HUMANITY WILL CURSE THEM FOR EVER. WE ARE NOW STRONGER THAN YOU, MORE THAN EVER, BECAUSE WE HAVE ALWAYS RECUPERATED FROM YOUR BLOODY MASSACRES, AND WE SHALL CONTINUE THE MARCH, STARTED BY OUR PREDECESSORS, SUCH AS SHEIKH EL-QASSAM AND ABDUL QADER AL HUSSEINI.

O MASSES OF OUR STRUGGLING PEOPLE: UNLU AND THE MASSES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES PRAISE THE WISE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY PLO AND QADDAFI ON THE PAYMENT OF SALARIES TO EMPLOYEES WHOSE SERVICES

WERE TERMINATED BY JORDAN AND CALL ON ARAB LEADERS WHO MET AT THE ALGIERS SUMMIT TO FULFILL THEIR FINANCIAL, POLITICAL AND INFORMATION COMMITMENTS TO THE INTIFADA, THE PLO AND THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. UNLU AND THE MASSES SEND GREETINGS TO THE PNC'S EMERGENCY SESSION EMPHASIZING THE NEED TO COME UP WITH IMPORTANT AND DEFINITE POLITICAL UNCLASSIFIED

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RESOLUTIONS ON THE BASIS OF PALESTINIAN NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS. THEY SHOULD POOL THEIR RESOURCES TO MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE INTIFADA, AND TO ACHIEVE OUR PEOPLE'S DESIRES FOR RETURN AND SELF DETERMINATION.

O MASSES OF THE INTIFADA AND ITS STRIKE FORCES: UNLU IS PROUD OF THE MARCH OF THE 20,000 WHO ROAMED THE STREETS OF GAZA IN DEFIANCE OF THE CURFEW. IT IS PROUD OF THE MASSES IN NABLUS WHO DEFIED THE SOLDIERS, AND THE STRIKING FORCES IN YATTA WHO EXECUTED THE PEOPLES' SENTENCE AGAINST THOSE WHO SOLD THEIR SOULS TO THE OCCUPATION FORCES AND BETRAYED THEIR PEOPLE AND NATION. UNLU URGES THE MASSES TO UNDERSTAND FULLY THE FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS AND TO IMPLEMENT THEM IN THEIR DAILY STRUGGLE:

HAMAS: THIS MOVEMENT IS A BRANCH OF THE MOSLEM BROTHERHOOD ORGANIZATION. ONE COULD NOT BUT NOTICE HAMAS' RECENT ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE ITS AUTHORITY ON THE MAN ON THE STREET AND ON THE NATIONAL MASSES AND ENFORCE A TOTAL STRIKE ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 21. THE MASSES, WHO HAVE A SENSE OF TRUTH, CONSIDER THIS STEP CONTRARY TO THE NATIONAL PROGRAM APPROVED BY UNLU, WHICH HAS UNITED THE WILL OF ALL THE PEOPLE IN RESISTING THE ENEMY. UNLU EMPHASIZES THAT ATTEMPTS AGAINST UNITY OF THE BATTLELINES WILL ONLY SERVE THE ENEMY AND UNDERMINE THE INTIFADA. AS WE HAVE DONE IN THE PAST, WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXTEND A HAND TO ANY FORCE WHICH WANTS TO PARTICIPATE IN NATIONAL

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 ED-04 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 M-01 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /077 W

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 05 JERUSALEM 03056

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 25, 9/6/88

ACTIVITIES: WE DO NOT EXCLUDE HAMAS IN ITS EFFORTS TO CONSOLIDATE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE, HOWEVER. ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE AUTHORITY AGAINST THE MASSES BY FORCE WILL BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE ENEMY AND THEIR PLANS TO STRIKE THE INTIFADA. WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK, WE CONDEMN AGGRESSION WITH FIRE AND DESTRUCTION AGAINST MERCHANTS' AND CITIZENS' PROPERTY BECAUSE THEY REFUSED TO RESPOND TO HAMAS' CALL FOR A STRIKE. AT THE SAME TIME, WE CALL FOR STRENGTHENING UNITY OF POSITIONS, REFUSING TO VIOLATE NATIONAL CONSENSUS, AND TAKING PART IN THE GENERAL NATIONAL POSITION BY COORDINATING ACTIVITIES WITH THE OTHER PARTIES OF UNLU AND ITS EFFECTIVE FORCES. WE APPLAUD THE IMAMS OF MOSQUES WHO CONTINUE TO CALL FOR UNITY WITHIN A NATIONAL UNCLASSIFIED

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CONSENSUS TO ENSURE THE CONTINUATION OF THE INTIFADA.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY: UNLU DEMANDS THAT THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, AS WELL AS ALL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, INTERVENE IMMEDIATELY TO STOP THE BREACHES COMMITTED BY THE AUTHORITIES AGAINST INTERNATIONAL LAWS, PRECEPTS AND COVENANTS, AND TO PROVIDE INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION TO PALESTINIANS AGAINST ALL OPPRESSIVE MEASURES AND WILD CAMPAIGNS AIMED AT THEIR EXISTANCE. UNLU ASKS FOR A UN SPONSORED MANDATE ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES UNTIL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND AN AUTHORITATIVE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IS HELD, WITH PARTICIPATION OF AN INDEPENDENT PLO DELEGATION ON AN EQUAL BASIS.

CLOSURE OF SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS: THE AUTHORITIES HAVE CLOSED THE SOCIETIES, INSTITUTIONS AND UNIVERSITIES, IN AN ATTEMPT TO KEEP OUR PEOPLE IGNORANT, PARTICULARLY AFTER JORDAN DISENGAGED ITSELF FROM THE "PALESTINIAN BANK." UNLU URGES ALL THE PALESTINIAN SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES TO CONTINUE TO PROVIDE THEIR SERVICES, DESPITE THE ENFORCED CLOSURE.

EDUCATION: AFTER THE AUTHORITIES HAVE CLOSED DOWN ALL THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, UNLU URGES THE MASSES TO STRUGGLE FOR THE RE-OPENING OF EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS. PEOPLE SHOULD NOT LEAVE THEIR HOMELAND AT THIS STAGE IN PURSUIT OF UNCLASSIFIED

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FURTHER EDUCATION. WE URGE UNESCO, ARABS, AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITIES TO DISCUSS THIS IMPORTANT SUBJECT AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS, INCLUDING THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, BECAUSE DEPRIVING PEOPLE OF EDUCATION IS AN UNCIVILIZED MEASURE CONTRARY TO ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT HUMAN RIGHTS ENSURED BY INTERNATIONAL PRECEPTS, LAWS AND COVENANTS, AS WELL AS THE FOURTH GENEVA AGREEMENT. POPULAR

EDUCATION SHOULD BE PROMOTED AS A PRACTICAL AND MORE EFFECTIVE MEASURE AGAINST THE ZIONIST POLICY OF KEEPING THE PEOPLE IGNORANT.

POPULAR COMMITTEES: UNLU EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUING TO BUILD UP THE INDEPENDENT AUTHORITY OF THE PEOPLE TO UNDERMINE THE AUTHORITIES' BAN ON POPULAR COMMITTEES AND THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THEM INTENDED TO FRIGHTEN THE MASSES, ISOLATE THE COMMITTEES AND FACILITATE THEIR ELIMINATION.

COMBATTING COLLABORATORS: UNLU APPLAUDS THE STRIKE FORCES, THE NUCLEUS OF THE POPULAR COMMITTEES, WHICH ACTED AGAINST COLLABORATORS AND EXECUTED THE SENTENCE PASSED BY THE INTIFADA AND . THE PEOPLE IN YATTA, HEBRON, ILAAR, JENIN AND JALAZONE REFUGEE CAMPS, QABATIYA, BIDYA JABALIYA, DEIR EL-BALAH AND OTHERS. STRIKE FORCES ARE URGED TO CONTINUE CLEANSING THE INTERNAL FRONT OF UNCLEANLINESS AND THOSE WHO HAVE SOLD THEIR SOULS AND HONOR TO THE OCCUPATION AND BETRAYED THEIR PEOPLE AND HOMELAND.

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AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 05 JERUSALEM 03056

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 25, 9/6/88

THE FACIST MOUNTED POLICE: UNLU URGES OUR MASSES IN BEIT AL-MAQDES (JERUSALEM), THE ETERNAL CAPITAL OF OUR PALESTINIAN STATE, TO CHALLENGE AND CONFRONT THE AGGRESSION OF THE FACIST MOUNTED POLICE WHO HARRASS THE POOR FARMERS WHO DISPLAY AND SELL THEIR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE NEAR DAMASCUS AND HEROD GATES IN AN ATTEMPT TO WARD OFF THE HUNGER OF THEIR CHILDREN. THE MOUNTED POLICE DESTROY THE FARMERS' PRODUCE AND FEED THEIR HORSES ON THE FARMERS' VEGETABLES AND FRUITS, WHILE THE OWNERS LOOK ON. MONEY CHANGERS: UNLU URGES MONEYCHANGERS TO REFRAIN FROM CREATING CHAOS IN THE FINANCIAL MARKET. THEY SHOULD STOP SPREADING RUMORS AND ABSTAIN FROM CREATING PANIC AMONG THE MASSS AS UNCLASSIFIED

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THEY HAVE DONE IN THE PAST FEW DAYS. SIMPLETONS WERE ENCOURAGED TO GAMBLE THEIR SAVINGS AND CHANGED ALL THEIR JORDANIAN DINARS INTO U.S. DOLLARS. ANY ONE WHO CREATES PANIC, WHETHER KNOWINGLY OR UNKNOWINGLY, WILL ONLY WASTE THE SAVINGS OF OUR PEOPLE AND BRING MORE GAIN TO ISRAELI AND AMERICAN BANKS.

MERCHANTS: UNLU URGES MERCHANTS TO FORM MORE MERCHANT COMMITTEES, DEVELOP AND ACTIVATE THEM TO ENCOURAGE NON-PAYMENT OF TAXES AND COLLECTIVELY CONFRONT THE TAXMEN'S RAIDS. BOYCOTT OF THE ENEMY'S PRODUCTS SHOULD CONTINUE AS DETAILED IN THE PALESTINIAN MERCHANTS' STATEMENT. WE ORDER OUR COURAGEOUS MERCHANTS IN GAZA NOT TO RESPOND TO THE ORDERS ISSUED BY THE AUTHORITIES AND THE ARMY

TO PLACE SIGNS OUTSIDE THEIR SHOPS PROVIDING THE OWNER'S NAME AND ADDRESS.

VENDOR'S STALLS: UNLU DEMANDS THAT THE STREET VENDORS ORGANIZE THEMSELVES AND REMAIN COMMITTED TO OPENING AND CLOSING THEIR STALLS ACCORDING TO THE MERCHANTS' SCHEDULE. KEEPING THE STALLS OPEN ALL DAY WILL VIOLATE THE PURPOSE OF THE MERCHANTS' PARTIAL STRIKE. THE STRIKE FORCES ARE URGED TO ORGANISE THIS OPERATION.

PROPERTY RENT: UNLU DEMANDS THAT PROPERTY OWNERS REDUC RENT BY 25 PERCENT AND THAT TENANTS ABIDE BY THIS REQUEST AND PAY THEIR RENT IMMEDIATELY, WITHOUT HESITATION.

O MASSES OF THE INTIFADA AND ITS STRIKE FORCE: UNCLASSIFIED

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UNLU IS AWARE OF THE STATE OF DISORDER AND PANIC AMONG ISRAELIS AND THEIR LEADERS DUE TO THE INTIFADA: THIS WAS CLEARLY SEEN THROUGH FACIST SHARON'S DEMANDS TO PUNISH PARENTS OF STONE-THROWERS, ARENS' DEMAND TO FORBID PALESTINIAN PEDESTRIANS FROM WALKING ON THE PAVEMENTS OF THE STREETS IN AN EFFORT TO ELIMINATE STONE THROWING, AND SHAMIR'S GREEN LIGHT TO SETTLERS TO FIRE LIVE AMUNITION AT PALESTINIANS. UNLU WISHES TO ASK THEM: WHY DO YOU CLOSE YOUR EYES AND REFUSE TO SEE THE FACTS? WHY DO YOU TRY TO HIDE THE SUN BEHIND A SIEVE? THE SOLUTION OF THESE PROBLEMS WILL COME ONLY THROUGH YOUR EVACUATION FROM OUR LAND AND RECOGNITION OF OUR LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND AN INDEPENDENT STATE. THE SOLUTION WILL NOT COME THROUGH OPPRESSION AND THREATS.

UNLU GREETS THE STRONG PALESTINIAN ARMS WHICH HAVE GIVEN THE STONE A REVOLUTIONARY NAME AND URGES THESE STRONG ARMS TO DROWN THE ENEMY AND ITS SETTLERS WITH MORE STONES AND MOLOTOVS AT ALL TIMES AND PLACES. UNLU CALLS ON THE MASSES TO IMPLEMENT THE FOLLOWING:

1. A GENERAL STRIKE TO BE OBSERVED ON SEPTEMBER 8, TO COMMEMORATE THE END OF THE NINTH MONTH OF THE INTIFADA AND PREPARATIONS TO START THE TENTH MONTH WITH GREAT VIGOUR.

2. SEPTEMBER 10, TO BE A DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03056 05 OF 05 091715Z ACTION NEA-04

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 ED-04 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 M-01 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /077 W

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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 05 JERUSALEM 03056

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 25, 9/6/88

OUR CLOSED SOCIETIES, INSTITUTIONS, UNIVERSITIES AND LABOR UNIONS, WHEN SIT-INS SHOULD BE HELD OUTSIDE THESE INSTITUTIONS.

3. SEPTEMBER 13, TO CLEBRATE THE MEETING OF BROTHER ABU AMMAR (YASSER ARAFAT) WITH THE

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AT STRASSBOURG. SIT-INS TO BE HELD OUTSIDE EUROPEAN CONSULATES IN JERUSALEM AND MEMOS TO BE SUBMITTED CALLING ON THE GOVERNMENTS TO PROVIDE INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION AND SUPERVISION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

4. SEPTEMBER 15, A CAMPAIGN TO PURIFY OUR INTERNAL FRONT FROM THE UNCLEAN COLLABORATORS AND TRAITORS AND TO FOLLOW UP ON THOSE WHO REFUSED TO UNCLASSIFIED

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RESIGN TO COMPEL THEM TO RESIGN.

- 5. SEPTEMEBR 17, A TOTAL STRIKE DAY TO COMMEMORATE THE MARTYRDOM OF THE THOSE WHO WERE MASSACRD IN SABRA AND SHATILA AND REMEMBER THE MARTYRS OF THE OTHER MASSACRES OF OUR PEOPLE.
 6. SEPTEMBER 18, A DAY FOR VARIOUS ACTIVITIES AND CLASHES, TO CONDEMN THE MASSACRE OF OUR PEOPLE.
- 7. SEPTEMBER 22 COMMEMORATES THE DAY OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ALL PALESTINE IN 1948. THE DAY SHOULD BE DEDICATED TO STRENGTHENING THE AUTHORITY OF THE PEOPLE AND TO ESTABLISHING MORE POPULAR COMMITTEES, AIMING AT ANNOUNCING THE INDEPENDANCE OF OUR GREAT STATE.
- 8. SEPTEMBER 26, A TOTAL STRIKE DAY IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE DETAINEES AND IN PROTEST AGAINST THE EXISTANCE OF ANSAR III PRISON.

TOGETHER ON THE PATH OF STRUGGLE AND ESCALATION UNTIL THE ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLE FOR LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE ARE FULFILLED, WE SHALL BE VICTORIOUS

SIGNED: THE PLO, THE UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE INTIFADA, SEPTEMBER 6, 1988. WILCOX

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FILM= D880802-0212

DATE= 09 SEP 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= JERUSALEM

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OFFICE= ACTION NEA

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EO= OA

SUBJECT= NEW IDF TACTIC TO COMBAT THE INTIFADA: MASSIVE SWEEP

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LOCATOR = TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= COMBAT, ARMED FORCES, OPERATIONS, ARREST, YOUTH

TAGS= KPAL, PHUM, IS

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SECTION 01 OF 02 JERUSALEM 03054

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PHUM, KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: NEW IDF TACTIC TO COMBAT THE

INTIFADA: MASSIVE SWEEP

- 1. (U) SUMMARY. HUNDREDS OF IDF FORCES SEALED OFF KALKILYA SEPTEMBER 6 IN A CONTINUING OPERATION INTENDED TO ARREST YOUTHS SUSPECTED OF ANTI-ISRAELI ACTS. OVER 200 ARRESTS HAVE BEEN MADE WITHOUT CASUALTIES TO EITHER SIDE. DEFENSE MINISTER RABIN INDICATED THAT SIMILAR OPERATIONS WOULD FOLLOW IN OTHER CENTERS OF RESISTANCE. A SIMILAR OPERATION BEGAN SEPTEMBER 9 AGAINST THE VILLAGE OF MALIK, NEAR RAMALLAH. END SUMMARY.
- 2. (U) WITH A MASSIVE SHOW OF FORCE, THE IDF SEPTEMBER 6 CLOSED OFF KALKILYA AND BEGAN HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SEARCHES FOR YOUTHS SUSPECTED OF ATTACKING SETTLER VEHICLES AND PARTICIPATING IN DISTURBANCES. IN THE OPERATION, WHICH WAS STILL

IN PROGRESS SEPTEMBER 9, HUNDREDS IDF TROOPS WITH HELICOPTER SUPPORT ARRESTED YOUTHS FROM A LIST OF NAMES, MANY OF WHOM ARE SUSPECTED OF BEING INTIFADA ACTIVISTS. ACCORDING TO PRESS ACCOUNTS, DETAINEES WERE HANDCUFFED AND BLINDFOLDED, THEN TAKEN TO A SCHOOL FOR

QUESTIONING BY SHIN BET AGENTS. A MILITARY PROSECUTOR WAS PRESENT TO SIGN DETENTION ORDERS, AND PRISONERS WERE THEN REMANDED TO THE FAR'A DETENTION FACILITY NEAR NABLUS. AS OF SEPTEMBER 9, OVER 200 YOUTHS REPORTEDLY HAVE BEEN ARRESTED, AND IDF SOURCES HAVE INDICATED THE ACTION WILL CONTINUE UNTIL EVERYONE ON THE LIST HAS BEEN APPREHENDED. ACCORDING TO IDF REPORTS, NO CASUALTIES HAVE BEEN SUSTAINED BY TOWNSPEOPLE OR TROOPS.

3. (U) WEST BANK COMMANDER GABI ORR IS QUOTED BY THE JERUSALEM POST AS SAYING THE RAID HAD BEEN PLANNED WEEKS IN ADVANCE AND WAS BASED ON INTELLIGENCE ON STONE-THROWERS GATHERED BY SHIN BET. OC CENTRAL COMMANDER AMRAM MITZNA SAID KALKILYA HAD BEEN TARGETED BECAUSE IT HAD BECOME A CENTER FOR ATTACKS ON ISRAELI VEHICLES PASSING THROUGH THE TOWN FROM WEST BANK SETTLEMENTS TO THE COAST. SETTLER GROUPS HAVE REPEATEDLY PRESSED FOR TOUGHER IDF MEASURES AGAINST THE STONE THROWERS. ON SEPTEMBER 7, DEFMIN RABIN SAID SIMILAR OPERATIONS WOULD BE HELD IN OTHER AREAS THAT HAD BECOME CENTERS OF ANTI-ISRAELI VIOLENCE.

4. (U) RADIO ISRAEL REPORTS SEPTEMBER 9 THAT A



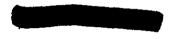
PAGE 03 JERUSA 03054 01 OF 02 091607Z

SIMILAR SEARCH-AND-ARREST OPERATION HAS BEEN LAUNCHED AGAINST THE VILLAGE OF MALIK, NEAR RAMALLAH. WE DO NOT YET KNOW IF IT IS AS LARGE IN SCALE AS THE KALKILYA OPERATION.

5. COMMENT. KALKILYA, LOCATED JUST EAST OF THE GREEN LINE, IS SURROUNDED BY JEWISH TOWNS. IT HAS BEEN A CENTER OF SETTLER-PALESTINIAN CLASHES SINCE APRIL 1987, WHEN A FIREBOMB KILLED TWO MEMBERS OF A JEWISH FAMILY DRIVING FROM THEIR SETTLEMENT NEAR KALKILYA TOWARDS PETAH TIKVA IN ISRAEL. KALKILYA HAS SEEN SOME OF THE HEAVIEST ACTION IN THE INTIFADA, WITH REPEATED SETTLER RAIDS INTO THE TOWN IN RESPONSE TO CONTINUED STONING AND FIREBOMBING ATTACKS ON JEWISH CARS. LENGTHY CURFEWS HAVE BEEN IMPOSED, WITH LITTLE APPARENT EFFECT.

6. COMMENT CONTINUED. THE SHAPE ASSETED

ARREST OPERATION IN KALKILYA IS THE GOI'S LATEST ATTEMPT TO FIND A TECHNIQUE TO CRUSH THE INTIFADA. THE GOVERNMENT HAS COME UNDER INCREASING PRESSURE FROM SETTLERS TO MAKE THE ROADS SAFE FOR THEIR CARS. PERHAPS FOR THIS REASON, EXTENSIVE PUBLICITY HAS BEEN GIVEN TO THE RAID, INCLUDING A STAGED IDF PHOTO SHOWING A TROOPER IN FULL BATTLE GEAR BURSTING THROUGH THE DOOR OF A PALESTINIAN HOME, WHILE THE AGED OWNER AND HIS WIFE WATCH WITH A BEMUSED EXPRESSION. THE INTIFADA COMMANDS SUCH WIDESPREAD SUPPORT AMONG WEST BANKERS THAT, SHORT OF ARRESTING ALL YOUNG PEOPLE IN A TOWN OR VILLAGE, THE IDF IS



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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR



TAGS: PHUM, KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: NEW IDF TACTIC TO COMBAT THE

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UNLIKELY TO STOP STONE THROWING--WHICH PALESTINIANS VIEW AS A SYMBOL OF RESISTANCE--BY THIS WAVE OF MASS ARREST AND HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SEARCHES. IF REPEATED, THIS TECHNIQUE WILL ALSO INCREASE TENSIONS BY MAXIMIZING POINTS OF JEWISH-PALESTINIAN FRICTION. AS A SEPTEMBER 8 EDITORIAL IN HA'ARETZ DESCRIBED IT, THE KALKILYA SWEEP IS "A POINTLESS AND OPPRESSIVE OPERATION." END COMMENT. WILCOX

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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FILM= D880797-0098

DATE= 08 SEP 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= JERUSALEM

DRAFTER= n/a

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TO= STATE
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SUBJECT= WEST BANK WRAP UP, AUGUST 31-SEPTEMBER 5, 1988

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ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= WEST BANK, DEMONSTRATION, PRESS SUMMARY, VIOLENCE, REPORT, INT .:

TAGS= KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 COME-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /084 W

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03015

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, AUGUST 31-SEPTEMBER 5,

1988

1. SUMMARY: VIOLENCE DECLINED SLIGHTLY. ONLY ONE PALESTINIAN WAS REPORTED KILLED. GENERAL STRIKES WERE OBSERVED AUGUST 30 AND 31. THERE ARE NEW SIGNS OF FRICTION BETWEEN THE INTIFADA LEADERSHIP AND ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISTS. ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS PUBLISHED DIFFERENT CASUALTY STATISTICS FOR THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF THE UPRISING. THIS REPORT WAS COMPILED MAINLY FROM PRESS ACCOUNTS. END SUMMARY.

ONE KILLED AND 31 INJURED

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2. -- PALESTINIAN SOURCES CLAIMED THE IDF SHOT AND KILLED A 22-YEAR-OLD YOUTH AND WOUNDED FOUR OTHERS IN AN AUGUST 31 CLASH IN DEIR GHASSANEH, NEAR RAMALLAH. MILITARY SOURCES DENIED KNOWLEDGE OF THE INCIDENT.

- -- PROTESTS ERUPTED IN NABLUS ON AUGUST 30 AFTER THE LIFTING OF A FIVE-DAY CURFEW. ACCORDING TO MILITARY SOURCES, SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED AT LEAST FIVE PERSONS, ONE OF THEM SERIOUSLY, WHILE PALESTINIAN SOURCES CLAIMED 13 YOUTHS WERE WOUNDED.
- -- IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED ONE YOUTH IN QALQILYA DURING A CLASH WITH DEMONSTRATORS ON AUGUST 31; CURFEW WAS IMPOSED ON THE TOWN. ALSO SHOT AND WOUNDED WERE TWO VILLAGERS IN HOUSAN, SOUTH OF BETHLEHEM; ONE IN BOURQIN, NEAR JENIN; AND ONE IN KAFR ADDEEK, NEAR NABLUS.
- -- IDF SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED FIVE PALESTINIANS DURING CLASHES ON SEPTEMBER 2 IN AZZOUN, NEAR QALQILYA; NABLUS; AND ABU DIS, NEAR JERUSALEM.
- -- THREE PALESTINIANS WERE REPORTED WOUNDED, SEPTEMBER 3 IN CLASHES WITH IDF SOLDIERS AT SILET AL HARTHIYEH.
- -- ON SEPTEMBER 4, IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED AN 18-YEAR-OLD PALESTINIAN AT SUR, NEAR TULKAREM.
- -- ONE PALESTINIAN WAS SHOT AND WOUNDED SEPTEMBER 5 IN JALBOUN, IN THE JENIN DISTRICT.

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- -- AN ISRAELI SETTLER SUSTAINED HEAD INJURIES AUGUST 30 WHEN A ROCK WAS THROWN AT HIS VEHICLE NEAR ANABTA. LATER IN THE DAY, THE IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED TWO PALESTINIANS DURING CLASHES IN TOWN.
- -- A SECOND ISRAELI MOTORIST WAS WOUNDED BY STONES THROWN AT HIS CAR NEAR BIDYA, NABLUS DISTRICT, ON AUGUST 30.

GENERAL STIKES

3.-- SHOPS WERE SHUTTERED AND PALESTINIANS STAYED AWAY FROM WORK IN ISRAEL ON AUGUST 30 IN A STRIKE TO SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH THE DEPORTEES. THE STRIKE CONTINUED AUGUST 31 TO PROTEST THE ARSON DEATH OF THREE PALESTINIANS INSIDE ISRAEL.

CURFEWS

- 4. -- BANI NAIM, NEAR HEBRON, REMAINED UNDER CURFEW FOR FOR THE SEVENTH CONSECUTIVE DAY.
- -- CURFEW WAS IMPOSED ON AUGUST 30 IN JAYYOUS, EAST OF QALQILYA, AFTER DEMONSTRATIONS. IDF CUT OFF WATER AND ELECTRICITY, WHILE BULLDOZERS CLOSED THE ENTRANCES TO THE VILLAGE, WITH SAND AND LARGE ROCKS.
- -- TIL AND BOURIN VILLAGES, NEAR NABLUS, AND AZZOUN, NEAR TULKAREM, REMAIN UNDER CURFEW FOR A SECOND WEEK.
- -- CURFEW WAS IMPOSED ON QALQILYA AUGUST 31

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03015

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, AUGUST 31-SEPTEMBER 5,

FOLLOWING CLASHES WITH SOLDIERS IN WHICH ONE YOUTH WAS SHOT AND WOUNDED.

-- CURFEW REMAINS IMPOSED ON HOUSAN VILLAGE, NEAR BETHLEHEM, FOR THE SIXTH DAY, AFTER DAY-LONG CLASHES AUGUST 31. RESIDENTS REPORTED THAT THE POWER SUPPLY HAD BEEN CUT OFF.

- -- A CURFEW REMAINS IN EFFECT ON EIN ARIK, NEAR RAMALLAH, FOLLOWING DEMONSTRATIONS AUGUST 31 AND SEPTEMBER 1.
- -- CURFEWS REMAINED IN FORCE ON THINNABEH, NEAR TULKAREM, AND THE TULKAREM REFUGEE CAMP, WHERE UNCLASSIFIED

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SOLDIERS BLOCKED OFF ROADS INTO THE CAMP WITH RAMPARTS OF EARTH AND STONES.

RIVALRY BETWEEN HAMAS AND INTIFADA LEADERSHIP

- 5.-- THERE ARE NEW SIGNS OF FRICTION BETWEEN ACTIVISTS OF THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, HAMAS, AND THE PLO-BACKED UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING (UNLU). A STATEMENT BY UNLU CRITICIZED HAMAS FOR CALLING UNAUTHORIZED STRIKES AND URGED POPULAR COMMITTEES TO PROTECT MERCHANTS WHO IGNORED THEM. THE STATEMENT WARNED THAT HAMAS ACTIVITIES THREATEN TO UNDERMINE THE PALESTINIAN UNITY THAT HAS BEEN FORGED DURING THE INTIFADA.
- -- A 40-PAGE HAMAS "COVENANT" OF THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE IS REPORTEDLY CIRCULATING IN THE WEST BANK. THE DOCUMENT REPORTEDLY RULES OUT CONCESSIONS TO ISRAEL, SAYS THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED THROUGH "JIHAD," AND REJECTS ALL INITIATIVES, CONFERENCES AND PROPOSALS AS A WASTE OF TIME.

STATISTICS ON INTIFADA CASUALTIES

6.-- DEFENCE MINISTER RABIN SAID ON AUGUST 30 THAT 18,000 RESIDENTS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA HAD BEEN ARRESTED DURING THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF THE INTIFADA, OF WHICH 5,600 REMAINED IN ISRAELI UNCLASSIFIED

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PRISONS, INCLUDING 2,600 ADMINISTRATIVE

DETAINEES. 60 PERSONS HAVE BEEN DEPORTED AND 210 PALESTINIANS WERE KILLED BY ISRAELI GUNFIRE SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE INTIFADA.

- -- HAOLAM HAZEH HEBREW MAGAZINE AUGUST 18 REPORTED THAT THE NUMBER OF PALESTINIAN FATALITIES SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE INTIFADA IS 257. THIS FIGURE INCLUDES THE TWO GAZA STRIP WORKERS WHO WERE BURNED ALIVE.
- -- PALESTINIAN SOURCES REPORT 334 FATALITIES, OF WHICH 221 DIED FROM IDF GUNFIRE, 27 DIED FROM BEATINGS AND ELECTROCUTIONS, 59 DIED FROM TEAR GAS ASPHYSXIATION, AND 27 DIED FROM OTHER CAUSES.

HOMES OF SUSPECTED COLLABORATORS BURNED

7.-- THE HOMES OF TWO SUSPECTED COLLABORATORS WERE BURNED AND DEMOLISHED IN QALQILYA ON AUGUST 30.

ISRAELI BULLDOZERS UPROOT OLIVE TREES

8.-- ON AUGUST 31, ISRAELI BULLDOZERS UPROOTED 30 FRUIT-BEARING OLIVE TREES IN BIDYA, WEST OF NABLUS.

ALTERNATIVE CLASSES BLOCKED

9. ON SEPTEMBER 5, THE IDF CLOSED THE SOCIETY OF

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ACTION NEA-04

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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03015

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, AUGUST 31-SEPTEMBER 5,

FRIENDS OF AN-NAJAH UNIVERSITY IN NABLUS AFTER INFORMAL CLASSES WERE HELD ON THE SOCIETY'S PREMISES FOR STUDENTS WHO WISH TO CONTINUE STUDYING NOTWITHSTANDING THE CONTINUED CLOSURE OF ALL UNIVERSITIES, INCLUDING AN-NAJAH, EARLIER, A CLASS AT THE ABU DIS COLLEGE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY WAS CLOSED AND 12 STUDENTS AND TWO TEACHERS ARRESTED. ISRAELI AUTHORITIES ALLEGED THE ALTERNATIVE CLASSES HAD BECOME "CENTERS OF PROTEST." NABLUS BUSINESSMAN SAID KANAAN. WHO HEADS THE FRIENDS OF AN-NAJAH SAID: "WE WERE INVOLVED IN EDUCATION AND WE WERE NOT DOING ANYTHING AGAINST THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL." WILCOX

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SUBJECT= LATEST LEAFLETS FROM THE INTIFADA LEADERSHIP AND HAMAS

REFERENCE= n/a

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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PUBLICATION, DOCUMENTATION, GUERRILLA, PALESTINIANS

TAGS= KPAL, PTER, IS, PNC, HAMAS

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03004 01 OF 02 071523Z ACTION NEA-11

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL, PTER, IS

SUBJECT: LATEST LEAFLETS FROM THE INTIFADA

LEADERSHIP AND HAMAS

1

2. SUMMARY! THREE RECENT DOCUMENTS--INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 25 FROM SEPTEMBER 6, HAMAS LEAFLET NO. 29 FROM SEPTEMBER 5, AND THE HAMAS "COVENANT" OF AUGUST 18--PROVIDE INSIGHT INTO THE EVOLVING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING (UNLU) AND THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (HAMAS). THESE DOCUMENTS, IN WHICH UNLU STRONGLY CRITICIZES HAMAS FOR TRYING TO SPLIT THE RESISTANCE, WHILE HAMAS SEEMS TO BE BACKING AWAY FROM CONFRONTATION, INDICATE THAT UNLU CURRENTLY RETAINS THE UPPER HAND IN SPEAKING AND ACTING

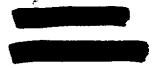
FOR THE INTIFADA. HOWEVER, HAMAS' STRATEGY SEEMS SET FOR A LONG TERM ÉFFORT TO INCREASE ITS INFLUENCE ON THE WEST BANK. END SUMMARY.

INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 25



- 3. UNLU LEAFLET NO. 25 DATED SEPTEMBER 6 (TRANSLATION PROVIDED SEPTEL) IS A RELATIVELY LENGTHY AND CONFIDENT-SOUNDING DOCUMENT THAT PROVIDES THE STRONGEST CRITICISM TO DATE OF HAMAS. HAMAS IS CONDEMNED FOR TRYING TO ORGANIZE PARALLEL STRIKES AND PROTESTS AND, AS A RESULT, AIDING "THE ENEMY" BY DIVIDING PALESTINIANS. HOWEVER, UNLU ALSO "EXTENDS A HAND" TO HAMAS TO JOIN THE UNLU AND CONSOLIDATE PALESTINIAN UNITY. (WE UNDERSTAND THIS IS AN INVITATION THAT HAS BEEN OFFERED, AND REFUSED, IN THE PAST.)
- 4. IN OTHER ISSUES, THE LEAFLET CONDEMNS THE CONTINUING CLOSURE OF SCHOOLS AND THE SHUTTING DOWN OF PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS. IT CALLS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MORE POPULAR COMMITTEES, WHICH HAVE BEEN OUTLAWED BY THE GOI. THE LEAFLET PRAISES RECENT ATTACKS ON COLLABORATORS AND URGES THEIR CONTINUATION. IT ALSO CALLS FOR GENERAL STRIKES ON SEPTEMBER 8, 17, AND 26.

HAMAS LEAFLET NO. 29



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5. HAMAS LEAFLET NO. 29 DATED SEPTEMBER 5 (TEXT TO BE PROVIDED SEPTEL) TAKES A MORE CONCILIATORY TONE. IT CALLS FOR GENERAL STRIKES, BUT FOR THE SAME DAYS AS UNLU DOES. (THE FACT THAT THE HAMAS LEAFLET, WHICH APPEARED BEFORE THE UNLU ONE, CALLS FOR STRIKES ON THE SAME DAYS SUPPORTS REPORTS WE HAVE RECEIVED THAT THERE IS COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS.) HOWEVER, THIS LEAFLET FOR THE FIRST TIME IS SIGNED "ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, PALESTINE," INSTEAD OF "GAZA," PROBABLY AN ATTEMPT TO DEMONSTRATE APPEAL AND STRENGTH BEYOND GAZ.

COVENANT OF THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

6. WE HAVE RECEIVED (AND POUCHED TO NEA/IAI) AN ENGLISH SUMMARY OF THE 40-PAGE HAMAS COVENANT DATED AUGUST 18. ALTHOUGH SUPPOSEDLY

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CIRCULATING AMONG PALESTINIANS FOR SEVERAL WEEKS, WE HAVE ONLY RECENTLY BECOME AWARE OF IT THROUGH PRESS REPORTS AND LOCAL CONTACTS. WE ARE STILL TRYING TO OBTAIN A COPY OF THE COMPLETE DOCUMENT FOR ANALYSIS.

7. THE COVENANT SETS OUT TO EXPLAIN THE PHILOSOPHY AND STRATEGY OF THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT. IT STATES THAT "THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IS A UNIQUE PALESTINIAN MOVEMENT WHICH GIVES ITS ALLEGIANCE TO GOD, USES ISLAM AS ITS WAY, AND RAISES THE BANNER OF GOD ON EVERY INCH OF PALESTINE."

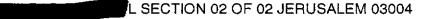
ACCORDING TO THE DOCUMENT, HAMAS IS "ONE OF THE





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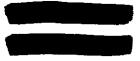


E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL, PTER, IS

SUBJECT: LATEST LEAFLETS FROM THE INTIFADA

WINGS OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN PALESTINE,"
AND IS CONNECTED WITH "THE MARTYR IZZEDIN QASSAM
AND HIS BROTHERS THE MUJAHIDIN FROM THE MUSLIM
BROTHERHOOD IN 1936." IT ALSO CLAIMS TIES TO
"THE PALESTINIAN JIHAD AND THE JIHAD OF MUSLIM
BROTHERS IN 1948 AND THE OPERATIONS OF MUSLIM
BROTHERS IN 1968 AND AFTER." IT DEFINES ITS
STRUCTURE AS BASED ON "MUSLIMS WHO HAVE GIVEN
THEIR ALLEGIANCE TO GOD."

8. ACCORDING TO THE DOCUMENT, THE HAMAS RESISTANCE IS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT PALESTINE IS A TRUST FROM GOD (WAQF), NO PART OF WHICH MAY BE YIELDED OR CONCEDED. THEREFORE, ITS GOAL IS THE CREATION OF AN ISLAMIC STATE IN



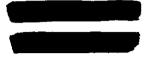
ALL OF PALESTINE. HAMAS REJECTS "PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS AND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES" BECAUSE "THESE CONFERENCES WILL NOT CORRECT THE INJUSTICE OR RETURN THE RIGHTS, THEY ARE A SORT OF ARBITRATION BY UNBELIEVERS TO THE LAND OF THE MUSLIMS." INSTEAD, HAMAS SUPPORTS "JIHAD" COMPOSED OF BOTH ARMED STRUGGLE AND ISLAMIC EDUCATION.

- 9. THE COVENANT SAYS HAMAS BASES ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS ON RESPECT AND SUPPORT FOR THEIR AIMS. IT EXTENDS AN OFFER TO THEM TO JOIN TOGETHER IN A UNIFIED ISLAMIC MOVEMENT.
- 10. HAMAS ALSO CLAIMS TO BE PART OF THE PALESTINIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT. IT THEREFORE PROMISES TO RESPECT AND SUPPORT OTHER NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS AS LONG AS THEY "DO NOT GIVE THEIR ALLEGIANCE TO THE COMMUNIST EAST OR THE CRUSADER WEST."
- 11. IN ONE OF ITS MORE AMBIGUOUS PASSAGES, THE COVENANT LIKENS THE HAMAS-PLO RELATIONSHIP TO THAT BETWEEN A SON AND HIS FATHER. THE DOCUMENT CRITICIZES THE PLO FOR ADOPTING THE GOAL OF A SECULAR STATE, A RESULT IT ATTRIBUTES TO "INVADING EXTERNAL THOUGHTS SINCE THE CRUSADERS."



SUPPORTED BY ORIENTALISM, THE MISSIONARIES, AND COLONIALISM." IT CRYPTICALLY SAYS THAT UNTIL THE PLO ACCEPTS ISLAM, THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO WILL BE "LIKE SON TO FATHER."

12. THE SUMMARY WE HAVE RECEIVED ENDS WITH A



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CALL TO THE ARAB STATES TO OPEN THEIR BORDERS TO THE HAMAS MUJAHIDIN AND FACILITATE THEIR STRUGGLE.

13. COMMENT. THE DOCUMENT'S PRINCIPLES
CORRESPOND TO LEAFLETS AND STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED
TO HAMAS, AS WELL AS TO TRADITIONAL MUSLIM
BROTHERHOOD POSITIONS. AS THE TORTURED WORDING
OF THE SECTION ON RELATIONS WITH THE PLO
INDICATES, HAMAS HAS NOT YET WORKED OUT ITS
STRATEGY VIS-A-VIS THE INTIFADA LEADERSHIP.
NEVERTHELESS, IT SEEMS APPARENT THAT HAMAS IS
COMMITTED TO AN UNCOMPROMISING CAMPAIGN AGAINST
ISRAEL AND ITS ELEMENTS OF THE PALESTINIAN
RESISTANCE ADVOCATING TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE.

14. MANY PALESTINIANS BELIEVE ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE HAS SOUGHT EITHER TO CREATE OR MANIPULATE ISLAMIC GROUPS IN AN ATTEMPT TO DIVIDE AND WEAKEN THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE. FORGED LEAFLETS AND STATEMENTS HAVE ALSO CIRCULATED IN AN ISRAELI ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT THE UNLU. THESE ARE ISSUES WE WILL ADDRESS IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR FORTHCOMING REPORT ON FUNDAMENTALIST MOVEMENTS IN TE WEST BANK. FOR THE PURPOSES OF THESE DOCUMENTS. WE HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THEY ARE NOT LEGITIMATE. HOWEVER, WE ARE NOT YET PREPARED TO COMMENT ON THE EXTENT, IF ANY, OF CONNIVANCE BY OUTSIDE **ELEMENTS IN THEIR PREPARATION AND/OR** DISTRIBUTION. END COMMENT. WILCOX



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SUBJECT= ISRAEL ELECTION CAMPAIGN REVIEW, OCT. 14

REFERENCE= 88 TEL AVIV 14400, 88 TEL AVIV 14399

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

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SECTION 01 OF 03 TEL AVIV 14724

USIA FOR NEA AND R/NA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, IS

SUBJECT: ISRAEL ELECTION CAMPAIGN REVIEW, OCT. 14

REF: (A) TEL AVIV 14400, (B) TEL AVIV 14399

1.

2. SUMMARY: 18 DAYS TO THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS.
CAMPAIGN EVENTS ARE NOW A DAILY PHENOMENON THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND TELEVISION/RADIO ELECTION BROADCASTS ARE GETTING NASTIER. KEY LIKUD CAMPAIGN LEADERS WE SPOKE TO IN THE LAST WEEK BELIEVED THE ODDS FAVORED LIKUD EMERGING AS THE LARGEST PARTY, WHILE THEIR LABOR COUNTERPARTS TOLD US THEY SAW THE ELECTION ENDING IN A DEAD HEAT. TWO TELEPHONE-BASED SURVEYS GAVE LABOR A LEAD OVER LIKUD AND AN EDGE IN FORMING A GOVERNMENT. BUT IT IS STILL TOO DIFFICULT TO CALL THIS ELECTION. THERE ARE TOO MANY UNKNOWNS: WHETHER KAHANE'S KACH WILL BE DISQUALIFIED, WHICH WOULD

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BENEFIT LIKUD; WHICH WAY THE MANY UNDECIDED VOTERS WILL GO; WHETHER VOTERS ATTRACTED BY THE SMALLER PARTIES WILL "RETURN HOME" TO LABOR AND LIKUD; THE UNCERTAIN SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE ISRAELI ARAB VOTE; AND THE OUTCOME OF THE BATTLE AMONG THE

RELIGIOUS PARTIES. END SUMMARY.

ASSESSMENTS

- 3. LIKUD: CAMPAIGN INFORMATION CO-DIRECTOR RONI MILO CONTINUED TO BE HIGHLY OPTIMISTIC LIKUD WOULD GAIN MORE SEATS THAN LABOR, WITH LIKUD HAVING A POTENTIAL WIN OF 48 SEATS. HE ALSO BELIEVED THE RIGHT/RELIGIOUS BLOC WOULD EMERGE LARGER THAN THE LEFT BLOC. CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION CO-DIRECTOR YITZHAK MODAI ALSO FELT GOOD ABOUT LIKUD'S PROSPECTS BUT, IN CONTRAST, FELT NO ONE COULD CALL THE ELECTION RESULTS AT THIS POINT.
- 4. LABOR: CAMPAIGN INFORMATION DIRECTOR ZVILI SAW NN BASIC SHIFT IN THE OVERALL ELECTORAL PICTURE AND BELIEVED THE RACE BETWEEN LIKUD AND LABOR WOULD FND IN A "TIE." HE DID NOT BELIEVE LABOR WOULD MAKE RFAL INROADS AMONG THE HEAVILY LIKUD-VOTING SEPHARDIM (JEWS OF NORTH AFRICAN AND MIDDLE EAST ORIGIN).
- 5. LABOR: ENERGY MINISTER SHAHAL, WHO HAS TITULAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE HAIFA REGION IN THE CAMPAIGN, ASSESSED THAT LABOR AND THE OTHER ANTI-LIKUD PARTIES MAY NOT BE ABLE TO WIN A "BLOCKING MAJORITY" OF 61 KNESSET SEATS. HE FELT, HOWEVER, THAT IF LABOR EMERGED AS THE LARGEST PARTY IT MIGHT STILL BE ABLE TO FORM A NARROW COALITION WITHOUT LIKUD BY WINNING THE SUPPORT OF SOME OF THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES DURING

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THE COALITION FORMATION PROCESS. (SHAHAL ALSO SAID SHARON TOLD HIM HE EXPECTED THE ELECTION TO RESULT IN A STANDOFF AND THERE TO BE NO ALTERNATIVE TO FORMING ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT.)

THE ARAB VOTE

6. SHAHAL FELT LABOR'S PROSPECTS FOR HOLDING ON TO ITS 1984 SHARE OF THE ARAB VOTES (WHICH GAVE IT 3 PLUS SEATS) HAD IMPROVED IN RECENT WEEKS. IN CONTRAST, LABOR KNESSET CANDIDATE YOSSI BEILIN, WHO IS HANDLING RESEARCH FOR THE CAMPAIGN HQ, HAD NO INFORMATION SUGGESTING A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER FOR THE PARTY AMONG ISRAELI ARABS. (MOST OF OUR LABOR CONTACTS BELIEVE IT WILL GAIN NO MORE THAN THE EQUIVALANT OF 2 SEATS FROM THE ISRAELI ARABS).
7. MK ABD AL WAHAB DAROUSHE WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT HIS DEMOCRATIC ARAB PARTY'S CHANCES, NOTING THAT IT

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ALREADY HAD ALMOST 10,000 MEMBERS. HE EXPECTED THE ISRAELI ARAB VOTE TO DELIVER ABOUT 13 SEATS TO THE FOLLOWING PARTIES:

HADASH (COMMUNISTS) 5
PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE 2 MINUS
LABOR 2
DAROUSHE 2
LIKUD 1
CITIZENS RIGHTS MOVEMENT .5
MAPAM .5

8. COMMENT: WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE DAROUSHE WILL HAVE A DIFFICULT TIME GETTING OVER THE 1 PERCENT THRESHOLD AND WIN A SEAT. HADASH, PLP AND CRM MAY DO

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SECTION 02 OF 03 TEL AVIV 14724

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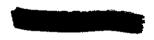
SUBJECT: ISRAEL ELECTION CAMPAIGN REVIEW, OCT. 14

BETTER AND LIKUD LESS WELL AMONG ARAB VOTERS THAN HE SUGGESTED.

9. PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE KNESSET CANDIDATE RIAH AL ASAL ASSERTED TO US HIS PARTY WOULD DO WELL IN THE ELECTION, PICKING UP MANY OF THE 20,000 VOTES HE EXPECTED TO BE LOST BY LABOR. HE ARGUED THAT NEITHER HADASH NOR DAROUSHE WOULD BENEFIT FROM DEFECTIONS FROM LABOR. DAROUSHE WOULD NOT MAKE IT PAST THE 1 PERCENT THRESHOLD, HE CLAIMED. ASAL SAID ANOTHER PLUS FOR THE PLP WOULD BE THE VOTES OF ISLAMICS WHO WOULD BE PARTICIPATING IN THIS YEAR'S ELECTION.

THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES

10. THE STRUGGLE AMONG THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES HAS



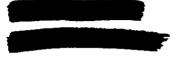
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INTENSIFIED. THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY (NRP) IS SET TO STEP UP ITS ATTACKS ON THE MORE MODERATE MEMAD. MEMAD SEEMS LIKELY TO WIN A SEAT, HOWEVER, WHILE THE NRP MAY NOT WIN MORE THAN FOUR SEATS (DOWN FROM ITS CURRENT FIVE). NRP HAS DECIDED AGAINST CONCLUDING A SURPLUS VOTES AGREEMENT WITH EITHER RIVAL MEMAD OR THE NON-ZIONIST AGUDAT ISRAEL.

- 11. AGUDAT ISRAEL IS BATTLING THE NEW DEGEL HATORAH (TORAH FLAG) PARTY FOR THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX NON-ZIONIST ASHKENAZI (JEWS OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN ORIGIN) VOTE. FOR ITS PART, SHAS IS SEEKING TO PREVENT EROSIONS IN ITS PRIMARILY SEPHARDI CONSTITUENCY. RABBINICAL ENDORSEMENTS ARE THE KEY FACTOR IN DETERMINING THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX VOTE. RABBI SHACH IS THE SPONSOR AND PATRON OF SHAS AND DEGEL HATORAH, WHILE THE LUBAVITCHER AND GUR RABBIS ARE BACKING AGUDA. THESE RABBIS HAVE BEEN FEUDING FOR DECADES AND THEIR FIGHT HAS NOW TAKEN ON A POLITICAL DIMENSION.
- 12. AGUDA MK PORUSH BELIEVES HIS PARTY WILL BE ABLE TO HOLD ON TO ITS TWO SEATS. HIS ASSESSMENT WAS SHARED BY SHAS' KNESSET FACTION SECRETARY JACOBSON, WHO SAW THE FOLLOWING ELECTORAL OUTCOME IN THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX SECTOR: SHAS 4; DEGEL HATORAH 2; AND AGUDAT ISRAEL 2 TO 3. LIKHES FRONI MILO ALSO



EXPECTED DEGEL HATORAH TO WIN 2 SEATS. THE IMPRESSIVE SHOWING OF DEGEL HATORAH'S FOUNDING MEETING, WHICH DREW THOUSANDS OF SHACH ADHERENTS, CONVINCED US THE NEW PARTY IS LIKELY TO WIN AT LEAST A SEAT. ALTHOUGH MILO ASSERTED DEGEL HATORAH LIST LEADER RABBI RAVITZ IS CLOSE TO LIKUD, JACOBSON ASSERTED RAVITZ SHARES SHACH'S ESSENTIALLY DOVISH



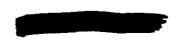
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OUTLOOK AND WOULD CERTAINLY FOLLOW SHACH'S LEAD.
RAVITZ HAS ALSO PUBLICLY STATED THAT "EVERYTHING IS
OPEN" REGARDING LIKUD OR LABOR AS COALITION PARTNERS.

THE CAMPAIGN

13. THE PARTIES ARE NOW HOLDING DAILY CAMPAIGN EVENTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. A SHAMIR-PERES TELEVISION DEBATE HAS BEEN SCHEDULED FOR OCT. 23. MEANWHILE, TELEVISION AND RADIO ELECTION BROADCASTS ARE GETTING NASTIER. LABOR AND LIKUD CONTINUE TO TRADE CHARGES OVER THE DISRUPTION OF SEVERAL LABOR CAMPAIGN EVENTS. LABOR IS FOCUSING ITS TELEVISION ELECTION BROADCASTS ON THE PERES/RABIN DUO AND ITS "NEW FACES," WHICH HAS GENERATED CONSIDERABLE DISSATISFACTION AMONG THE MINISTERS BEING KEPT OUT OF THE LIMELIGHT. LIKUD'S CAMPAIGN, RUN BY ARENS, HAS ALSO IRRITATED OTHER SENIOR LIKUD MINISTERS. ONLY IN THE LAST DAY HAS LIKUD BEEN SHARING THE SPOTLIGHT ON SHAMIR AND THE "LIKUD PRINCES" OF THE SHAMIR-ARENS CAMP WITH DAVID LEVY AND THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH THE LEVY AND SHARON CAMPS. SHARON'S TRIP TO HUNGARY AT A CRITICAL POINT IN THE CAMPAIGN WAS CLEARLY A SIGN OF PIQUE THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN INVOLVED IN LIKUD'S REBUTTAL OF THE SECURITY PROPOSAL OF LABOR'S GENERALS OR GIVEN A ROLE IN LIKUD'S BROADCASTS. **JNCERTAINTIES**

14. NEXT WEEK THE SUPREME COURT WILL ANNOUNCE ITS DECISION ON KAHANE'S APPEAL AGAINST THE KNESSET CENTRAL ELECTIONS COMMITTEE'S DISQUALIFICATION OF HIS KACH PARTY. IF KACH IS NOT ALLOWED TO RUN, MOST OF HIS SUPPORTERS ARE LIKELY TO OPT FOR LIKUD, WHICH



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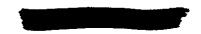
TAGS: PGOV. IS

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COULD GIVE IT ANOTHER 1-2 SEATS.

15. THERE CONTINUES TO BE A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF UNDECIDED VOTERS. LABOR AND LIKUD TO A LESSER DEGREE ARE FOCUSING THEIR CAMPAIGNS ON THESE VOTERS. LABOR IS FOLLOWING UP ON ITS TELEPHONE PROJECT TO IDENTIFY THE FLOATING VOTER WITH HOME VISITS PUT LACK OF VOLUNTEERS -- PARTICULARLY IN THE KEY TEL AVIV REGION -- MAKE IT UNLIKELY IT WILL REACH MORE THAN 4' PERCENT OF ITS 130,00N TARGET HOUSEHOLDS. LIKUD HAS NOTHING TO COMPETE WITH THIS LABOR EFFORT AND SEEMS ALSO TO BE SHORT ON VOLUNTEERS. IN ADDITION, AS ELECTION DAY APPROACHES, VOTERS WHO HAD EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE SMALLER PARTIES MAY (AS IN THE PAST) "RETURN HOME" TO THE TWO BIG PARTES OF ITMESTICATION.

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16. THERE ARE WILDCARDS WHICH COULD OCCUR FROM NOW TO ELECTION DAY. THE MOST OBVIOUS WOULD BE A TERRORIST ATTACK IN ISRAEL; A BLOODY CONFRONTATION IN THE TERRITORIES INVOLVING IDF/ARABS/SETTLERS: A PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING WHICH DECLARES AN INDEPENDENT STATE/GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE; OR A DRAMATIC ECONOMIC EVENT, SUCH AS A COURT-ORDERED BREAK-UP OF THE LARGE AND FINANCIALLY PLAGUED KOOR INDUSTRIES.

POLLS

17. TELESEKER SURVEYED 1,000 JEWISH ISRAELIS AND CONDUCTED A SEPARATE SURVEY OF ISRAELI ARABS BY TELEPHONE OVER OCT. 6-10 (FBIS TA 1410104488). ACCORDING TO ITS FINDINGS, LABOR WOULD WIN MORE SEATS THAN LIKUD (44-38) AND THERE WOULD BE A BLOCKING MAJORITY AGAINST A LIKUD-LED NARROW GOVERNMENT. RESULTS FOLLOW:

PARTY

SEATS

LABOR

44

MAPAM

CITIZENS RIGHTS MOVEMENT 7

CENTER-SHINU!

2

ZIONIST CENTER/LEFT PARTIES SUBTOTAL

55

HADASH (COMMUNISTS)

PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE 2

DAROUSHE

2

NON-ZIONIST LEFT PARTIES SUBTOTAL

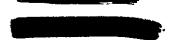
8

LIKUD

38

TEHIYA

6



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TZOMET

MOLEDET

KACH

1

RIGHT PARTIES SUBTOTAL

47

NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY 5

SHAS

2

ULTRAORTHODOX PARTIES 2

MEMAD 1
RELIGIOUS PARTIES SUBTOTAL

10

18. MAARIV NEWSPAPER ALSO REPORTED A TELEPHONE SURVEY CONDUCTED LAST WEEK BY THE UNKNOWN BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION. NO INFORMATION WAS PROVIDED ON ITS SAMPLE. THE POLL RESULTS SHOWED LABOR WOULD WIN MORE SEATS THAN LIKUD (43-38), WITH THE BLOCS ABOUT EVEN.

PICKERING



*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification ***



*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a <><**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>> DOC_NBR= 88JERUSA03393 FILM= D880911-0469 **DATE= 13 OCT 88** TYPE= TE FROM= JERUSALEM FEE FPC | COR DRAFTER= n/a DEPARTMENT OF STATE MR/ Cases Only: DECLASSIFY EO Citations RELEASE DECLASSIFY OFFICE≈ ACTION NEA EXCISE IN PART () DENY () DECETE Non-Responsive info | CLASSIFY TO= SECSTATE WASHDC DOWNGRADE TS to () FOIA Exemptions **AMMAN** PA Exemptions TEL AVIV CAIRO **DAMASCUS** CHANNEL= n/a ORIGHAND= n/a ORIGPHAND= n/a ORIGCLASS= UNCLASSIFIED ORIGPCLASS= n/a EO= N/A SUBJECT= INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 27 OF 10/9/88 REFERENCE= n/a CONTROL_NBR= n/a ENCLOSURE= n/a LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM ERRORS= N/A CONCEPTS= DOCUMENTATION, HUMAN RIGHTS, OCCUPIED AREA, APPROVAL, DEMONS

TEXT

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /084 W

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O 131620Z OCT 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3725
AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04 JERUSALEM 03393

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 27 OF 10/9/88

- 1. SUMMARY. LEAFLET NO. 27 OF THE "PLO/UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING" (UNLU), DATED OCTOBER 9, REASSURED PALESTINIANS THAT THE PLO WAS WORKING TO PREPARE THE PNC AND TRANSLATE THEIR SUFFERINGS INTO WORLD-WIDE GAINS. IT REITERATED THE PROGRAM OUTLINED IN LEAFLET NO. 26, CALLING FOR ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, CANCELLATION OF THE BRITISH SECURITY REGULATIONS, DISMANTLEMENT OF SETTLEMENTS, FREEING OF DETAINEES, AND INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION DURING A SHORT TRANSITION TO AN INDEPENDENT STATE WITH JERUSALEM AS ITS CAPITAL.
- 2. THE LEAFLET ALSO APPEALED FOR UNITY OF THE RANKS AND CALLED ON PALESTINIANS TO ENGAGE IN UNCLASSIFIED

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"MASSIVE ACTIVITIES" DURING THE PNC. IT ADDRESSED THE ISSUE OF EDUCATION, URGING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, PARTICULARLY UNESCO, TO INTERVENE WITH THE ISRAELIS AND CALLED ON PALESTINIANS TO CONDUCT SIT-INS IN FRONT OF FOREIGN CONSULATES, SCHOOLS, AND UNIVERSITIES. UNLU ALSO INSTRUCTED PALESTINIANS TO ORGANIZE POPULAR EDUCATION. THE MASSES ARE ORDERED TO ASSIST FARMERS DURING THE OLIVE PICKING SEASON, AND MERCHANTS ARE ENCOURAGED TO MAINTAIN THEIR SHORTENED HOURS AND TAX STRIKE. UNLU ORDERS DOCTORS TO RESTRICT THEIR FEES TO NIS 12 PER VISIT, AND ALL PALESTINIANS ARE URGED TO COMBAT THE SECURITY FORCES' SEARCH-AND-ARREST CAMPAIGNS. STRIKES ARE SET FOR OCTOBER 14, 19, AND 26, AND CONFRONTATIONS ARE CALLED FOR AFTER FRIDAY AND SUNDAY PRAYERS. END SUMMARY.

3. BEGIN TEXT OF LEAFLET 27:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE A CALL ... A C

O MASSES OF THE GIGANTIC INTIFADA: YOU WHO HAVE IMPOSED A SIEGE AND INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION ON YOUR ZIONIST ENEMY. YOUR INTIFADA STARTS ITS 11TH MONTH WITH STURDY STEPS, CONFIDENT THAT YOU WILL INEVITABLY GET YOUR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF RETURN, UNCLASSIFIED

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SELF-DETERMINATION, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF YOUR INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN NATIONAL STATE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PLO, OUR SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE, DESPITE THE DESPERATE ATTEMPTS OF THE ZIONIST ENEMY TO EXTINGUISH THE FLAMES OF YOUR INTIFADA. THE ENEMY HAS RECENTLY ADOPTED A NEW POLICY OF COMPREHENSIVE RAIDS ON WEST BANK TOWNS AND VILLAGES, PARTICULARLY ON SATURDAYS AND GENERAL STRIKE DAYS, DURING WHICH SEVERAL YOUTHS ARE SHOT, KILLED OR ARRESTED; OLD MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN ARE BEATEN; AND TOWNS, VILLAGES AND REFUGEE CAMPS ARE CLOSED OFF FOR PROLONGED PERIODS. THIS POLICY DEMONSTRATES THE DIFFICULT CRISIS FACING OCCUPATION FORCES AND THE EXTENT OF LOSSES INFLICTED ON ALL LEVELS.

O TORCH-BEARERS OF THE INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE: WHILE YOUR INTIFADA CONTINUES THE BATTLE, OUR HISTORIC LEADERSHIP, REPRESENTED BY THE PLO, IS MAKING GREAT EFFORTS TO TRANSLATE YOUR DAILY VICTORIES INTO WORLD WIDE GAINS IN FAVOR OF THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE--VICTORIES WHICH INCREASE THE ISOLATION OF OUR ENEMY AND ITS IMPERIALIST AMERICAN ALLIES. AT THE SAME TIME YOUR LEADERSHIP CONTINUES THE STRUGGLE AND PREPARES FOR HOLDING THE EXTRAORDINARY 19TH SESSION OF THE PNC, WHICH WILL, WITH ITS NEW RESOLUTIONS, CONSTITUTE A NEW WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF OUR MASSES AND RESPOND TO THE AIMS AND ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLE, THE PEOPLE

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O 131620Z OCT 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3726
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 27 OF 10/9/88

OF THE PLO AND THE INTIFADA, FOR LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT OUR NATIONAL COUNCIL WILL APPROVE APPROPRIATE STEPS TO FILL THE VACUUM CREATED BY THE JORDANIAN DECISIONS AND ADOPT PROGRAMS AND METHODS TO TRANSLATE THE SLOGANS OF OUR INTIFADA CALLING FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE INTO INCREASED INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR OUR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS.

UNLU, THE STRUGGLING ARM OF THE PLO IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, IS FULLY CONFIDENT THAT THE RESOLUTIONS AND PROGRAMS TO BE ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL, WHICH THE ENEMY FORCES AND THEIR ALLIES WILL TRY TO ABORT, WILL BE CAPABLE OF TERMINATING THE ATTEMPTS TO KEEP THE PLO AWAY FROM UNCLASSIFIED

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REPRESENTING OUR PEOPLE IN AN INDEPENDENT DELEGATION TO AN AUTHORITATIVE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH ALL OTHER PARTIES. THE PLO IS CAPABLE OF ENTERING THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, AS WITNESSED DURING BROTHER ABU AMMAR'S VISIT TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AT STRASBOURG LAST MONTH.

ON THIS OCCASION, WE CALL ON THE MASSES OF THE INTIFADA TO INITIATE MASSIVE ACTIVITIES INSIDE THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES DURING THE PNC MEETINGS AND SEND LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS OF SUPPORT.

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION, WHICH FALLS DURING THIS MONTH, UNLU DEMANDS THAT THE UN CARRY OUT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AND IMPLEMENT ITS RESOLUTIONS IN FULL, INCLUDING RESOLUTIONS WHICH ENSURE OUR PEOPLES' RIGHTS TO RETURN, SELF-DETERMINATION, AND ESTABLISHEMNT OF THEIR INDEPENDENT NATIONAL STATE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PLO. ON THIS OCCASION, UNLU CONGRATULATES THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL AND ALL THE PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRIES WHICH

SUPPORT OUR RIGHTS, AND REITERATES THE NEED TO ENSURE THE FOLLOWING LEGITIMATE DEMANDS:

- 1. WITHDRAWAL OF THE OCCUPATION FORCES FROM PALESTINIAN POPULATION CENTERS:
- 2. CANCELLATION OF THE BRITISH MANDATE'S EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, WHICH ARE STILL IN USE;
- 3. STOPPING THE POLICY OF ANNEXATION AND UNCLASSIFIED

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ESTABLISHING NEW SETTLEMENTS WHILE DISMANTLING EXISTING ONES:

- 4. FREEING PRISONERS OF THE INTIFADA AND CLOSING THE MILITARY DETENTION CAMPS:
- 5. PROVIDING INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION FOR THE UNARMED PALESTINIANS FOR A PERIOD OF NO MORE THAN A FEW MONTHS IN PREPARATION FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE WITH JERUSALEM AS ITS CAPITAL.

O MASSES OF THE INTIFADA: UNLU VALUES YOUR EFFORTS IN CONTINUING YOUR CONFRONTATIONS AGAINST THE OPPRESSIVE ENEMY AND THE NEW METHODS ADOPTED BY THE ENEMY'S GENERALS TO CONDUCT SEARCH AND ARREST CAMPAIGNS, CLOSE OFF TOWNS AND VILLAGES. AND USE PLASTIC BULLETS. WE BOW AND RESPECT THE PERSEVERANCE OF OUR MASSES IN COURAGEOUS HEBRON. THOSE WHO HEROICALLY CHALLENGE THE OCCUPATION FORCES AND THE HOARDS OF SETTLERS. THEY HAVE PROVED THAT HEBRON WILL NOT BE DESECRATED BY LEVINGER AND HIS GANG. WE VALUE ALSO THE POSITION OF THE MASSES IN THE STEADFAST GAZA STRIP, THOSE WHO TRANSFORMED THE FUNERAL INTO A VIOLENT DEMONSTRATION AGAINST OCCUPATION AND ITS AGENTS. AND VALUE THEIR DEFIANCE OF CURFEW ORDERS. A THOUSAND CHEERS TO ALL OUR MASSES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

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O 131620Z OCT 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3727
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 27 OF 10/9/88

O BUILDERS OF THE GREAT PALESTINIAN STATE: THE
FIERCE CAMPAIGNS WAGED BY THE ENEMY IN THEOCCUPIED TERRITORIES,
WHO HAVE DEVELOPED NEW
METHODS TO ERADICATE THE INTIFADA REQUIRE, NOW
MORE THAN EVER, MORE UNITY OF THE LINES UNDER THE
BANNER OF THE PLO. WE SHOULD BE COMMITTED TO THE
DECISIONS AND PROGRAMS OF ITS LEADERSHIP. ON THIS
OCCASION, UNLU EXTENDS ITS HAND, FERVENTLY TO ALL
THE STRUGGLING HONEST HANDS, SEEKING MORE
COORDINATION AND POOLING OF EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE
THE ENEMY'S CONSPIRACIES, WHICH TRY TO CREATE A
SPLIT IN THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL LINES. UNLU
CALLS ON YOU TO DEVELOP PLANS FOR STRUGGLE WHICH

WILL ENSURE STRONG RESISTANCE AGAINST THE ENEMY'S FIERCE CAMPAIGN AND DEDICATE THEIR TIME FOR UNCLASSIFIED

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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES:

EDUCATION: THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES' DECISION TO RENEW THE ORDERS TO CLOSE SCHOOLS AND HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES, TO DEPRIVE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF OUR CHILDREN OF THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION, RIGHTS THAT WERE ENSURED BY ALL INTERNATIONAL LAWS AND PRECEPTS, IS A CLEAR DEMONSTRATION OF THE FEAR OF THE EDUCATION WEAPON WHICH OBSESSES THE LEADERS OF THE OCCUPATION. CONSEQUENTLY, UNLU CALLS ON ALL HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, PARTICULARLY UNESCO, TO INTERVENE IMMEDIATELY TO PUT AN END TO THE POLICY OF IGNORANCE USED BY THE OCCUPATION FORCES. UNLU URGES THE HIGHER EDUCATION COUNCIL; THE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATIONS. TEACHERS' UNIONS AND STUDENT COUNCILS; AS WELL AS PARENTS' COMMITTEES TO CARRY OUT THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AND WAGE AN INFORMATION CAMPAIGN TO EXPOSE THE OCCUPATION'S POLICY BY SENDING MEMOS AND HOLDING SIT-DOWN STRIKES OUTSIDE UN OFFICES AND FOREIGN CONSULATES, SCHOOLS, AND UNIVERSITIES TO DEMAND THEIR UNCONDITIONAL REOPENING. UNLU CALLS ON PALESTINIAN ACADEMICS AND EDUCATORS TO DRAW UP A PROGRAM FOR ALTERNATIVE POPULAR EDUCATION IN TOWNS, VILLAGES, AND REFUGEE CAMPS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AND CHALLENGE THE OCCUPATION'S POLICY OF IGNORANCE.

AGRICULTURE: UNLU CALLS ON THE MASSES TO ASSIST FARMERS TO COLLECT THEIR OLIVES DURING THE OLIVE PICKING SEASON. OUR PALESTINIAN CULTURE WAS BLESSED WITH THE TRADITION OF HELPING EACH OTHER, ACCORDING TO THE HONORABLE 'ONEH TRADITION, WHICH UNCLASSIFIED

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REQUIRES NEIGHBORS TO HELP EACH OTHER AT THE TIME OF NEED. LET US ALL ADHERE TO THIS TRADITION AND PRACTICE IT.

MERCHANTS: WE DEEPLY VALUE THE MERCHANTS'

COMMITMENT TO NON-PAYMENT OF TAXES AND TO OPENING

THEIR SHOPS FROM 8 AM TO 12 NOON (COMMENT: THIS WAS A MISPRINT, ACCORDING TO CONGEN SOURCES; SHOPS THAT TRIED TO OPEN AT 8 AM WERE TOLD TO CLOSE UNTIL 9AM. END COMMENT.), AS WELL AS THEIR BOYCOTT OF ISRAELI PRODUCTS WHICH HAVE LOCAL ALTERNATIVES. WE WISH TO RENEW OUR CALL TO THEM TO REMAIN COMMITTED TO UNLU'S INSTRUCTIONS AND DEMAND THE MERCHANTS' COMMITTEES TO FOLLOW UP ON THIS MATTER.

THE INTERNAL FRONT: UNLU DEMAND THAT NO ONE ISSUE ANY STATEMENT IN ITS NAME. WE WARN OUR MASSES AGAINST SUSPICIOUS SLOGANS PAINTED ON WALLS AS WELL AS THREATENING LETTERS AND TELEPHONE CALLS. THESE ARE ISSUED BY ENEMY SOURCES AND AIM AT ABORTING THE INTIFADA.

POPULAR COMMITTEES: THESE COMMITTEES ARE URGED TO COURAGEOUSLY INTERVENE IN SOLVING INTERNAL FEUDS AND TO DEVELOP THEIR PRESENCE TO FOLLOW UP ON ALL CASES IN THE FIELD. MORE GUARDING COMMITTEES SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED.

PHYSICIANS AND DOCTORS: UNLU DEMAND ALL GENERAL PRACTITIONERS AND SPECIALSTS TO TREAT OUR PEOPLE'S

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FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
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SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 27 OF 10/9/88

PATIENTS AND THE WOUNDED DURING THESE DIFFICULT TIMES WHERE PEOPLE SUFFER FROM INJURIES ALL DAY. UNLU DEMANDS ALL DOCTORS TO RESTRICT THEIR FEES FOR TREATING PATIENTS TO 12 NEW SHEKELS AT THE MOST.

LAWYERS: UNLU DEMAND LAWYERS TO COORDINATE THEIR ACTIVITIES DEALING WITH DETAINEES AMONG THEMSELVES. THEY SHOULD FORM LEGAL COMMITTEES TO DEFEND THE PRISONERS AND HOLD CONFERENCES TO EXPOSE THE SITUATION OF PRISONERS IN THE DETENTION CAMPS.

RESITING THE POLICY OF MASSIVE SWEEPS: POPULAR COMMITTEES AND AND STRIKE FORCES SHOULD BE UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

RESPONSIBLE FOR COMBATING THIS POLICY BY BEING ALERT AND PREPARED AT ALL TIMES. THEY SHOULD CREATE NEW METHODS OF RESISTANCE AND AID THOSE WHO ARE WANTED BY THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES.

O MASSES OF THE GLORIOUS INTIFADA: UNLU URGES YOU TO IMPLEMENT THE FOLLOWING OBLIGATIONS AND ACTIVITIES:

-- OCTOBER 14, A GENERAL STRIKE DAY TO COMMEMORATE THE MASSACRE AT QIBYA. OCTOBER 19, A GENERAL STRIKE DAY TO PROTEST AGAINST THE SETTLERS WHO ARE ASSISTED AND PROTECTED BY THE OCCUPATION FORCES AGAINST UNARMED CIVILLIANS. OCTOBER 26, A GENERAL STRIKE DAY IN COMMEMORATION OF THE MASSACRE AT KUFR QASEM.

- -- OCTOBER 11, THE BEGINNING OF THE OLIVE PICKING CAMPAIGN, WHICH WILL CONTINUE IN THE OCCUPIED HOMELAND UNTIL THE END OF THE SEASON.
- -- OCTOBER 15, A DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE BESIEGED AREAS AND CONFRONTATION WITH THE SEARCH-AND-ARREST CAMPAIGNS FREQUENTLY WAGED ON SATURDAYS.
- -- OCTOBER 22, ALSO A DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE BESEIGED AREAS.
- -- OCTOBER 24, A DAY OF SIT-INS OUTSIDE UN OFFICES TO URGE THEM TO COMPEL ISRAEL TO BE COMMITTED TO THE UN RESOLUTIONS ON THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM.
- -- OCTOBER 29, A DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE UNCLASSIFIED

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BESEIGED AREAS AND CONFRONTING THE SEARCH-AND-ARREST CAMPAIGNS.

AFTER PRAYERS ON FRIDAYS AND SUNDAYS, THE DAYS SHOULD BE DEDICATED TO CONFRONTATIONS, DEMONSTRATIONS, AND MASSIVE MARCHES; VISITS TO MARTYR'S TOMBS; AND SEEING THE WOUNDED.

THE INTIFADA WILL CONTINUE UNTIL OUR PEOPLE ATTAIN LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE.

THE PLO
THE UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE INTIFADA.
"QAWEM", RESIST.
OCTOBER 9, 1988

END TEXT.

WILCOX

*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 88JERUSA03386

FILM= D880911-0345

DATE= 13 OCT 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= JERUSALEM

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

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SUBJECT= WEST BANK WRAP UP, OCTOBER 4 - 10, 1988

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REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= VIOLENCE, WEST BANK, POLICE FORCE

TAGS= KPAL, KPRP, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03386 01 OF 03 131543Z ACTION NEA-04

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 PM-10 INRE-00 RP-10 ACDA-12 SP-02 C-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 /075 W

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O 131540Z OCT 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3717
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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03386

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, OCTOBER 4 - 10, 1988

1. SUMMARY: IN AN UNUSUALLY VIOLENT WEEK, NINE PALESTINIANS WERE REPORTED KILLED, INCLUDING TWO WHO DIED OF WOUNDS SUSTAINED EARLIER. THREE ALLEGED COLLABORATORS WERE KILLED. 80 PERSONS WERE WOUNDED, INCLUDING 11 ISRAELIS (3 IDF). AUTHORITIES INTENSIFIED SEARCH AND ARREST CAMPAIGNS. EAST JERUSALEM HIGH SCHOOLS WERE REOPENED. THE IDF UPROOTED OLIVE TREES IN ONE VILLAGE, CURFEW WAS IMPOSED ON TEN LOCATIONS. A THREE-DAY STRIKE WAS CALLED IN NABLUS TO PROTEST THE KILLING OF A MAN THERE. A GENERAL STRIKE DAY WAS OBSERVED ON OCTOBER 9 TO MARK THE START OF THE ELEVENTH MONTH OF THE INTIFADEH. THIS REPORT WAS COMPILED MAINLY FROM PRESS ACCOUNTS. END SUMMARY. 2. 9 KILLED, 80 WOUNDED UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

OCTOBER 4

THE IDF SPARKED A CLASH IN NABLUS WHILE ATTEMPTING TO ARREST A PALESTINIAN WHO ALLEGEDLY TRIED TO STAB AN ARMY OFFICER AND GRAB HIS GUN. THE

OFFICER OPENED FIRE, WOUNDING THE MAN. SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED TWO OTHERS IN THE CITY.

TWO ISRAELI MOTORISTS WERE INJURED BY BROKEN GLASS WHEN ROCKS WERE THROWN AT THEIR CARS NEAR A-RAM AND QALANDIA REFUGEE CAMP, NORTH OF JERUSALEM.

OCTOBER 5

TWO SOLDIERS WERE WOUNDED WHEN A MOLOTOV COCKTAIL WAS THROWN AT THEIR JEEP ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF TULKAREM. A CURFEW WAS IMPOSED FOR SEVERAL HOURS AND SOLDIERS CONDUCTED EXTENSIVE SEARCHES.

A RESIDENT OF BALATA REFUGEE CAMP, NEAR NABLUS, WHO HAD SUFFERED WOUNDS IN A CLASH WITH SOLDIERS 10 DAYS AGO, DIED OF HIS WOUNDS.

VIOLENT PROTESTS ERUPTED IN NABLUS AFTER SOLDIERS TOOK A SERIOUSLY WOUNDED PALESTINIAN YOUTH FROM THE HOSPITAL IN NABLUS TO A HOSPITAL IN ISRAEL FOR INTERROGATION AND DETENTION. SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED 10 PALESTINIANS. IDF SOURCES SAID ONLY FIVE WERE WOUNDED.

AT BEIT SAHOUR THE BABY OF AN ISRAELI SETTLER WAS CUT BY GLASS SHARDS WHEN STONES THROWN AT HIS MOTHER'S CAR BROKE A WINDOW. LATER IN THE DAY, AN UNCLASSIFIED

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ISRAELI BUS WAS STONED AND TWO OF ITS WINDOWS WERE BROKEN. PASSENGERS GOT OFF AND THREW STONES AT AN ARAB HOME AND SMASHED THE WINDOWS OF A CAR PARKED NEARBY.

OCTOBER 6

SOLDIERS SHOT AND KILLED ONE MAN AND WOUNDED FOUR OTHERS DURING CLASHES IN NABLUS'S OLD CITY. SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED A PALESTINIAN DURING CLASHES AT TULKAREM REFUGEE CAMP AND ANOTHER IN NEARBY JAYYOUS.

TWO PASSENGERS IN AN ISRAELI BUS WERE SLIGHTLY INJURED WHEN STONES SHATTERED THE WINDOWS OF THE BUS TRAVELLING ALONG THE SHUFAT ROAD IN NORTHERN JERUSALEM.

OCTOBER 7
SEVERE CLASHES WERE SPARKED IN NABLUS BY REPORTS

OF THE FATAL SHOOTING ON OCTOBER 6. SOLDIERS SHOT AND KILLED FOUR PALESTINIANS: THE HIGHEST SINGLE-DAY TOLL IN SIX MONTHS. 14 OTHER PALESTINIANS WERE WOUNDED. LOCAL SOURCES SAID TWO OF THE KILLED WERE SHOT IN THE HEAD BY ARMY SNIPERS. A CURFEW IMPOSED REMAINS AS OF OCTOBER 10.

THE IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED NINE PALESTINIANS DURING CLASHES AT TUBAS, JENIN, JENIN REFUGEE CAMP AND ASKAR CAMP, NEAR NABLUS. ONE SOLDIER WAS LIGHTLY

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 PM-10 INRE-00 RP-10 ACDA-12 SP-02 C-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 /075 W

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FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3718
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03386

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, OCTOBER 4 - 10, 1988

INJURED WHEN HE WAS HIT BY A STONE THROWN NEAR ASKAR CAMP.

OCTOBER 8

SOLDIERS SHOT AND KILLED ONE MAN DURING CLASHES IN YAABAD, NEAR JENIN.

ONE RESIDENT OF EIN BEIT ILMA REFUGEE CAMP, NEAR NABLUS, DIED OF HEAD WOUNDS SUSTAINED IN CLASHES ON SEPTEMBER 26. SEVEN OTHERS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED IN THE CAMP DURING THE MAN'S FUNERAL.

BLACK FLAGS FLEW IN NABLUS AND SCATTERED CLASHES AND DEMONSTRATIONS WERE REPORTED DESPITE THE CURFEW. SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED THREE UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PALESTINIANS.

IN TULKAREM, IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED THREE PALESTINIANS DURING A CLASH. STORES IN TULKAREM, QALQILYA AND JENIN WERE CLOSED OCTOBER 7, 8 AND 9, IN MOURNING FOR THE DEAD. AT RAMALLAH, IDF SHOT AND KILLED A YOUTH WHEN SOLDIERS OPENED FIRE AFTER THEIR LOOKOUT POST WAS STONED.

OCTOBER 9

SOLDIERS OPENED FIRE, KILLING TWO VILLAGERS, WHEN AN IDF SWEEP ON YATTA, SOUTH OF HEBRON, ENCOUNTERED RESISTANCE.

AFTER SOLDIERS COMPLETED A SWEEP AT KUFR NI'MEH, NEAR RAMALLAH, YOUTHS RAISED PALESTINIAN FLAGS ON TELEPHONE LINES AND STONED ISRAELI CARS. SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED THREE YOUTHS.

THE IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED NINE OTHER PALESTINIAN YOUTHS DURING CLASHES IN TULKAREM, HEBRON, SAIR, NEAR HEBRON, ORTAS, NEAR BETHLEHEM AND JALAZONE REFUGEE CAMP, NEAR RAMALLAH.

OCTOBER 10 SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED A YOUTH DURING A RAID ON ATTIL VILLAGE, NEAR TULKAREM.

DURING A RAID ON BAL'A, TULKAREM DISTRICT, SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED FOUR PALESTINIANS. CURFEW WAS IMPOSED. FOUR PERSONS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED IN OTHER CLASHES IN TULKAREM DISTRICT AND UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

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THREE OTHERS IN JENIN.

AN ISRAELI BUS DRIVER AND TWO PASSENGERS WERE LIGHTLY INJURED BY SHATTERED WINDOW-GLASS WHEN A MOLOTOV COCKTAIL WAS THROWN AT AN ISRAELI BUS, NEAR SHUFAT, IN NORTHERN JERUSALEM.

3. SEARCH-AND-ARREST IN EAST JERUSALEM

OCTOBER 4

HUNDREDS OF JERUSALEM POLICEMEN PARTICIPATED IN A SWEEP OF THE SILWANAND ABU TOR NEIGHBORHOODS, ROUNDING UP SUSPECTED INCITERS AS A REACTION TO RECENT DISTURBANCES, ESPECIALLY THE ATTACKS ON POLICEMEN STATIONED IN THE AREA. POLICE CONTINUED ON OCTOBER 5 AND 6 TO CHECK THE PAPERS OF RESIDENTS.

4. EAST JERUSALEM SCHOOLS REOPEN

OCTOBER 4-6

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN EAST JERUSALEM OPENED FOR THE FIRST TIME THIS SCHOOL YEAR ON OCTOBER 4. SECONDARY SCHOOLS OPENED ON OCTOBER 6. THE OPENING WAS POSTPONED FROM SEPTEMBER 1 FOR SECURITY REASONS. AFTER DISTURBANCES AT THE SECONDARY CLASSES OF THE FRERE'S COLLEGE, STUDENTS WERE ORDERED HOME. SCHOOL REOPENED OCTOBER 10.

5. ATTACKS ON SUSPECTED COLLABORATORS

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 PM-10 INRE-00 RP-10 ACDA-12 SP-02 C-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 /075 W

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FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03386

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, OCTOBER 4 - 10, 1988

OCTOBER 5

ACCORDING TO THE MAYOR OF ARIEL SETTLEMENT NEAR TULKAREM, THE MUKHTAR OF ZAYTA, A NEARBY ARAB VILLAGE, WAS ATTACKED BY AXE-WIELDING ASSAILANTS AT HIS HOME ON OCTOBER 1 AND WAS RESCUED BY THE IDF. THE MAYOR CHARGED THAT THE IDF HAD DELIBERATELY CONCEALED THE INCIDENT.

OCOBER 6

MASKED ASSAILANTS SHOT AND KILLED TWO PALESTINIANS CONSIDERED TO BE COLLABORATORS WITH THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES. THE MUKHTAR OF BIDDIYA, SOUTH EAST OF QALQILYA, WAS GUNNED DOWN WITH A KALCHNIKOV RIFLE AND HIS BODY WAS PUT IN HIS CAR, WHICH WAS UNCLASSIFIED

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SET ABLAZE. HIS TWO YOUNG SONS WERE LIGHTLY INJURED. SOLDIERS IMPOSED CURFEW ON THE VILLAGE AND CONDUCTED A HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SEARCH. THE SECOND SLAYING OCCURRED IN UM AL-FAHM, AN ISRAELI ARAB VILLAGE WITHIN THE GREEN LINE. MASKED ASSAILANTS APPROACHED AHMAD ZA'ROUR, 25 OF ANIN VILLAGE, WEST OF JENIN AND FIRED SEVERAL SHOTS AT HIS HEAD. ZA'ROUR HAD BEEN LIVING IN UM AL-FAHM FOR TWO MONTHS SINCE HE WAS BANISHED FROM HIS VILLAGE BY MEMBERS OF FATAH'S SHABIBA YOUTH MOVEMENT FOR SHOOTING AND WOUNDING THREE VILLAGERS AFTER HIS CAR WAS STONED.

OCTOBER 7

A SUSPECTED COLLABORATOR WAS FOUND STABBED TO DEATH IN A CAVE AT BURQA, NEAR NABLUS.

6. 3 DAY STRIKE PROTESTING NABLUS KILLINGS

OCTOBER 7

A 3 DAY STRIKE WAS CALLED IN NABLUS TO PROTEST THE KILLING OF TWO RESIDENTS THE DAY BEFORE.

7. GENERAL STRIKE

OCTOBER 9

A GENERAL STRIKE, CALLED BY THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP OF THE INTIFADA, WAS OBSERVED THROUGHOUT THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES TO MARK THE START OF THE ELEVENTH MONTH OF THE INTIFADA.

8. CURFEWS AND CLOSURE OF VILLAGE ROADS UNCLASSIFIED

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OCTOBER 4

AUTHORITIES CLOSED OFF THE ROADS LEADING TO THE VILLAGES OF NABI SALEH AND BEIT RIMA, RAMALLAH DISTRICT, IN THE AFTERMATH OF DISTURBANCES AND DECLARED THEM CLOSED MILITARY ZONES.

OCTOBER 7

AUTHORITIES IMPOSED CURFEW ON NABLUS AFTER VIOLENT DISTURBANCES AND SHOOTING. THEY CONDUCTED HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SEARCHES AND MADE ARRESTS.

CURFEW WAS IMPOSED ON BIDYA, NEAR QALQILYA, AND ON THE ASKAR AND BALATA REFUGEE CAMPS NEAR NABLUS.

9. OLIVE TREES UPROOTED

OCTOBER 4
ISRAELI BULLDOZERS UPROOTED 40 FRUIT-BEARING OLIVE
TREES ALONG A MAIN ROAD ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF
NABLUS, CLAIMING THAT STONES WERE THROWN AT
ISRAELI VEHICLES FROM THE ORCHARD.

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^{***} Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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*** Current Classification ***; *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 88TELAV14400

FILM= D880897-0525

DATE= 07 OCT 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= TEL AVIV

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

CHANNEL= n/a

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ORIGCLASS=

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= OA

SUBJECT= TWENTY-FIVE DAYS TO THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS

REFERENCE= 88 TEL AVIV 10640

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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= ELECTION, POLITICAL PARTY, CAMPAIGN

TAGS= KPRP, PGOV, IS

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PAGE 01 TEL AV 14400 01 OF 02 071722Z ACTION NEA-11

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SECTION 01 OF 02 TEL AVIV 14400

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, KPRP, IS

SUBJECT: TWENTY-FIVE DAYS TO THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS

REF: TEL AVIV 10640

1.

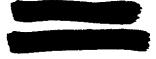
- 2. THIS IS THE MOST PLACID ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN MEMORY. THE PUBLIC IS APATHETIC. RALLIES ARE WEAKLY ATTENDED, BUMPER STICKERS ARE RARE AND SIGNS OF CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY MINIMAL. THE LAST FOUR YEARS HAVE BEEN RELATIVELY GOOD FOR ISRAEL AND MUCH OF WHAT THE TWO SENIOR PARTNERS IN THE NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT SEEM TO BE ARGUING ABOUT IS WHO SHOULD TAKE THE CREDIT. PERHAPS THE PARTICIPATION OF LIKUD AND LABOR IN THE NUG MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR THE PUBLIC TO TAKE THE POTSHOTS OF THE TWO AT EACH OTHER AS NEW OR SOMETHING TO GET EXCITED ABOUT.
- 3. THERE IS LITTLE TO BE SEEN OF THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL POLARIZATION THAT TURNED THE 1981 CAMPAIGN

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VIOLENT. ALTHOUGH LABOR PERSONALITIES HAVE FACED SOME LIKUD-ORGANIZED PROTESTS ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL THIS WEEK, THE ANTIPATHY TO LABOR FROM SEPHARDIM (JEWS OF MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICAN ORIGIN) SEEMS MUCH LESS THAN IN THE PAST. STILL, LABOR SEEMS UNLIKELY TO MAKE MUCH OF A DENT IN THIS ELECTION IN

THE PRIMARILY SEPHARDI AND HEAVILY EIKUD POOR URBAN AREAS AND DEVELOPMENT TOWNS.

- 4. LIKUD RETAINS THE ABILITY TO HEAT THINGS UP -- BY ACTIVATING ITS SUPPORTERS IN THE STREET -- BUT ARENS PREFERS A LOW-KEY CAMPAIGN AIMED AT THE FLOATING VOTE BETWEEN LABOR AND LIKUD. DAVID LEVY AND SHARON, WHO ARE BEST AT BRINGING LIKUD'S CROWDS INTO THE STREET, HAVE BEEN KEPT ON THE MARGINS OF LIKUD'S CAMPAIGN. 5. THE PARTIES ARE BANKING A LOT ON THE TELEVISION ELECTION BROADCASTS THAT STARTED OCT. 4. THEIR OTHER EFFORTS -- PRESSING THE FLESH, RALLIES, NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING AND WRITTEN HANDOUTS -- REACH A FRACTION OF THE TV AUDIENCE AND ARE RECEIVING LESS EMPHASIS. SO FAR, THE PARTIES ARE TRYING A SERIOUS APPROACH AND FEW GIMMICKS. LABOR AND LIKUD ARE PLAYING A SAFE CAMPAIGN. THEIR TEAMS SEEM TO HAVE LEARNED THE LESSONS OF PAST FAILURES AND ARE TRYING TO AVOID REPEATING THEM. AT THIS POINT, THE CAMPAIGN HAS TAKEN THE FORM PRIMARILY OF A WAR OF PARTY SPOKESMEN AND TELEVISION ADS, DESCRIBED BY THE PRINT AND MEDIA JOURNALISTS WHO COVER THEM.
- 6. THE ELECTION BROADCASTS DEAL WITH THE FAMILIAR ISSUES: PEACE, SECURITY AND THE ECONOMY. LABOR BLAMES LIKUD FOR THE LEBANON WAR AND INFLATION, WHILE TAKING CREDIT FOR SOLVING THESE PROBLEMS. LIKUD



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BLAMES LABOR FOR THE HISTADRUT'S PROBLEMS AND A (POLITICAL) PARTY ECONOMY, WHILE TAKING CREDIT FOR THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY. ALMOST EVERY PARTY HAS DRAWN ON ONE OR MORE OF ITS GENERALS TO BLESS ITS PITCH ON SECURITY. LABOR IS PUSHING FORWARD ITS NEW SEPHARDI FACES, INCLUDING SDEROT MAYOR AMIR PERETZ TO DAMN SPENDING ON SETTLEMENTS IN THE TERRITORIES AT THE EXPENSE OF THE DEVELOPMENT TOWNS. LIKUD IS STRESSING THAT IT WILL DELIVER REAL PEACE, PERSONAL SECURITY, A FREE ECONOMY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. NEW LIKUD STARS BIBI NETHANYAHU AND BENNY BEGIN ARE BROUGHT OUT TO ATTACK PERES ON THE PEACE PROCESS. LIKUD IS ALSO TRYING TO IDENTIFY LABOR WITH A RETURN TO THE 1967 BORDERS AND A WILLINGNESS TO DO BUSINESS WITH THE PLO. MANY PARTIES ARE TRYING TO USE THE INTIFADA BUT THE RIGHT AND THE SMALL RIGHTWING PARTIES SEEM LIKELY TO BENEFIT MOST. SO FAR, HOWEVER, NO ISSUES SEEM TO HAVE CAUGHT FIRE. THE SPICY ALLEGATION OF LABOR SPYING ON LIKUD EVAPORATED AFTER A FEW DAYS IN THE

ABSENCE OF ANY HARD EVIDENCE.



7. LIKUD AND LABOR ARE SO MUCH LARGER THAN THE SMALLER PARTIES AND TEND TO OVERSHADOW THEM DURING THE CAMPAIGN, ESPECIALLY IN TV ELECTION BROADCASTING. BUT THE SMALL PARTIES HAVE GOTTEN A FEW GOOD SHOTS IN AT THE EXPENSE OF THE LARGER ONES.

8. MOST OF TODAY'S POLLS SUGGEST A SLIGHT LABOR LEAD OVER LIKUD AND A TIE BETWEEN THE BLOCS, ALTHOUGH ONE POLL (WHICH SOME FAULT FOR THE HANDLING OF ITS DATA) REPORTS A LARGE LIKUD LEAD OVER LABOR AND A SOLID RIGHT/RELIGIOUS MAJORITY. AT THIS POINT, NEITHER WE NOR THE LOCAL EXPERTS/PUNDITS THINK IT IS POSSIBLE TO CALL THE ELECTION. LIKUD HOLDS CERTAIN ADVANTAGES OVER LABOR DUE TO DEMOGRAPHY (STRONG SEPHARDI AND

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O 071716Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1230 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

SECTION 02 OF 02 TEL AVIV 14400

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV. KPRP. IS

SUBJECT: TWENTY-FIVE DAYS TO THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS

FIRST-TIME VOTER SUPPORT FOR LIKUD), BECAUSE KACH'S DISQUALIFICATION WOULD RESULT IN ITS VOTES GOING MOSTLY TO LIKUD AND PARTIES AVAILABLE FOR A NARROW RIGHT/RELIGIOUS COALITION, AND SINCE ARAB DEFECTIONS FROM LABOR TO THE OTHER LEFT PARTIES ARE EXPECTED. BUT LABOR MAY DO WELL WITH ITS PEACE-SECURITY DUO IN PERES-RABIN AND ITS SUPERIOR ORGANIZATION, WHICH WOULD HELP ESTABLISH A BLOCKING MAJORITY AGAINST A LIKUD-LED NARROW GOVERNMENT. WE ALSO NOTE THAT THE FRAGMENTATION OF THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES, I.E., WHO WILL BE AROUND (AND IN WHAT STRENGTH) COULD HAVE AN IMPORTANT IMPACT ON THE POST-ELECTION FORMATION NEGOTIATIONS. STAY TUNED.

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** _n/a

*** Current Classification **



*** Current Classification *** *** Current Handling Restrictions ***

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CHANNEL= n/a

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ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= OA

SUBJECT= ISRAEL ELECTION CAMPAIGN REVIEW, OCT. 7

REFERENCE= 88 TEL AVIV 14113

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

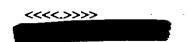
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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

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CONCEPTS= ELECTION, CAMPAIGN, REVIEW, POLITICAL PARTY, DATA

TAGS= PGOV, IS



PAGE 01 TEL AV 14399 01 OF 03 071656Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 COME-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 AMAD-01 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 STR-17 SIL-01 INRE-00 OPM-01 ACDA-12 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /111 W ----------------353663 071721Z /46 38

O 071647Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1226 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE USIA WASHDC 5237

SECTION 01 OF 03 TEL AVIV 14399

USIA FOR R/NA AND NEA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, IS

SUBJECT: ISRAEL ELECTION CAMPAIGN REVIEW, OCT. 7

REF: TEL AVIV 14113

1.

2. SUMMARY: TELEVISION AND RADIO ELECTION BROADCASTS HAVE STARTED BUT THIS IS, SO FAR, THE QUIETEST CAMPAIGN IN MEMORY. LIKUD CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR ARENS BELIEVES HIS PARTY IS AHEAD OF LABOR BUT SUGGESTED THE RACE WAS SO CLOSE HE COULD NOT TELL HOW THE NEXT GOVERNMENT WOULD LOOK. LABOR CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION DIRECTOR SHOHAT IS MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN HE WAS A MONTH AGO REGARDING LABOR'S PROSPECTS AND THINKS THE PARTY COULD GARNER THE 42 SEATS IT IS WINNING IN MOST POLLS (AND POSSIBLY GAIN A BLOCKING MAJORITY AGAINST, A LIKUD-LED NARROW GOVERNMENT).

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THREE POLLS REPORT LABOR SLIGHTLY AHEAD OF LIKUD, WITH THE CENTER/LEFT AND RIGHT/RELIGIOUS BLOCKS RUNNING NECK AND NECK. ANOTHER POLL, HOWEVER, REPORTS A STRONG LIKUD ADVANTAGE OVER LABOR AND A SOLID RIGHT/RELIGIOUS BLOC MAJORITY. KAHANE'S KACH

PARTY WAS DISQUALIFIED BY THE KNESSET CENTRAL ELECTIONS COMMITTEE (KCEC), WHILE THE NON-ZIONIST AND MOSTLY ISRAELI ARAB PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE WILL BE ALLOWED TO RUN. KAHANE IS APPEALING THE KCEC'S RULING TO THE SUPREME COURT. END SUMMARY.

ASSESSMENTS

- 3. LIKUD: CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR ARENS TOLD US OCT. 4 HE THINKS LIKUD WILL WIN MORE SEATS THAN LABOR AND WILL BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO FORM A NARROW GOVERNMENT AFTER THE ELECTION. BUT HE BELIEVED IT WOULD BE A TIGHT RACE AND HE WOULD NOT GUESS WHAT THE NEXT GOVERNMENT WOULD LOOK LIKE (SEE TEL AVIV 14313).
- 4. LIKUD: CAMPAIGN FINANCE DIRECTOR MK OLMERT IS OPTIMISTIC LIKUD WILL BEAT LABOR 48 TO 38 SEATS. HE EXPECTED THE CAMPAIGN TO HEAT UP SOON AND GALVANIZE LIKUD'S TRADITIONAL SUPPORTERS.
- 5. LABOR: CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION DIRECTOR SHOHAT TOLD US OCT. 4 HE WAS MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN HE HAD BEEN A MONTH AGO AND NOW FELT LABOR COULD WIN THE 42 SEATS THE POLLS WERE GIVING IT (AND GIVE IT A SHOT AT A BLOCKING MAJORITY AGAINST A NARROW LIKUD-LED GOVERNMENT). HE CREDITED LABOR'S IMPROVED PROSPECTS TO ITS SUCCESSFUL TELEPHONE PROJECT AND THE SO FAR QUIET CAMPAIGN WHICH HE THOUGHT WORKED TO LABOR'S

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ADVANTAGE.

6. LABOR: KNESSET CANDIDATE ELI BEN-MENAHEM (WHO COMES FROM AND HEADS THE POOR URBAN AREAS SECTION OF THE PARTY) AND YERUHAM DEVELOPMENT TOWN MAYOR BARUCH ALMAKAIS BOTH TOLD US LABOR WAS GETTING A BETTER HEARING IN THESE AREAS. NONETHELESS, THEY DID NOT BELIEVE LABOR WOULD MAKE MUCH OF A DENT IN THIS ELECTION IN LIKUD'S STRENGTH AMONG THE PRIMARILY SEPHARDI VOTERS IN THE DEVELOPMENT TOWNS AND POOR URBAN AREAS.

CENTRAL ELECTIONS COMMITTEE

7. ON OCT. 5, THE KNESSET CENTRAL ELECTION COMMITTEE DISQUALIFIED KAHANE'S KACH FROM RUNNING IN THE NOVEMBER 1 ELECTIONS. KAHANE PLANS TO APPEAL THE RULING IN THE SUPREME COURT ON OCT. 7. IF THE COURT

UPHOLDS KACH'S DISQUALIFICATION, MOST OF ITS SUPPORTERS WILL LIKELY VOTE LIKUD. ON OCT. 6, THE KCEC VOTED BY A ONE-VOTE MARGIN TO ALLOW THE NON-ZIONIST AND PRIMARILY ISRAELI ARAB-BACKED PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE TO RUN IN THE ELECTIONS. LIKUD AND TEHIYA PLAN TO APPEAL THE DECISION TO THE SUPREME COURT. EARLIER, THE KCEC DISQUALIFIED THE UNITED YEMENITE LIST DUE TO A LACK OF SUFFICIENT VALID SIGNATURES IN ITS APPLICATION. POLLS

8. DAHAF (LIKUD-COMMISSIONED) AND DECIMA (LABOR-COMMISSIONED) POLL RESULTS RELEASED TODAY REPORT LABOR HOLDS A SLIGHT EDGE OVER LIKUD AND THAT THE CENTER/LEFT AND RIGHT/RELIGIOUS BLOCS ARE RUNNING A DEAD HEAT. THE DAHAF POLL WAS TAKEN IN FACE-TO-FACE

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O 071647Z OCT 88
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1227
INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE
USIA WASHDC 5238

SECTION 02 OF 03 TEL AVIV 14399

USIA FOR R/NA AND NEA

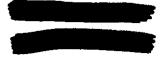


E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV. IS

SUBJECT: ISRAEL ELECTION CAMPAIGN REVIEW, OCT. 7

INTERVIEWS OF 662 JEWISH ISRAELIS AFTER THE FIRST TELEVISION ELECTION BROADCASTS ON OCT. 4, WHILE THE DECIMA SURVEY OF 1,000 PERSONS WAS CONDUCTED BY TELEPHONE AT THE END OF SEPTEMBER. A MAARIV NEWSPAPER-COMMISSIONED POLL OF 500 PERSONS SURVEYED BY TELEPHONE ALSO REPORTED LABOR A BIT AHEAD OF LIKUD (43-39) AND THE BLOCS EVEN. SOME 25 PERCENT OF THIS GROUP SAID THEY STILL WERE UNCERTAIN FOR WHOM TO VOTE. A MODI'IN EZRAHI SURVEY CONDUCTED DURING THE SECOND WEEK OF SEPTEMBER, ON THE OTHER HAND, REPORTED LIKUD FAR AHEAD OF LABOR AND THE RIGHT/RELIGIOUS BLOC AS HOLDING A SOLID MAJORITY. (WE NOTE THAT THESE POLLS WERE CONDUCTED BEFORE THE DIVISION OF THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX INTO FOUR PARTIES AND THE KCEC DISQUALIFICATION OF KACH.)



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9. TABLE OF POLL RESULTS FOLLOWS:

PARTY -	DAHAF DEC EZRAHI	MA MODI'IN	MAARIV
ALIGNMENT (LAE	OR PARTY) 4	42 42PLUS	34 43
CITIZENS RIGHTS MAPAM CENTER-SHINUI SMALL LEFT PAR	3 1 2 1	5 9MINU: 2 - 1 -	S 8 - 9
HADASH(COMMU PROGRESSIVE L NON-ZIONIST LEI	ST.FOR PEAC	_	8
LIKUD	41 37	41 39	
TEHIYA TZOMET KACH SMALL RIGHTS P NATIONAL RELIG	2 2 3 3 6 ARTIES TOTA OUS PARTY	L 4 4 4	11 -
AGUDAT ISRAEL	2 3	MINUS 3	-



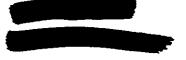
SHAS MEMAD 3 3 3

MEMAD - 1PLUS RELIGIOUS PARTIES TOTAL

10

10. MAARIV ALSO REPORTED THAT LIKUD COMMISIONED A SEPARATE TELEPHONE SURVEY OF 820 PERSONS WHICH WAS CONDUCTED LAST WEEK. THE SURVEY RESULTS SHOWED LIKUD

1



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AND LABOR IN A DEAD HEAT AND A 62-58 ADVANTAGE FOR A RIGHT/RELIGIOUS BLOC:

LIKUD

- 42

TEHIYA

- 5

TZOMET

- 2

KACH

- 3

NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY - 4

SHAS

- 4

AGUDAT ISRAEL

- 2

LABOR

- 42

CITIZENS RIGHTS MOVEMENT - 5

MAPAM

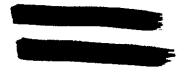
- 3

CENTER-SHINUI

- 1

HADASH (COMMUNISTS) - 5 PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE - 2

- 11. THE MAARIV COMMISSIONED SURVEY ALSO ASKED WHAT TYPE OF GOVERNMENT THOSE INTERVIEWED PREFERRED. UNDECIDED VOTERS PREFERRED A NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT 36 PERCENT; NARROW RIGHT 33 PERCENT; AND NARROW LEFT 30 PERCENT. THE SAMPLE MINUS THE UNDECIDED VOTERS PREFERRED A NARROW RIGHT GOVERNMENT 38 PERCENT; NARROW LEFT 32.5 PERCENT; AND NUG 29.5 PERCENT.
- 12. THE MAARIV SURVEY ALSO ASKED IF TELEVISION ELECTION BROADCASTING CONVINCED PEOPLE TO CHANGE THEIR VIEWS. SOME 85 PERCENT SAID THEY WERE NOT INFLUENCED BY THE ADVERTISING, WHILE 15 PERCENT SAID THEY WERE. SOME 11 PERCENT OF THOSE WHO HAD ALREADY



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O 071647Z OCT 88
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1228
INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE
USIA WASHDC 5239

SECTION 03 OF 03 TEL AVIV 14399

USIA FOR R/NA AND NEA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, IS

SUBJECT: ISRAEL ELECTION CAMPAIGN REVIEW, OCT. 7

DECIDED ON THEIR VOTE SAID THE ADVERTISING MIGHT INFLUENCE THEM (TO CHANGE THEIR VIEWS). SOME 80 PERCENT OF THE UNDECIDED SAID THEY WOULD MAKE UP THEIR MINDS WITHOUT BEING INFLUENCED BY THE ADVERTISING, WHILE 20 PERCENT SAID THEY WERE INFLUENCED.

TELEVISION/RADIO ELECTION BROADCASTING

13. TELEVISED POLITICAL BROADCASTS BEGAN ON OCT. 4
AND RADIO POLITICAL ADVERTISING THE DAY AFTER. THE
BROADCASTS HAVE BEEN MORE SERIOUS THAN IN 1984 AND
HAVE FOCUSED ON THE KEY PERSONALITIES, BASIC THEMES
AND SIMPLE MESSAGES. ASIDE FROM A FEW NASTY JABS,
THE MUD-SLINGING HAS NOT YET BEGUN.

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GOING TO THE PUBLIC

14. PARTY LEADERS AND CANDIDATES HAVE STARTED TO GET OUT TO PRESS THE FLESH. POLITICAL RALLIES THIS WEEK FEATURING SHAMIR AND ARENS WHICH WE ATTENDED WERE SPARSELY ATTENDED. PERES WENT OUT TO RAMLA, A MIXED JEWISH-ARAB TOWN WITH A HIGH PROPORTION OF SERHARDI

JEWS INCLINED TO THE RIGHTWING PARTIES, AND RAN INTO A PROTEST ORGANIZED BY LIKUD SUPPORTERS. AFTERWARDS, HOWEVER, PERES WAS WELL-RECEIVED BY THE CROWD IN THE OPEN-AIR MARKET.

15. NO FURTHER DETAILS HAVE APPEARED TO CORROBORATE THE HAARETZ NEWSPAPER PRESS ALLEGATION THAT THE LABOR PARTY HAS BEEN "SPYING" ON LIKUD. THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL ALSO DECIDED THERE WAS "INSUFFICENT EVIDENCE" TO LAUNCH AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ALLEGATION.

HUGHES

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SUBJECT= THOUGHTS ON THE ELECTION

REFERENCE= n/a

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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PALESTINIANS, ELECTION, COALITION GOVERNMENT, IMPLEMENTATION, PEPLAN, POLITICAL INITIATIVE, POLICY, KREME

TAGS= KPAL, KPRP, PREL, IS, JO

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 AMAD-01 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01 /089 W

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O 061213Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1166

SECTION 01 OF 03 TEL AVIV 14273

FOR NEA/IAI AMBASSADOR PICKERING

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

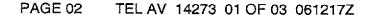
TAGS: PREL, KPAL, IS, JO, KPRP

SUBJECT: THOUGHTS ON THE ELECTION

1.

THE ELECTIONS -- NO LEADER, NO TREND

2. THE ELECTION RACE REMAINS NECK AND NECK. WE HAVE HEARD OPTIMISM BUT LITTLE CONFIDENCE FROM LIKUD AND LABOR THAT EITHER WILL ACHIEVE A NARROW COALITION OF AT LEAST 61 SEATS IN ORDER TO AVOID EITHER ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT OR A MINORITY GOVERNMENT. LABOR IS PINNING ITS HOPES ON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A BLOCKING MAJORITY WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THE 7 OR 8 SEATS WHICH THE NON-ZIONIST LEFT IS EXPECTED TO WIN. WHILE THE SEATS OF THE NON-ZIONIST LEFT WOULD NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR A LABOR-LED COALITION, LABOR COULD COUNT ON THEIR PASSIVE SUPPORT IN VOTES OF CONFIDENCE



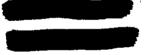
IN ORDER TO SUSTAIN A MINORITY GOVERNMENT IN THE NEAR TERM. LABOR SUGGEST THAT UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES IT COULD ENTICE RELIGIOUS PARTIES INTO WHAT WOULD THEN BECOME A MAJORITY GOVERNMENT.

3. WHILE LABOR'S OPTIMISTIC SCENARIO ENVISIONS A

MINORITY GOVERNMENT, THE LIKUD BELIEVES IT STANDS A REASONABLE CHANCE OF FORMING A RIGHT-RELIGIOUS MAJORITY GOVERNMENT. A HIGH IRONY IS THAT IT JUST MIGHT COME TO POWER ON THE RUINS OF THE CANDIDACY OF KAHANE'S KACH PARTY. THE KNESSET ELECTIONS COMMITTEE DECIDED 10 TO 5 TO DISQUALIFY THE PARTY BUT IT IS CERTAIN THAT KAHANE WILL APPEAL TO THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE. WE HAVE NO CLEAR SENSE OF WHAT THE COURT WILL DECIDE. IF THE DISQUALIFICATION STANDS. THE TWO OR THREE SEATS THAT KAHANE COULD BE EXPECTED TO WIN WOULD GO MOSTLY TO LIKUD AND INCREASE LIKUD'S CHANCES TO FORM A NARROW MAJORITY GOVERNMENT OF THE RIGHT AND RELIGIOUS PARTIES. THIS WOULD ALSO GIVE SHAMIR THE ADVANTAGE OF FORMING ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT ON HIS TERMS. HIS STATED PREFERENCE. MOSHE ARENS CONFIRMED TO US THAT KAHANE WOULD NOT BE A COALITION PARTNER TO LIKUD "IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES." ANOTHER IRONY IS THAT HALF OF ISRAEL'S ARAB VOTERS. BY AGAIN OPTING FOR A "PROTEST" VOTE FOR THE NON-ZIONIST LEFT, WILL PROBABLY FOREGO ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY TO TIP THE BALANCE.

ANOTHER NUG?

4. DF THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES, LIKUD, ESPECIALLY



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SHAMIR AND MANY IN HIS CAMP, SEEM MUCH MORE CONTENT. SOME EVEN SAY EAGER, TO CONTINUE THE NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT. THE NUG HAS EFFECTIVELY PARALYZED LABOR'S PEACE PROCESS INITIATIVES AND BLOCKED LABOR FROM IMPLEMENTING ANY POLICIES UNACCEPTABLE TO LIKUD. SHAMIR'S OPENNESS TO ANOTHER NUG MAY ALSO REFLECT A REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF LIKUD'S PROSPECTS. PERES PUBLICLY STATED A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO THAT HE WOULD NOT AGREE TO A NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT. BUT THERE IS DEEP SCEPTICISM ABOUT THIS EVEN WITHIN THE LABOR PARTY ITSELF. ARENS HAS SUGGESTED TO US. BUT HE IS THE ONLY ONE WE HAVE HEARD SAY THIS, THAT IN THE EVENT OF A DRAW, THE TWO LEADERS -- PERES AND SHAMIR -- MIGHT STEP ASIDE AND LET OTHERS TRY TO PUT TOGETHER ANOTHER NUG. WHEN WE QUESTIONED HIM ABOUT THIS, HE DID NOT MOVE OFF THE POINT. THERE IS A LOT OF UNHAPPINESS IN LABOR OVER PERES' DECISION TO FOCUS THE CAMPAIGN ON HIMSELF (AND TO LESSER EXTENT ON RABIN) -- PARTICULARLY FROM THE OTHER LABOR MINISTERS

-- AND THIS UNHAPPINESS COULD TAKE ON TANGIBLE FORM IF LABOR DOES POORLY.

5. WHILE A NARROW MAJORITY COALITION COBBLED TOGETHER BY LABOR WOULD BE UNSTABLE AND COULD POSSIBLY LEAD TO NEW ELECTIONS WITHIN A YEAR OR SO, A NARROW LIKUD-LED GOVERNMENT WOULD PROBABLY HAVE MORE STAYING POWER. THE LEFT SIDE OF LABOR ARGUES THAT A NARROW LABOR-LED MAJORITY GOVERNMENT WOULD AT LEAST PERMIT SOME INITIATIVES MOVING TOWARD PEACE TALKS, PERHAPS PICKING UP WHERE WE LEFT OFF WITH THE LONDON AGREEMENT, AND THAT SOME TANGIBLE PROGRESS COULD ALLOW THEM TO WIN EITHER A NEW ELECTION OR A REFERENDUM WHICH WDULD STRENGTHEN THEIR HAND.

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FOR NEA/IAI AMBASSADOR PICKERING

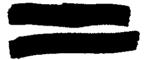
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, KPAL, IS, JO, KPRP

SUBJECT: THOUGHTS ON THE ELECTION

THE PEACE ISSUE

6. KING HUSSEIN'S "LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE"
DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HAS
COMPLICATED LABOR'S TASK IN SELLING ITS PEACE PROCESS
IDEAS TO THE ELECTORATE, BUT, SURPRISINGLY, PERHAPS
NOT AS MUCH AS INITIALLY FEARED. LIKUD HAMMERS AWAY
THAT HUSSEIN HAS NOW MADE CLEAR THAT THERE IS NO ARAB
PARTNER FOR TERRITORIAL COMPROMISES, CONFIRMING ITS
LONGSTANDING ASSERTION. LABOR AND EVEN LIKUD
CONTINUE TO SAY THAT JORDAN REMAINS THE PREFERRED AND
EVEN LOGICAL PARTNER IN THE NEXT STEPS TOWARD PEACE,
ALTHOUGH DIFFERING ON JORDAN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE
TERRITORIES. MOREOVER, LABOR IN THE CAMPAIGN IS
TRYING TO CONVINCE THE VOTERS THAT ISRAEL HAS THE
POWER TO ACHIEVE PEACE ALONG WITH SECURITY. LIKUD IS



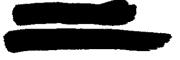
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EXPLOITING THE TABA ARBITRAL AWARD AS "EVIDENCE" OF WHAT "OUTSIDE" INVOLVEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS (I.E., INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE) MEANS FOR ISRAEL. FOR LABOR, THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THERE IS AN ARAB PARTNER FOR PEACE REMAINS A DIFFICULT PROBLEM AND SOME STILL HARBOR HOPES THAT JORDAN WILL OPENLY SIGNAL IT IS STILL IN THE GAME.

7. ARENS, LEADING THE LIKUD CAMPAIGN, BELIEVES THAT IN ORDER TO MAXIMIZE LIKUD'S CHANCES OF BEING ABLE TO LEAD A NARROW MAJORITY GOVERNMENT AFTER THE ELECTIONS, LIKUD WILL NEED TO FIGHT FOR THE UNDECIDED VOTERS IN THE CENTER. LEVY AND SHARON PREFER TO FOCUS ON LIKUD'S TRADITIONAL CONSTITUENCY, BUT THEY HAVE SO FAR HAD MINIMAL INFLUENCE ON THE CONDUCT OF LIKUD'S CAMPAIGN., SHAMIR IS EMPHASIZING HIS LEADERSHIP QUALITIES, STRESSING THAT ONLY LIKUD CAN PROVIDE "REAL SECURITY" AND NOT GIVE ON THE TERRITORES. THERE APPEARS TO BE NO PLANNING WITHIN THE PARTY ITSELF FOR A LIKUD-LAUNCHED PEACE INITIATIVE. AUTONOMY ALONG CAMP DAVID LINES, FINDING "SOME" PALESTINIANS IN THE TERRITORIES WITH WHOM TO DEAL IN ORDER TO FORM SOME KIND OF GOVERNING/ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCILS AND IMPLEMENT AUTONOMY, AND THE IDEA OF A MINI-REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF ISRAEL, EGYPT AND JORDAN ARE THE OUTSIDE LIMITS OF LIKUD DISCUSSIONS ON NEXT PEACE STEPS

HOW DOES THE INTIFADA PLAY?

8. POLLS SAY THAT OVER 70 PERCENT OF THE PUBLIC



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FAVORS A TOUGHER RESPONSE TO THE UPRISING. ARENS TOLD US THAT LIKUD DOES NOT HAVE DEFINITIVE DATA ON THE IMPACT OF THE INTIFADA ON THE ELECTIONS. ONE OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S ADVISERS HAS TOLD US THAT THE PRIME MINISTER IS CAREFUL NOT TO PERMIT WEDGES TO BE DRIVEN BETWEEN HIMSELF AND THE IDF. THE PRIME MINISTER, WHEN RESPONDING TO QUESTIONS ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL, SUPPORTS THE FORCES OF ORDER AND DOES NOT GET INTO ANY CRITICISM OF THE IDF OR MOD, WE WERE TOLD. SHAMIR CONTINUES TO STRESS TO THE PALESTINIANS THAT VIOLENCE WILL NOT PAY OFF. SINCE RABIN'S WORDS ARE VERY SIMILAR, (EXCEPT HE ALSO STRESSES THE NEED FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND A POLITICAL SOLUTION) AND HIS DIRECTIVES IN DEALING WITH THE PALESTINIANS --INCLUDING PLASTIC BULLETS -- CLEARLY BACK UP HIS TOUGH WORDS, RABIN IS WELL-POSITIONED TO REBUT ATTACKS FROM THE RIGHT. THE "SECOND REACTION" OF THE ISRAELI PUBLIC TO THE UPRISING HAS NOT MATERIALIZED. LABOR LEADERS, INCLUDING RABIN, SOMETIMES SPEAK OF IT, BUT AS A HOPE RATHER THAN EITHER AS A REALITY OR AS AN EXPECTATION.

PALESTINIAN ACTIONS WORK AGAINST LABOR

9. ALL LABOR POLITICIANS WITH WHOM WE SPEAK UNFAILINGLY MENTION THEIR FEAR THAT AN ATTACK BY THE PLO (OR SOMEOTHER TERRORIST GROUP) WOULD SEVERELY UNDERMINE THEIR CHANCES ON NOVEMBER 1ST. WE WOULD JUDGE THAT A MILITANT PNC WOULD ALSO NEGATIVELY AFFECT LABOR CHANCES. A MILITANT PNC WOULD LEAD TO VIOLENT PALESTINIAN DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE TERRITORIES AND A FORCEFUL GOI REACTION. THIS SEQUENCE OF EVENTS WOULD REINFORCE HARDLINE SENTIMENTS HERE. THE IMPACT

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FOR NEA/IAI AMBASSADOR PICKERING

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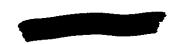
TAGS: PREL, KPAL, IS, JO, KPRP

SUBJECT: THOUGHTS ON THE ELECTION

OF A PNC WHICH RESULTED IN A DECLARATION OF A PROVISIONAL PALESTINIAN GOVERNMENT, GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE OR SOME KIND OF DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WOULD STILL WORK TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE RIGHT. IT WOULD BE MET BY OVERWHELMING CONDEMNATION IN ISRAEL AND COULD LEAD TO SOME REINFORCEMENT OF HARDLINERS BECAUSE OF UNCERTAINTIES AROUSED HERE. LIKUD IS ALREADY CLAIMING IN ITS CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING THAT THE PLO WILL USE ITS INFLUENCE TO RESTRAIN THE INTIFADA TO BENEFIT LABOR.

PEACE ISSUES JOINED

1N. WHILE THERE ARE STILL A LOT OF "UNDECIDEDS", ISRAELI VOTERS WILL HAVE A CLEARLY DEFINED CHOICE ON CONFIDENTIAL



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THE PEACE ISSUE. LIKUD IS SAYING "NO" TO ANY TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE AND "YES" TO MORE SETTLEMENTS IN THE TERRITORIES, WHILE LABOR TALKS OF THE NECESSITY FOR ISRAEL TO GET OUT OF SOME OF THE TERRITORIES AND ACHIEVE A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE. IN ONE SENSE, THE QUESTION IS WHICH FEAR IS GREATER: THAT OF GIVING UP CONTROL OF THE TERRITORIES OR THAT OF SLIDING INTO A BI-NATIONAL, NON-JEWISH, NON-DEMOCRATIC STATE. TO THE EXTENT THAT TO THE VOTING PUBLIC THERE IS NO ARAB PARTNER FOR NEGOTIATIONS, THESE TOUGH QUESTIONS ARE PERMITTED TO SLIDE INTO THE HYPOTHETICAL AND THE FEAR OF GIVING UP CONTROL BECOMES PARAMOUNT. HUGHES

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*** Current Classification ***

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<<*****OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

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FILM= D880883-1025

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SUBJECT= INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 26 OFFERS EXPANDED - POLITICAL AGENDA

9304029

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TAGS= KPAL, PREL, PHUM, IS

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03274 01 OF 02 041503Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01 /074 W

P 041502Z OCT 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3635 INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

SECTION 01 OF 02 JERUSALEM 03274

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, IS

SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 26 OFFERS EXPANDED

POLITICAL AGENDA

REF: (A) JERUSALEM 3228, (B) FBIS LD 2309153188,

- (C) FBIS NC 2609085088

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- 2. INTIFADA LEAFTLET 26 DATED SEPTEMBER 27
 CONTAINS A FULLER AND MORE FOCUSSED POLITICAL
 AGENDA DIRECTED AT THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA THAN
 PREVIOUS LEAFLETS. COMMENTS ON SIGNIFICANT
 ASPECTS OF THE LEAFLET FOLLOW. (SEE REF A FOR
 FULL TEXT.)
- 3. THE LEAFLET BEGINS WITH A STRIDENT RHETORICAL INTRODUCTION, WHICH BOASTS OF THE INTIFADA'S VICTORIES AND, INTER ALIA, REFERS TO THE INTIFADA'S "PROTEST AGAINST THE OFFICIAL

ARAB IMPOTENCE" AND "AMERICAN IMPERIALISM" AND SAYS PALESTINIANS "ARE NO LESS STRONG THAN THE VIETNAMESE".

4. IT THEN LISTS DEMANDS FOR ADOPTION BY THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY THIS FALL. THIS SUGGESTS THAT THE PLO MAY BE PLANNING NEW RESOLUTIONS REPLACING OR REVISING THE NOW STALE SERIES OF RESOLUTIONS THAT ARE ADOPTED ANNUALLY UNDER THE AGENDA ITEMS: ISRAELI PRACTICES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AND THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. FOR EXAMPLE, THE LEAFLET DEMANDS CESSATION OF VARIOUS ISREALI PRACTICES SUCH AS DEPORTATION, TORTURE, ADMINISTRATIVE ARRESTS AND OTHER PUNITIVE MEASURES AND CALLS FOR ENFORCEMENT OF UNSC 605, 607 AND 608, FORESHADOWING THE CONTENT OF POSSIBLE NEW UNGA INITIATIVES.

5. THE LEAFLET'S CALL FOR "WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM PALESTINIAN AND OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OCCUPIED SINCE 1967, INCLUDING ARAB JERUSALEM" IS THE FIRST TIME A LEAFLET HAS EXPLICITLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE PALESTINIANS TERRITORIAL CLAIM WILL BE LIMITED TO THE 1967 BORDERS. ALTHOUGH MOST WEST BANKERS HAVE LONG SUPPORTED THIS, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, AND OPPOSED THE REJECTIONIST VIEW THAT ALL OF PALESTINE MUST BE RECLAIMED, INTIFADA LEAFLETS HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY ARTICULATED THIS. IN THIS CONNECTION WE NOTE THAT IN DISCUSSING THE USE OF UNSC 181 AS THE LEGAL BASIS FOR CLAIMING A PALESTINIAN STATE, THE PLO'S ABU IYAD SAID TO

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THE KUWAIT NEWS AGENCY ON SEPTEMBER 23 "BECAUSE WE ARE REALISTIC, THE 1967 BORDERS ARE THE SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATION." (REF B)

- 6. THE LIST OF DEMANDS TO THE UNGA ALSO ASKS
 THAT THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES BE PLACED UNDER UN
 SUPERVISION "FOR AN INTERIM PERIOD AFTER
 WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES IN PREPARATION FOR
 THE EXERCISE OF PALESTINIAN RIGHTS TO SELF
 DETERMINATION." UN TRUSTEESHIP DURING A
 TRANSITIONAL PHASE HAS BEEN A FAMILAR THEME IN
 STATEMENTS OF PLO LEADERS IN RECENT WEEKS
 CONCERNING THE AGENDA OF THE UPCOMING PNC.
- 7. LEAFLET 26 CALLS FOR DISMANTLING ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS, THE FIRST TIME THIS HAS APPEARED IN THE LEAFLETS.



8. THE LEAFLET REPEATS THE CALL IN PREVIOUS LEAFLETS FOR MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS AS AN INTERIM MEASURE UNDER UN SUPERVISION, AS A MATTER TO BE TAKEN UP IN THE AGENDA OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WHICH WOULD BE CONVENED TO BRING ABOUT A TOTAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL.

9. IT ALSO CALLS FOR WITHDRAWAL, IN THE INTERIM, OF IDF FORCES FROM ALL ARAB POPULATION CENTERS. THIS IS SOMETHING NEW IN THE LEAFLETS. IT IS REMINISCENT OF THE SECTION IN THE CAMP DAVID FRAMEWORK CALLING FOR WITHDRAWAL OF THE IDF AND REDEPLOYMENT OF REMAINING IDF FORCES TO SPECIFIC SECURITY LOCATIONS.

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03274 02 OF 02 041505Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01 /074 W

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SECTION 02 OF 02 JERUSALEM 03274

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR



TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, IS SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 26 OFFERS EXPANDED

10. LEAFLET 26 PRAISES "BROTHER ABU AMAR" (ARAFAT) FOR HIS "HISTORIC SPEECH BEFORE THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT". IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE INTIFADA, LEAFLETS NEVER MENTIONED ARAFAT OR THE PLO. THIS IS ANOTHER SIGN OF CLOSE COORDINATION BETWEEN THE INTIFADA LEAFLET WRITERS AND THE PLO AND THE DOMINANT POSITION OF PRO-FATAH ELEMENTS IN THE INTIFADA.

11. IN THE SECOND PART OF THE LEAFLET, WHICH IS FULL OF THE USUAL EXHORTATIONS TO PALESTINIANS TO SUSTAIN THE INTIFADA THROUGH VARIOUS MEANS, THE MASSES ARE URGED TO "GO OUT IN THE STREETS, SIMILAR TO THE EVENTS IN NABLUS, WHERE MASSES OF MASKED YOUTHS MARCHED IN AN ORGANIZED MANNER AND PUT ON RECORD THE FIRST MARCH OF THE PALESTINIAN POPULAR ARMY." AL NASR FROM NICOSIA

SUBSEQUENTLY REPORTED THAT THE "FORCE 17 COMMAND WITHIN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HAS SUCCEEDED IN FORMING THE PALESTINIAN POPULAR ARMY" AS A NEW "MILITARY ARM OF THE BLESSED POPULAR REVOLUTION" IN THE TERRITORIES. (REF C)

12. PALESTINIAN CONTACTS TELL US THE REFERENCE TO THE "PALESTINIAN POPULAR ARMY" RELATES TO TO MARCHES BY UNARMED YOUTHS IN THE CASBAH IN NABLUS, CARRYING PALESTINIAN FLAGS AND WEARING MAKESHIFT UNIFORMS. THEY SAY THIS WAS A SIGN OF DEFIANCE TO THE IDF, WHICH SELDOM ENTERS THE CROWDED CASBAH, AND A REPLY TO AN EARLY MARCH IN THE AREA BY SUPPORTERS OF THE RIVAL ISLAMIC HAMMAS GROUP. THE REFERENCE TO A "POPULAR ARMY" DOES NOT MEAN, OUR SOURCES EMPHASIZE, THAT THE INTIFADA HAS REVERTED TO ARMED OPPOSITION TO ISRAEL, A POLICY IT HAS CAREFULLY AVOIDED TO DATE.

13. LIKE PREVIOUS LEAFLETS, NUMBER 26 CONTAINS AN IMPLIED CRITICISM OF THE RIVAL ISLAMIC HAMMAS, BY CALLING ON THE MASSES TO PRESERVE "UNITY OF THE INTERNAL FRONT" AND TO "COMBAT ALL SIGNS OF FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DIFFERENCES AND FEUDS, WHICH THE ENEMY AND ITS AGENTS ARE TRYING

TO AROUSE." IN A REFERENCE TO PUBLICITY GIVEN TO HAMMAS BY ISRAELI SPOKESMEN AND JOURNALISTS, IT SAYS "ALL THE AUTHORITIES' ATTEMPTS TO 'BLOW UP' SOME PARTIES AMD CONSIDER THEM A FORCE EQUAL TO THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP OR THE UPRISING WILL FAIL."

WILCOX

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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED
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SUBJECT= WEST BANK WRAP UP, SEPTEMBER 20-26, 1988

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ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= WEST BANK, DEATH, ARMS

TAGS= KPAL, KPRP, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03234

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, SEPTEMBER 20-26, 1988

1. SUMMARY: PALESTINIAN CASUALTY TOLLS INCREASED SHARPLY AS A RESULT OF INCREASED USE OF PLASTIC BULLETS AGAINST DEMONSTRATORS. THREE PALESTINIANS WERE REPORTED KILLED IN INTIFADA CLASHES AND 75 WOUNDED. A FOURTH MAN, AN AMCIT, WAS SHOT BY AN UNKNOWN ASSAILANT. THREE SUSPECTED PALESTINIAN COLLABORATORS WERE BEATEN, WHILE OTHERS WERE VICTIMS OF VANDALISM. A GENERAL STRIKE WAS OBSERVED SEPTEMBER 26. THIS REPORT WAS COMPILED MAINLY FROM PRESS ACCOUNTS. END SUMMARY.

FOUR KILLED, 75 INJURED

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THE WEEK WAS MARKED BY A SHARP RISE IN THE NUMBER OF PALESTINIAN CASUALTIES. FOUR WERE KILLED AND 75 WERE WOUNDED DURING CLASHES. THE WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP WERE SEALED OFF FOR 24 HOURS OVER YOM KIPPUR, SEPTEMBER 21, AND NO TRAFFIC WAS ALLOWED INTO ISRAEL.

SEPTEMBER 20

IDF SOLDIERS SHOT AND INJURED A PALESTINIAN YOUTH DURING CLASHES AT ARTAS VILLAGE, NEAR BETHLEHEM. PALESTINIAN SOURCES SAID A SECOND YOUTH WAS ALSO WOUNDED.

A BLIND MAN WAS WOUNDED WHEN IDF SOLDIERS ASSAULTED HIM IN NABLUS.

IDF SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED A PALESTINIAN YOUTH DURING CLASHES AT BALATA REFUGEE CAMP, NEAR NABLUS.

SEPTEMBER 21

IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED TWO YOUTHS DURING A DEMONSTRATION AT BALATA REFUGEE CAMP, NEAR NABLUS. A PALESTINIAN WOMAN WAS ALSO WOUNDED BY RUBBER BULLETS.

IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED TWO BOYS DURING CLASHES IN NABLUS' CASBAH.

IDF SHOT AND WOUNDED A BOY DURING CLASHES AT ABWEIN VILLAGE, NEAR RAMALLAH. A SECOND PALESTINIAN YOUTH WAS SHOT AND WOUNDED AT JENIN UNCLASSIFIED

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REFUGEE CAMP AND A THIRD IN QALQILYA.

AN ISRAELI SOLDIER WAS LIGHTLY HURT IN CLASHES AT DHEISHEH REFUGEE CAMP, NEAR BETHLEHEM.

SEPTEMBER 22

SERIOUS CLASHES ERUPTED WHEN ABOUT 500 YOUTHS STAGED ONE OF THE LARGEST MARCHES OF THE UPRISING IN NABLUS' CASBAH. THE MARCHERS CARRIED PALESTINIAN FLAGS AND USED A LOUDSPEAKER TO SHOUT ANTI-ISRAELI SLOGANS. THEY WERE JOINED BY ANOTHER 500 YOUTHS, NEAR THE GATES OF THE CASBAH WHERE THEY WERE MET BY SOLDIERS WHO SHOT AND WOUNDED 11 PERSONS. IN OTHER PARTS OF NABLUS, SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED FOUR OTHER PALESTINIANS.

AT TALLUZA AND NAKURA, NORTH OF NABLUS, SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED THREE YOUTHS DURING CLASHES.

IDF SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED TWO PALESTINIAN YOUTHS AT BURQA, NORTH WEST OF NABLUS. THE DRIVER OF AN ISRAELI BUS TRAVELLING TO KIRYAT ARBA, NEAR HEBRON, WAS SLIGHTLY INJURED IN THE FACE AFTER STONES SMASHED THE WINDSHIELD OF HIS BUS. THE ISRAEL PASSENGERS GOT OFF THE BUS AND STONED ARAB CARS ON THE ROAD.

SEPTEMBER 23

A PALESTINIAN GIRL DIED AT MAKASSED HOSPITAL IN

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03234 02 OF 03 291317Z ACTION NEA-04

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 ANAE-00 RP-10 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01 /090 W

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03234

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, SEPTEMBER 20-26, 1988

JERUSALEM OF WOUNDS SUSTAINED A WEEK EARLIER AT AMA'ARI REFUGEE CAMP NEAR BAMALLAH.

A PALESTINIAN-AMERICAN WAS SHOT AND KILLED EARLY FRIDAY AT MAZRAA SHARKIYA, NORTH OF RAMALLAH. THE MOTIVE WAS UNCLEAR, THOUGH NEIGHBORS HAVE INDICATED THE SHOOTING WAS THE RESULT OF A PRIVATE MATTER.

ONE PALESTINIAN WAS WOUNDED DURING A CLASH WITH TROOPS AT JAYUS, NEAR TULKAREM, WHEN SOLDIERS OPENED FIRE AT VILLAGERS WHO STONED THEIR JEEPS DURING A SEARCH-AND-ARREST RAID.

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SEPTEMBER 24

TWO PERSONS WERE REPORTED WOUNDED BY IDF GUNFIRE IN NABLUS; TWO PERSONS WERE WOUNDED AT DEIR DIBWAN, NEAR RAMALLAH; ONE MAN WAS WOUNDED AT YAABAD, NEAR JENIN; AND TWO MEN WERE WOUNDED DURING CLASHES AT TULKARM.

A VIS-NEWS CAMERAMAN REPORTED BEING ASSAULTED BY SOLDIERS WHEN HE TRIED TO FILM AN ARREST. HE SAID SOLDIERS STRUCK HIM WITH A RIFLE.

SEPTEMBER 25

A PALESTINIAN MAN WAS SHOT AND KILLED AT BEIT SURIK NORTHWEST OF JERUSALEM AFTER AN IDF FORCE WAS STONED WHILE RAIDING THE VILLAGE. ANOTHER MAN WAS INJURED IN THE CLASH.

PALESTINIAN SOURCES CLAIMED THAT ANOTHER 25 WERE INJURED IN SCATTERED INCIDENTS THROUGHOUT THE WEST BANK.

SHIN BET PRISONER DIED FROM SUFFOCATION

A PALESTINIAN PRISONER WHO WAS ARRESTED ON JULY 19

AND DIED TWO DAYS LATER AT JENIN PRISON WHILE UNDER SHIN BET INTERROGATION SUFFOCATED TO DEATH ACCORDING TO AN AUTOPSY. THE FINDINGS WERE COMMUNICATED BY THE ISRAELI STATE ATTORNEY'S OFFICE TO THE ATTORNEY WHO REPRESENTS THE MAN'S FAMILY. HIS FAMILY WAS FIRST TOLD THAT HE HAD UNCLASSIFIED

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DIED OF A HEART ATTACK; LATER, THAT HE HAD DIED OF PNEUMONIA; AND EVEN LATER INFORMED BY THE JENIN MILGOV THAT HE HAD DIED OF A SNAKE BITE.

PALESTINIANS ATTACK MORE SUSPECTED COLLABORATORS

SEPTEMBER 21

A MAN SUSPECTED OF COLLABORATION WITH ISRAELI AUTHORITIES WAS STABBED IN THE CHEST AND STOMACH AND HOSPITALIZED IN CRITICAL CONDITION IN NABLUS.

SEPTEMBER 22

ATTACKS ON EAST JERUSALEM ARABS WHO WORK FOR THE GOI OR WHO ARE SUSPECTED OF COLLABORATING WITH ISRAELI AUTHORITIES CONTINUED. IN JERUSALEM'S JABAL MUKABBER NEIGHBORHOOD A JEWISH-OWNED CAR THAT WAS IN THE POSSESSION OF AN ARAB RESIDENT WAS TORCHED. ONE PERSON WAS SLIGHTLY INJURED. IN WADI JOZ, THE CAR OF AN ARAB EMPLOYEE OF THE JERUSALEM MUNICIPALITY WAS COMPLETELY DESTROYED BY FIRE.

SEPTEMBER 24

TWO SUSPECTED COLLABORATORS WERE BEATEN BY OTHER PALESTINIANS AT THE FAWWAR REFUGEE CAMP NEAR HEBRON. ONLY ONE OF THE MEN WAS SERIOUSLY WOUNDED.

AUTHORITIES DEMOLISH ARAB BUILDINGS

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03234 03 OF 03 291318Z ACTION NEA-04

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 ANAE-00 RP-10 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01 /090 W

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AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03234

E.O. 12356; N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, SEPTEMBER 20-26, 1988

SEPTEMBER 22

THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION DEMOLISHED 12 ARAB HOMES IN THE JIFTLIK AREA, IN THE JORDAN VALLEY, AND FIVE OTHERS IN JENIN, ALLEGING THAT THEY HAD BEEN BUILT WITHOUT PERMITS.

SETTLERS EXPAND BEITAR SETTLEMENT

ON SEPTEMBER 20, SETTLERS AT BEITAR, A SETTLEMENT CONSTRUCTED ON HUSAN AND NAHHALIN VILLAGE LANDS, TOOK ADVANTAGE OF A CURFEW IMPOSED ON HUSAN TO EXPAND THEIR SETTLEMENT AND INSTALL PREFABS AND UNCLASSIFIED

LEVEL A LARGE PLOT OF LAND FOR FUTURE CONSTRUCTION.

GENERAL STRIKES

PALESTINIANS OBSERVED A TOTAL STRIKE ON SEPTEMBER 26 AS AN EXPRESSION OF SOLIDARITY WITH DETAINEES AND A PROTEST AGAINST THE ANSAR III PRISON.

CURFEWS

THE THREE-DAY OLD CURFEW ON ARRABEH, NEAR JENIN, AND THE TWO-DAY OLD CURFEW ON BEIT FOURIK, NEAR NABLUS, WERE LIFTED ON SEPTEMBER 20.

THE CURFEW IMPOSED ON NEARBY QALANDIA CAMP, NEAR RAMALLAH, WAS LIFTED AFTER FOUR DAYS.

CURFEW WAS IMPOSED ON SEPTEMBER 21, ON BALATA REFUGEE CAMP, NEAR NABLUS FOLLOWING CLASHES.

THE MILITARY SEIGE IMPOSED FOR ONE WEEK ON BEIT RIMA AND DEIR GHASSANEH VILLAGES, RAMALLAH DISTRICT, WAS LIFTED ON SEPTEMBER 22.

AUTHORITIES CONFISCATE PRINTING MACHINES

IDF RAIDED AN UNDERGROUND PRESS OPERATED BY THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNIST PARTY IN AL-RAM, NORTH OF JERUSALEM, CONFISCATING PRINTING MACHINES AND COPIES OF A CLANDESTINE NEWSLETTER, AL-WATAN. THE UNCLASSIFIED

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MAN WHO OPERATED THE MACHINE WAS ARRESTED. WILCOX

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CONCEPTS= REQUEST, SOVEREIGNTY, DEMONSTRATION, OCCUPIED AREA, TEXT

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

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TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 26, 9/27/88

REF: STATE 318308

1. LEAFLET NO. 26 OF "PLO/NIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING" DATED SEPTEMBER 27, 1988, SETS OUT A LIST OF POLITICAL DEMANDS TO BE ADOPTED BY THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. THESE INCLUDE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967, CANCELLATION OF ISRAELI MILITARY LEGISLATION, DISMANTLING OF SETTLEMENTS, AND PLACEMENT OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES UNDER UN SUPERVISION FOR AN INTERIM PERIOD. THE LEAFLET DEMANDS THE CONVENING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, RELEASE OF PRISONERS, RETURN OF DEPORTEES, THE HOLDING OF MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS UNDER UN SUPERVISON, AND CESSATION OF PUNITIVE MEASURES AGAINST PALESTINIANS. THE LEAFLET UNCLASSIFIED

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INSTRUCTS PALESTINIANS TO INTENSIFY THE WORK OF POPULAR COMMITTEES, CONTINUE ATTACKS ON COLLABORATORS, TAKE ACTION AGAINST APPOINTED MUNICIPAL AND VILLAGE COUNCILS, AND CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS TOWARD POPULAR EDUCATION. THE LEAFLET WARNS WORKERS NOT TO SPEND THE NIGHT INSIDE THE

GREEN LINE AS A WAY TO AVOID GENERAL STRIKES AND URGES MAXIMUM EFFORT TO HARVEST THE OLIVE CROP. THE LEAFLET CALLS FOR UNITY AND URGES PALESTINIANS TO ESCALATE DAILY CONFRONTATIONS. GENERAL STRIKES ARE CALLED FOR OCTOBER 3, TO PROTEST CLOSURE OF PALESTINIAN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, AND OCTOBER 9, TO MARK THE START OF THE 11TH MONTH OF THE UPRISING. WE WILL SEND COMMENTS AND ANALYSIS SEPTEL. END SUMMARY.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE A CALL .. O VOICE IS ABOVE THE VOICE OF THE UPRISING NO VOICE IS ABOVE THE VOICE OF PALESTINIANS, THE PEOPLE OF THE PLO CALL NO. 26 - THE CALL OF PALESTINE, PUBLISHED BY THE PLO/THE UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING (UNLU)

O MASSES OF OUR STRUGGLING PEOPLE: YOUR INTIFADA IS ACHIEVING NEW STRIDES SUCH AS THE RESOLUTIONS REACHED DURING THE MEETING OF LEADERS OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES. THE RESOLUTIONS EMPHASIZED YOUR JUST DEMANDS AND CALLED FOR PLACEMENT OF THE UNCLASSIFIED

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OCCUPIED TERRITORIES UNDER UN SUPERVISON FOR AN INTERIM PERIOD AFTER WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES IN PREPARATION FOR THE EXERCISE OF PALESTINIAN RIGHTS TO SELF DETERMINATION. AFTER BROTHER ABU AMMAR, WHO HEADED THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, GAVE HIS HISTORIC SPEECH BEFORE THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, EUROPEANS EMPHASIZEED THE NEED FOR ACHIEVING A COMPREHENSIVE AND JUST SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM AND DECIDED TO EXPAND THEIR DEALINGS WITH THE PLO, RECOGNIZING IT AS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF OUR PEOPLE. NOW, THE ZIONIST ENEMY ADMITS AGAIN, THIS TIME VIA SHAMIR, THAT THE INTIFADA CANNOT BE TERMINATED WITH THE USE OF MILITARY FORCE.

O HEROIC CHILDREN OF OUR PEOPLE: CONTINUATION OF YOUR POPULAR INTIFADA IS THE SOLE GUARANTEE TO BREAK THE INTRANSIGENCE OF THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION AND WILL FORCE IT TO SET ASIDE ITS ARROGANCE AND THE INTOLERABLE CONDITIONS WHICH IT PLACES BEFORE THE PLO, OUR SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE. THE INTIFADA WILL CAUSE THE FAILURE OF ALL ALTERNATIVES TO THE PALESTINIAN OPTION, AS IT HAS UNDERMINED THE DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITIES CONSPIRACY AND THE JORDANIAN OPTION AND FORCED KING HUSSEIN TO ADMIT DEFEAT OF HIS PLANS FOR THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AND AS IT WILL ULTIMATELY FORCE ISRAEL TO CONFESS OUR ETERNAL NATIONAL RIGHTS. AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, WHICH SUPPORTS OUR ENEMY TO THE EXTREME, SHOULD REALIZE THAT IT IS COMPELLED TO GIVE MORE

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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 26, 9/27/88

CONCESSIONS TO OUR PEOPLE AND NOT THE OPPOSITE. IT SHOULD RECOGNIZE THE PLO AS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF PALESTINIANS AND ADMIT THEIR RIGHTS TO RETURN, TO SELF DETERMINATION, AND TO ESTABLISHMENT OF THEIR INDEPENDENT STATE ON THEIR NATIONAL SOIL WITH JERUSALEM AS ITS CAPITAL. ISRAEL SHOULD REALIZE THAT OUR STONES ARE NO LESS STRONG THAN ALL ITS POWER AND ITS SATELLITES. IT CANNOT EXTINGUISH THE RAYS OF HOPE FROM OUR CHILDREN'S EYES. ISRAEL IS NOT STRONGER THAN AMERICA, AND OUR PEOPLE ARE NO LESS STRONG THAN THE VIETNAMESE.

O MASSES OF THE INTIFADA: WE ARE A FREE AND STRUGGLING PEOPLE. THE GLORIOUS INTIFADA TAUGHT US THAT THROUGH IT, THROUGH OUR STRUGGLE AND UNCLASSIFIED

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SACRIFICES AND BY INFLICTING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LOSSES ON THE ENEMY, TRANSFORMING THEIR GAINS FROM THE OCCUPATION TO GREAT AND COSTLY LOSSES AND BY CREATING REAL CHANGES IN THE BALANCE OF FORCES ON THE LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS WE CAN EXTRACT FROM THEM MORE AND MORE CONCESSIONS ON THE PATH TO FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE. YOUR INTIFADA IS THE STRONGEST VOICE OF PROTEST AGAINST THE OFFICIAL ARAB IMPOTENCE. YOU ARE ANNOUNCING. WITH GREAT VIGOR: NO TO OCCUPATION, YES AND A THOUSAND TIMES YES TO LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE. YOUR VOICES INSPIRED THE UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP TO FORGE YOUR CONSTANT, DIRECT AND GENERAL POLITICAL DEMANDS. UNLU AND ALL THE MASSES OF OUR PEOPLE URGE THE 43RD SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO APPROVE OUR PEOPLE'S NATIONAL RIGHTS, ADOPT NECCESSARY MEASURES TO IMPLEMENT THEM AND FORCE ISRAEL TO BE COMMITTED TO THEM, AS FOLLOWS:

- 1. WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM PALESTINIAN AND ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED SINCE 1967, INCLUDING ARAB JERUSALEM.
- 2. CANCELLATION OF ALL ISRAELI ANNEXATION MOVES AND DISMANTLING OF SETTLEMENTS ESTABLISHED IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

3. PLACEMENT OF OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES UNDER UN SUPERVISION TO PROVIDE PROTECTION TO OUR MASSES FOR AN INTERIM PERIOD OF A FEW MONTHS AND PREPARE PALESTINIANS FREELY TO EXPRESS THEIR RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION. UNCLASSIFIED

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4. CONVENING OF AN AUTHORITATIVE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, UNDER UN SUPERVSION, ON THE BASIS OF ITS RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, THE CORE OF THE MIDDLE EAST STRUGGLE, AND TO PREPARE FOR TOTAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, PLACING THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES UNDER UN SUPERVISION AND HOLDING AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. ISRAEL SHOULD BE COMMITTED TO THE FOLLOWING MEASURES:

A. IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS NOS. 605, 607 AND 608.

B. CANCELLATION OF THE EMERGENCY LAWS OF 1945 AND ALL THE LEGISLATIVE AND MILITARY ORDERS RELATING TO LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL LAWS.

- C. WITHDRAWAL OF THE IDF FROM ALL THE PALESTINIAN POPULATED CENTERS.
- D. RELEASE OF PRISONERS OF THE INTIFADA AND RETURN OF DEPORTEES.
- E. HOLDING FREE MUNICIPAL AND LOCAL ELECTIONS UNDER UN SUPERVISION.
- F. APPLICATION OF THE 4TH GENEVA CONVENTION OF 1949 AND ALL THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS WHICH ORGANIZE RELATIONS BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.
- G. CESSATION OF ISRAELI PUNITIVE MEASURES AGAINST PALESTINIANS, SUCH AS ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, KILLINGS, HOME DEMOLITIONS, TORTURE, DEPORTATION, ADMINISTRATIVE ARRESTS, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF SETTLEMENTS.

H.STRUGGLING MASSES OF OUR PEOPLE, IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ABOVE LEGITIMATE DEMANDS AND FORCING THE

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 26, 9/27/88

AROGANT ENEMY TO RECOGNIZE THEM CAN BE ACHIEVED THROUGH GREATER STRUGGLE ON ALL LEVELS AND ESCALATION OF THE INTIFADA TO HIGHER LEVELS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME MAINTAINING THE INITIATIVE. ALONG THIS PATH WE URGE THE PEOPLE TO ADHERE TO THE FOLLOWING PROGRAM:

-- OCCUPATION ATTACKS: CONDUCT MASSIVE ACTIVITIES BEFORE THE OCCUPATION FORCES ATTACK. INTENSIFY FORMATION OF SECURITY, POPULAR AND STRIKING COMMITTEES. ADHERE TO SECRECY IN YOUR ACTIVITIES AND PUT ON MASKS. MAINTAIN UNITY OF YOUR INTERNAL GROUPS. GO OUT TO THE STREETS, SIMILAR TO THE EVENTS IN NABLUS, WHERE MASSES OF MASKED YOUTHS MARCHED IN AN ORGANIZED MANNER AND PUT ON RECORD THE FIRST MARCH OF THE PALESTINIAN POPULAR ARMY. UNCLASSIFIED

GREETINGS TO THEM, TO THE MASSES OF THE INTIFADA AND TO ALL THE HEROIC AREAS UNDER MILITARY SEIGE: QALQILYA, TULKAREM, ANABTA, KUFR MALIK AND GAZA STRIP, WHERE THE MASSES REFUSED TO RESPOND TO DEMANDS OF THE AUTHORITIES TO INSCRIBE THEIR NAMES AND ADDRESSES ON THE DOORS OF THEIR STORES.

- -- INTIFADA INITIATIVES: TAKE THE INITIATIVE OF THE INTIFADA AND ESCALATE ACTION AGAINST APPOINTED MUNICIPAL AND VILLAGE COUNCILS. BOYCOTT THE CIVAL ADMINISTRATION AUTHORITIES, ITS OFFICES AND ITS ARAB EMPLOYEES. BOYCOTT AND LIQUIDATE THEIR AGENTS, SIMILAR TO THE HEROIC ACTIVITIES AGAINST THOSE WORKING IN GAZA, NABLUS, JENIN, SINJEL, YATTA AND OTHER PLACES.
- -- POPULAR EDUCATION: POPULAR EDUCATION AIMS, NOT ONLY AT COMPLETING THE SCHOLASTIC CURRICULUM, BUT TO ERADICATE ILLITERACY AMONG ADULTS AND EXPAND NATIONAL EDUCATION. THIS REQUIRES TEACHING IN EVERY HOME, WITHOUT ANY FROM THE ENEMY. WE DEMAND THE ADMINISTRATION OF ALL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS TO DO THEIR DUTY AND DETERMINE THE STANDARD OF EDUCATION OF THE POPULAR STUDENTS. LET OUR MOTTO BE "EDUCATION FOR RESISTANCE."
- -- LABORERS: WE CALL ON OUR LABORERS TO REMAIN COMMITTED TO ABSTAINING FROM GOING TO WORK ON TOTAL STRIKE DAYS AND NOT TO RESPOND TO THE ZIONIST EMPLOYERS WHO REQUEST THEM TO SPEND THE NIGHT INSIDE THE GREEN LINE BEFORE GENERAL STRIKE DAYS, LEST THEY MEET THE SAME FATE AS THE THREE GAZAN WORKERS. UNCLASSIFIED

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-- MERCHANTS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS: UNLU STRESSES THE NEED TO ABSTAIN FROM PAYING TAXES. MERCHANTS' COMMITTEES SHOULD FOLLOW UP ON THIS PROCEDURE AND CONTINUE TO BOYCOTT ISRAELI COMMODITIES WHICH HAVE LOCALLY MADE ALTERNATIVES BY DISTRIBUTING LISTS OF LOCAL PRODUCTS. NATIONAL PRODUCTS SHOULD PRICED AND THE COST SHOULD BE DECREASED, NOT INCREASED. WORKERS' SALARIES AND

WAGES SHOULD BE PAID IN FULL, AS THEY USED TO BE PAID BEFORE THE INTIFADA. WORKERS SHOULD BE PAID FOR TOTAL STRIKE DAYS.

- -- AGRICULTURAL AND COOPERATIVE ACTIVITIES: UNLU URGES ALL THE MASSES TO ASSIST IN PICKING THE OLIVE CROP AND FACILITATE ITS PRESSING. COOPERATIVE AND VOLUNTARY WORK SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO GATHER EVERY PALESTINIAN OLIVE. FARMERS AND OLIVE OIL MERCHANTS SHOULD SELL THEIR PRODUCE LOCALLY AT A FAIR PRICE. THIS IS OUR OIL AND WE SHOULD CONSUME II LOCALLY, IF WE CANNOT EXPORT IT.
- -- UNITY OF THE INTERNAL FRONT: UNLU EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UNITY OF THE INTERNAL FRONT WHICH HAS WITHSTOOD ALL FORMS OF PUNITIVE MEASURES. WE CALL ON THE MASSES TO COMBAT ALL SIGNS OF FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DIFFERENCES AND FEUDS, WHICH THE ENEMY AND ITS AGENTS ARE TRYING TO AROUSE. ALL THE AUTHORITIES' ATTEMPTS TO "BLOW UP" SOME PARTIES AND CONSIDER THEM A FORCE EQUAL TO UNLU WILL FAIL.

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 26, 9/27/88

-- THE WANTED PERSONS: UNLU GREETS OUR PEOPLE'S CHILDREN, WANTED BY THE AUTHORITIES, WHO MUTINIED AGAINST ARREST ORDERS AND WENT UNDERGROUND. UNLU URGES THE MASSES TO SUPPORT THEM AND EXTEND A HELPING HAND TO THEM.

O MASSES OF OUR GIVING PEOPLE: UNLU GREATLY VALUES THE STEADFASTNESS OF OUR COURAGEOUS MASSES IN QALQILYA, WHO WITH THEIR STONES, MOLOTOVS AND NAILS HAVE SPREAD TERROR IN THE HEARTS OF THE SETTLERS AND SHAKEN THE ZIONIST GENERALS. THEY HAVE RESPONDED TO THE CRUEL OPPRESSIVE MEASURES BY ESCALATING THEIR STRUGGLE. GREETINGS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES WHO HAVE STRONGLY CONFRONTED MINISTER RABIN AND HIS GANG IN KHAN YOUNIS. UNLU URGES THE POPULAR AND SPECIALIZED COMMITTEES, AS UNCLASSIFIED

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WELL AS THE STRIKING FORCES TO LAY OUT A PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE, WELL TIMED TO CONFORM TO THE PREVAILING CONDITIONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES AT EVERY LOCATION, TO EXECUTE THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES:

- 1. ESCALATE DAILY CONFRONTATIONS AGAINST OCCUPATION FORCES AND THE SETTLERS' GANGS AND SABOTAGE ENEMY PROPERTY.
- 2. CONTINUE TO PURGE THE INTERNAL FRONT FROM UNCLEAN AGENTS.
- 3. ACTIVATE VOLUNTEER WORK TO HELP FARMERS DURING THE OLIVE HARVEST.
- 4. MAINTAIN SOLIDARITY WITH THE BESEIGED AREAS AND REVOLUTIONIZE ALL THE LOCATIONS SIMULTANEOUSLY

SO THAT THE ENEMY WILL NOT SUCCEED IN HITTING ONE ISOLATED AREA. SEND FOOD COMMODITIES AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES TO THESE AREAS AND TAKE CARE OF THEIR PLANTATIONS.

- 5. MAINTAIN SOLIDARITY WITH THOSE WHO SUFFER BECAUSE OF THE INTIFADA, PRISONERS, WOUNDED AND FAMILIES OF MARTYRS, DEPORTEES AND OWNERS OF DEMOLISHED HOMES AS WELL AS THOSE EXPELLED FROM THEIR WORK, BY VISITING THEM, HOLDING SIT-INS AND EXTENDING A HELPING HAND TO THEM.
- 6. MONDAY OCTOBER 3 WILL BE A TOTAL STRIKE DAY IN PROTEST AGAINST CONTINUED CLOSURE OF SCHOOLS AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, BY THE AUTHORITIES. SUNDAY OCTOBER 9, SHOULD BE OBSERVED AS A TOTAL UNCLASSIFIED

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STRIKE DAY ON THE OCCASION OF THE START OF THE TH MONTH OF THE INTIFADA.

MORE UNITY, STRUGGLE AND CONFRONTATION ON THE PATH TO ACHIEVING OUR PEOPLES' CONSTANT NATIONAL RIGHTS.

WE SHALL BE VICTORIOUS

THE PLO, THE UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE INTIFADA IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

DATED SEPTEMBER 27, 1988. WILCOX



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SUBJECT= BASSAM ABU SHARIF INTERVIEW: PLO READY TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL

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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= INTERVIEW, NEGOTIATION, LIBERATION FRONT, PALESTINIANS, SOVEREIGN **UNSC RES 242**

TAGS= KPAL, PBTS, IS, US, PLO, (ABU SHARIF, BASSAM)

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E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: PBTS, KPAL

SUBJECT: BASSAM ABU SHARIF INTERVIEW: PLO READY

TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL

1. SUMMARY: THE JERUSALEM POST OF SEPTEMBER 16 RAN AN INTERVIEW OF THE PLO'S BASSAM ABU SHARIF BY CORRESPONDENT MICHEL ZLOTOWSKI. IN THE INTERVIEW, CONDUCTED IN STRASBOURG FOLLOWING ARAFAT'S APPEARANCE BEFORE THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. ABU SHARIF ARGUES THAT THE PLO HAS ACCEPTED UNSCR 242 AND 338, IS READY TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH ISRAEL ON THE BASIS OF 242/338 AND THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR PALESTINIANS, AND THAT PALESTIMIANS ARE PREPARED TO LIVE PEACEFULLY ALONG SIDE ISRAEL AS AN IHDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE. HE SAYS THE DATE FOR A PNC HAS BEEN DETERMINED. BUT DOES NOT DISCLOSE FURTHER DETAILS. HE DEFENDS PLO TERRORIST ATTACKS INSIDE ISRAEL (DIMONA) UNDER THE TERMS OF THE CAIRO DECLARATION, AS RESPONSES UNCLASSIFIED

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TO ISRAELI ATTACKS ON THE PLO ABROAD (ABU JIHAD, LIMASOL). ABU SHARIF SAYS THE INTIFADA WILL CONTINUE UNTIL ISRAEL WITHDRAWS FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND SAYS JORDAN'S DISENGAGEMENT SHOWS "NOW THERE IS THE PLO, AND

ONLY THE PLO." THE TEXT OF THE INTERVIEW FOLLOWS. END SUMMARY.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF INTERVIEW:

ABU SHARIF: I DON'T KNOW WHAT THE MEMBERS OF THE (EUROPEAN) PARLIAMENT WERE EXPECTING, BUT MANY OF THEM REACTED VERY POSITIVELY. MANY OF THEM GOT A VERY CLEAR IDEA OF THE SERIOUS AND COMMITTED STAND OF THE PLO TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE. I AM SURE THAT ARAFAT'S SPEECH CLARIFIED THE POLITICAL STAND OF THE PLO ON MANY ISSUES THAT ARE STILL REGARDED BY SOME POLITICAL POWERS AS UNCLARIFIED. FOR EXAMPLE, TO TAKE UP ONE ISSUE: 1 HEARD SEVERAL (ISRAELI) LABOUR PARTY LEADERS DURING THE BEGINNING OF THEIR ELECTION CAMPAIGN IMPOSE ON THE PLO CONDITIONS SUCH AS THE RECOGNITION OF UN RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. CHAIRMAN AAFAT HAS SAID VERY CLEARLY THAT HE ACCEPTS 242 AND 338. NOW THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IS A WITNESS. SO WHENEVER SHIMON PERES WILL COME AND SAY "THEY'LL HAVE TO RECOGNIZE 242 AND 338," THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT CAN TELL HIM: "THEY DID!" I KNOW AND YOU KNOW. TOO, THAT ARAFAT ALREADY SAID THAT BEFORE. WE ARE ACCEPTING ALL OF THE UN RESOLUTIONS.

JERUSALEM POST: DOES THAT INCLUDE THE UNCLASSIFIED

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TOO?

ABU SHARIF: LET'S NOT GET INTO SEMANTICS. IO THERE IS A REAL INTENTION TO ESTABLISH PEACE, THE FORMULA IS VERY CLEAR AND VERY SIMPLE. THE PALESTINIANS ACCEPT 242 AND 338 AND AT THE SAME TIME THEY EXPECT OTHERS TO ACCEPT THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. SO ALL RESOLUTIONS THAT CALL FOR THIS RIGHT SHOULD BE INCLUDED AMONG THE RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 AS A BASIC FOR A SETTLEMENT AND FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE.

JP: WHAT ABOUT THE PLO'S CHARTER?

ABU SHARIL: LET ME TELL YOU THIS. THE COVENANT WAS DRAFTED BEFORE THIS LEADERSHIP OF THE PLO WAS ELECTED. THE PLO HAS A PROGRAME, THE SAME WAY ANY PARTY WHICH WOULD HOPE TO WIN THE

ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL HAS ITS PROGRAME. WE DO NOT OPEN OLD FILES, FOR EXAMPLE, THE FILES OF HERUT, THE BACKBONE OF ONE OF THE PARTNERS OF THE ACTUAL GOVERNMENT. WE DON'T TALK ABOUT THEIR ANTHEM "FROM THE NILE TO THE EUPHEATES" (SIC). WE DON'T TALK ABOUT THE IDEAS OF EXPANSIONISM PUT FORWARD BY CERTAIN PEOPLE IN THE RULING CIRCLES LIKE SHARON. WE ARE TALKING ABOUT A POLITICAL SOLUTION THAT DEALS WITH THE OCCUPIED WEST BANK AND GAZA AND THAT DEALS WITH REALITIES THAT THE PALESTINIANS ARE SEEING NOW VERY CLEARLY AND REALITIES THAT HAVE, UMFORTUNATELY, NOT BEEN SEEN BY THE RULING GOVERNMENT IN ISRAEL UNTIL NOW. THE PALESTINIANS RESIST OCCUPATION BECAUSE THEY WANT THEIR FREEDOM, THEY WANT TO

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PBTS, KPAL

SUBJECT: BASSAM ABU SHARIF INTERVIEW: PLO READY

ESTABLISH THEIR OWN INDEPENDENT STATE AND NOT DESTROY ANOTHER PEOPLE'S STATE.

JP: INCLUDING ISRAEL?

ABJ SHARIF: INCLUDING ISRAEL.

JP: THE PLO NO LONGER WISHES TO DESTROY ISRAEL?

ABU SHARIF: THE PLO HAS NEVER SAID IT WANTED TO DESTROY ISRAEL. I HOPE THAT PEOPLE WHO TALK A LOT ABOUT 242 READ IT. THE PEOPLE WHO TALK ABOUT THE COVENANT SHOULD READ IT TOO, BECAUSE THE COVENANT DOESN'T SPEAK ABOUT THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL. BUT I AM NOT DEALING HERE WITH THE COVENANT, I CONSIDER THAT THE POLITICAL PROGRAME OF THE PLO IS THE ONLY PAPER TO WHICH WE ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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COMMITTED. WE ARE DEALING WITH REALITIES. THE REALITY IS THAT THE ISRAELIS HAVE CHOSEN (ACTUAL) POLITICAL FORCES TO RULE THEM, BY ELECTION. WE WANT TO NEGOTIATE WITH THEM.

JP: DO YOU MEAN TO SAY THAT THE PLO COVENANT IS OUTDATED?

ABU SHARIF: I MEANT WHAT I SAID. I DON'T WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE CHARTER, FRANKLY.

JP: BUT EVERY TIME YOU WILL MEET WITH AN ISRAELI, HE WILL TALK TO YOU ABOUT THE COVENANT, BECAUSE IN HIS EYES IT IS ONE OF THE MAIN OBSTACLES TO DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PLO.

ABU SHARIF: YASSER ARAFAT MADE CLEAR AND SAID IN FRONT OF HUNDREDS OF PARLIAMENTARIANS THAT HE IS HOLDING OUT HIS HAND FOR PEACE AND HE IS WAITING FOR A COURAGEOUS ISRAELI LEADER TO SIT DOWN AND TALK AND NEGOTIATE PFACE AND THAT HE IS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE AND NOT FOR DESTROYING OTHERS. HE IS VERY CLEAR ON THAT.

JP: ARE YOU READY TO DEFINE THE BORDERS OF THE

PALESTINIAN STATE YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT?

ABU SHARIF: I THINK THAT THIS IS THE POINT UHICH SHOULD BE LEFT FOR NEGOTIATIONS. THE PRINCIPAL POINT FROM WHICH WE CAN START THIS POCESS OF PEACEMAKING IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS THE ACCEPTANCE BY THE OCCUPIER OF WITHDRAWAL, OF THE UNCLASSIFIED

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RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND THE ACCEPTANCE BY THE PLO OF THE RESOLUTIONS THAT ENSURE SECURITY, SAFETY OF BORDERS AND SOVEREIGNTY FOR ISRAEL.

JP: IN THAT ORDER?

ABU SHARIF: NO, NOT NECESSARILY; ON AN EQUAL BASIS. BECAUSE IF PERES WOULD COME OUT AND SAY "I AM FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PALESTINIANS" - WE ARE SAYING THAT WE ARE FOR 242 AND 338 AND THE RIGHT FOR SELF-DETERMINATION - I THINK THIS IS A STARTING POINT.

JP: WHAT IF SHAMIR SAYS THAT?

ABU SHARIF: FRANKLY SPEAKING, I AM NOT DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN THE TWO, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE SOME DIFFERENCES. BUT REGARDING THE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, UP TO NOW I CANOT DISTINGUISH THEM. THE FASCIST MEASURES THAT ARE BEING USED AGAINST OUR PEOPLE. IN THE WEST BAK AND GAZA, ARE BEING DECIDED BY BOTH AND IMPLEMENTED BY BOTH. I DON'T SAY "SHAMIR" OR "PERES," BUT WHOEVER WILL BE ELECTED BY THE ISRAELIS. BECAUSE HE WILL BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ISRAELIS THE SAME WAY THE PLO IS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIANS. I DO NOT ALLOW THE ISRAELIS OR THE AMERICANS OR THE JORDANIANS TO CHOOSE FOR OUR PEOPLE WHO REPRESENTS THEM. IN THE SAME WAY, I DON'T ALLOW MYSELF TO CHOOSE FOR THE ISRAELIS WHO REPRESENTS THEM. WE ARE READY TO DEAL WITH ANY

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R 271309Z SEP 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3575 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE USMISSION USUN NEW YORK AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 05 JERUSALEM 03187

E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: PBTS, KPAL

SUBJECT: BASSAM ABU SHARIF INTERVIEW: PLO READY

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ISRAELIS WHO ARE COURAGEOUS ENOUGH TO SIT AND TALK AND NEGOTIATE PEACE.

JP: DO YOU THINK THIS WILL BE THE OUTCOME OF THE COMING EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE PNC?

ABU SHARIL: WHAT'I HAVE JUST SAID IS BASED ON RESOLUTIONS OF THE NATIOHAL COUNCIL BECAUSE UHAT I HAVE SAID DID NOT DEAL WITH THE MECHANISM OR WITH THE APPARATUS OF ACHIEVING THE PEACE. WE HAVE TAKEN A CLEAR STAND CALLING FOR THIS IN THE CONTEXT OF NEGOTIATIONS IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WHICH WILL HAVE AS PARTICIPANTS ALL THE SIDES CONCERNED, ISRAEL, PLO AND OTHERS, PLUS THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. THIS HAS A LOGIC. UNCLASSIFIED

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SOME OF THE ISRAELI POLITICIANS TRY TO MISLEAD THE ISRAELIS BY SAYING THAT A PALESTINIAN STATE WILL BE A THREAT TO ISRAEL. "IF WE ALLOW A PALESTINIAN STATE ON OUR BORDERS, IT WILL MEAN THAT THE NEXT DAY YOU WILL HAVE TERRORISTS AND TERRORIST ACTION AGAINST ISRAEL. THEY WOULD BE TOO CLOSE TO US" AND SO ON. THEY ARE MISLEADING THE ISRAELIS AMD MOBILIZING THEM PSYCHOLOGICALLY IN THE WRONG DIRECTION BECAUSE THEY HAVE THEIR OUN AIMS, POLITICAL AIMS, WHICH ARE DEFINITELY AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE IN THE REGION.

WE SAY "THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL" FOR TWO REASONS. ONE REASON IS THE GUARANTEE OF THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL. THESE STATES ARE SUPPOSED TO GIVE AN INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE FOR SECURITY AND SECURE BORDERS. SECOND, IT IS FOR THE SECURITY OF OUR STATE, BECAUSE WE ARE THE ONES WHO ARE AFRAID OF THE GIGANTIC MILITARY MACHINE OF ISRAEL, OF THE NUCLEAR POWER OF ISRAEL. AND THEREFORE, WHEN WE HAVE THIS INTERNATIONAL FORUM, THE FIVE CAN DEFINITELY GUARANTEE THE SECURITY OF OUR STATE AND OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

JP: HOW CAN YOU SAY THAT THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE UN CAN BE A GUARANTEE? THE UN HAS NEVER SUCCEEDED IN PREVENTING A WAR OR AN ACT OF AGGRESSION?

ABU SHARIF. I DIDN'T SAY THE UN. I SAID THE UNCLASSIFIED

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FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

JP: DON'T YOU THINK THAT DIRECT TALKS WOULD BE MUCH MORE FRUITFUL THAN GOING THROUGH ALL THIS INTERNATIONAL AND CONFERENCE BUSINESS?

ABU SHARIF: THE PLO WANTS TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL. DO YOU THINK WE ARE GOING TO AN

INTENATIONAL CONFERENCE TO TALK TO KING HUSSEIN? OR TO NEGOTIATE WITH FRANCE OR WITH THE UNITED STATES? WE WANT TO GO TO AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL. THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ARE THE COUNTRIES THAT ARE ABLE TO SUPPLY ISRAEL OR PALESTINE WITH ARMS. THEIR PRESENCE, THEIR SIGNATURE ON THE AGREEMENT SHOULD BE RESPECTED, BUT I AGREE WITH YOU THAT THE BASIS REMAINS THE RESPECT OF THE AGREEMENT BY THE TWO MAIN PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, INDEPENDENT PALESTINE AND ISRAEL.

JP: DOES THAT MEAN THAT IF ISRAEL WOULD AGREE TO HAVE DIRECT TALKS WITH YOU, YOU WOULD PENOUNCE THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE?

ABU SHARIF: I DIDN'T SAY THAT, BECAUSE UNTIL NOW WE SEE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IS THE BEST WAY OF GETTING THE WHEELS OF PEACE TO MOVE. THE KNESSET'S DECISION STATING THAT NO (ISRAELI) GOVERNMENT IS ALLOWED TO NEGOTIATE THE FUTURE OF THE WEST BANK BEFCRE A GENERAL PLEBISCITE IS STILL IN FORCE. UNTIL NOW, ALL THE EFFORTS OF THE PLO TO PUSH FORWARD A PEACEMAKING PROCESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAD

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E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: PBTS, KPAL

SUBJECT: BASSAM ABU SHARIF INTERVIEW: PLO READY

RECEIVED ONLY A REJECTION FROM THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND ALSO A CERTAIN EXTENT FROM SOME OTHER INTERNATIONAL CIRCLES.

JP: WHAT IS YASSER ARAFAT'S POSITION NOW WITHIN THE PALESTINIAN MOVEMENT? WHAT IS THE STRENGTH OF PEOPLE LIKE ABU MUSSA AND AHMAD JIBRIL?

ABU SHARIF: IN APRIL 1987 YASSER ARAFAT WAS UNANIMOUSLY ELECTED AT THE LAST PNC MEETING AS CHAIRMAN OF THE PLO. THE ONLY ONE WHO DID NOT VOTE WAS ARAFAT HIMSELF. THE SMALL GROUPS CONTROLLED BY THE SYRIANS, ABU MUSSA AND JIBRIL, HAVE BEEN KNOWN FOR A LONG TIME AS SYRIAN PUPPETS. THEY ARE NOT CONSIDERED BY THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AS PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATIONS. ARAFAT, WHO STARTED AS LEADER OF UNCLASSIFIED

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THE FATAH AND THEN LEADER OF THE PLO, IS NOW THE LEADER OF THE PALESTINIANS. THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF PALESTINIANS ALL THROUGH THE WORLD AND IN PARTICULAR INSIDE THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WHO ARE NOT MEMBERS OF THE (PLO) ORGANIZATION, BUT WHO REGARD THE PLO AS THEIR NATIONAL IDENTITY, AND WHO CONSIDER YASSER ARAFAT TO BE THEIR LEADER.

JP: IF ARAFAT IS RECOGNIZED BY HIS OWN PEOPLE IN SUCH A WAY, UHY ARE THERE SO MANY DIFFICULTIES IN CONVENING THE PNC?

ABU SHARIF: THIS EXTRAORDINARY SESSION IS GOING TO DEAL WITH AN HISTORIC ISSUE. OUR CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS DECIDED TO PREPARE THIS SESSION IN

A VERY SCIENTIFIC WAY BY DRAFTING ALL THE PAPERS NECESSARY ON THE ISSUE TO BE DISCUSSED. ALL THE AD-HOC COMMITTEES HAVE REMITTED THEIR PAPERS, AND NOU IT IS UP TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO DECIDE THE PROPER TIMING, NOT BECAUSE OF DISPUTES OR DIFFERENCES, BUT TO ACHIEVE THE BEST EFFECT ON THE PALESTINIANS, ON THE REGIONAL AND ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL.

JP: THE DATE OF THE PNC HAS NOT BEEN SET YET?

ABU SHARIF: IT HAS.

JP: SO, WHEN?

ABU SHARIF: I AM NOT IN A POSITION TO SAY WHEN.

MARWAN KANAFANI: IT WILL BE AT THE BEGINNING OF

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OCTOBER.

JP: IS IT WISE TO HOLD THE PNC SESSION BEFORE THE ELECTIONS BOTH IN ISRAEL AND IN THE UNITED STATES?

ABU SHARIF: I DON'T MEAN THAT ISRAELI ELECTIONS ARE NOT IMPORTANT TO US. WE ARE FOLLOWING EVERY SINGLE SPEECH OF YOUR CAMPAIGN. WE ARE FOLLOWING WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE UNITED STATES BUT THESE EVENTS DO NOT INFLUENCE THE DECISION ON WHEN TO CONVENE THE PNC.

JP: WILL THE INTIFADA GO ON?

ABU SHARIF: THE INTIFADA WILL GO ON BECAUSE RESISTANCE TO OCCUPATION WILL CONTINUE UNTIL THE OCCUPATION WILL CEASE.

JP: WHAT ABOUT THE TERRORIST ATTACKS INSIDE THE GREEN LINE?

ABU SHARIF: MILITARY OPERATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT AGAINST ISRAEL, THE ISRAELI ARMY, WILL DEFINITELY CONTINUE AS AN ACT OF RESISTANCE.

JP: I WAS ASKING YOU ABOUT TERRORIST ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS, LIKE IN HAIFA. (AT THIS POINT, ABU

SHARIF TURNED TO KANAFANI AND ASKED IN ARABIC WHO CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE HAIFA TERRORIST ATTACK.)

ABU SHARIF: THE DIMONA OPERATION WAS PLO. HAIFA WAS JIBRIL. DIMONA WAS AN ATTACK AGAINST

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UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 05 JERUSALEM 03187

E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: PBTS, KPAL

SUBJECT: BASSAM ABU SHARIF INTERVIEW: PLO READY

TRESPECTING THE DECLARATION OF CAIRO (1985 UNDERTAKING TO EGYPT BY ARAFAT NOT TO ATTACK TARGETS OUTSIDE ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES). THE ASSASSINATION OF ABU JIHAD, OF THREE PLO CADRES IN LIMASSOL, THE BOMBING OF THE "SHIP OF RETURN," THE ASSASSINATION OF OTHER CADRES IN ATHENS. IT IS SAID CLEARLY BY MANY ISRAELI OFFICIALS THAT THEY WILL CONTINUE THEIR OPERATIONS AGAINST THE PLO HEADQUARTERS AND LEADERSHIP. WHY DO YOU EXPECT THE PLO TO REMAIN SILEHT? ARAFAT SAID IN STRASPOURG THAT THE PLO UILL REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE CAIRO DECLARATION UNTIL THE PLO DECIDES OTHERWISE, MAYBE AS A REACTION TO THE ISRAELI ATTITUDE OF NO RESPECT FOR THIS DECLARATION.

JP: WHAT WOULD YOU CONSIDER TO BE A SIGNIFICANT UNCLASSIFIED

ENOUGH ISRAELI GESTURE FOR THE PLO TO CALL A HALT TO THE INTIFADA?

ABU SHARIF: JUDGING FROM THE ISRAELI OFFICIAL RESPONSE TO THE PLO PEACE OFFERS, THIS HYPOTHESIS IS NOT REALISTIC. INTIFADA IS RESISTANCE TO THE OCCUPATION. IF ISRAEL ANNOUNCES ITS WITHDRAWAL FROM THE WEST BANK AND FROM GAZA, THERE WILL BE NO NEED TO CONTINUE THE INTIFADA.

JP: WHAT WOULD ISRAEL GET IN EXCHANGE FOR ITS WITHDRAWAL?

ABU SHARIF: A NEGOTIATED PEACE, AN INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY. WE WILL BE READY TO ACCEPT UN FORCES ON THE BORDERS IF THIS WOULD MAKE THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT FEEL BETTER.

JP: KING HUSSSEIN'S DECISION (TO SEVER THE ADMINISTRATIVE LINKS WITH THE WEST BANK) HAS SURPRISED ARAFAT. DID IT PUT THE PLO IN A DIFFICULT POSITION?

ABU SHARIF: IT HAS INCREASED THE BURDEN OF OUR PEOPLE UNDER OCCUPATION. THE PLO DID NOT HESITATE TO STEP IN AND FILL THE GAP BY TAKING ALL THE RESPONSIBILITIES.

JP: DO YOU RESENT THE KING'S DECISION?
ABU SHARIF: THE CENTRAL COUNCIL HAS SAID THAT
WE WILL KEEP OUR CONTACTS WITH THE KING.
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JP: IN THIS NEW SITUATION, DOES JORDAN REMAIN A PARTY TO THE CONFLICT? IN CASE OF AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE, FOR INSTANCE?

ABU SHARIF: JORDAN HAS A PART OF ITS TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL, ACCORDING TO HIS MAJESTY, NEAR THE ARAVA VALLEY. THAT WOULD MAKE JORDAN A PARTY OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE. BUT THE "JORDANIAN OPTION" WHICH SOME PEOPLE HAVE BEEN CALLING FOR.

IS OVER. NOW THERE IS THE PLO, AND ONLY THE PLO. END TEXT. WILCOX

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AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA

AMEMBASSY BAGHDAD

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AMEMBASSY AMMAN

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USDOC FOR 4520/IEP/ANESA/ONE/JOHNSON USCINCCENT FOR POLAD ROME PASS MFO LONDON FOR MILLIKEN

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THIS REVIEW COVERS THE ESTABLISHMENT PRESS (GOVERNMENT-INFLUENCED; AROUND ONE MILLION CIRCULATION)

AND THE OPPOSITION PRESS (NORMALLY WEEKLIES). BOTH CATEGORIES REFLECT THE INCREASING INDEPENDENCE OF THE EGYPTIAN PRESS. THE OPPOSITION PAPERS ARE NOT ONLY LIMITED IN CIRCULATION (10,000-60,000, EXCEPT FOR THE WIDER CIRCULATION AL-WAFD), BUT ALSO WIDELY RECOGNIZED AS IRRESPONSIBLE. NONETHELESS, THEIR STORIES FORM PART OF THE CAIRO RUMOR MILL; THEY CAN PROMPT DEFENSIVE GOVERNMENT ACTION AND INSPIRE PARALLEL STORIES IN THE ESTABLISHMENT PRESS.

HIGHLIGHTS

- MUBARAK WINDS UP A SUCCESSFUL VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA.
- EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL STATES THAT QUICK IMPLEMENTATION OF THE VERDICT ON TABA WOULD LEAD TO POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS.
- COLUMNISTS COMMENT ON THE LAUNCHING OF THE ISRAELI SATELLITE.
- RIOT IN UPPER EGYPT IN PROTEST AGAINST GOVERNMENT POLICY.
- -- OPPOSITION AL-WAFD REPORTS EGYPT DENOUNCED ISRAEL'S METHODS OF DIVIDING THE ARABS; RUNS FIRST INTERVIEW TO APPEAR IN OPPOSITION PRESS WITH RETIRED ISRAELI GENERALS HARKABI AND YARIV.

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ESTABLISHMENT PRESS: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

1. MUBARAK'S EUROPEAN TOUR. THE LEAD ITEM IN ALL WEEKEND PAPERS REPORTS MUBARAK'S TALKS IN YUGOSLAVIA ON VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, INCLUDING THE MIDDLE EAST, THE GULF WAR, THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, FOREIGN DEBTS, AND BILATERAL RELATIONS. IN STATEMENTS TO TV, MUBARAK CALLED UPON THE PLO TO MAKE WELL-STUDIED DECISIONS SO THAT THEY MAY NOT BE TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF DURING THE ISRAELI AND US ELECTIONS. AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON BOOSTING JOINT COOPERATION IN VARIOUS FIELDS AND THE EXCHANGE OF EXPERTISE, ESPECIALLY IN THE FIELD OF TECHNOLOGY. REPORTEDLY, YUGOSLAVIA WILL SUPPORT EGYPT'S STAND TOWARDS

THE IMF AND THE WORLD BANK. ALL PAPERS SEPTEMBER 25 REPORT MUBARAK'S ARRIVAL IN LONDON TO HOLD TALKS WITH THATCHER, KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN, AND THE BAHRAINI PRIME MINISTER.

2. ARAFAT LEAVES CAIRO. ALL PAPERS SEPTEMBER 23 REPORT ARAFAT LEFT CAIRO AFTER A ONE-DAY VISIT DURING WHICH HE HELD TALKS WITH MUBARAK AND GAVE AN INTERVIEW TO EGYPTIAN TELEVISION. ARAFAT RENEWED HIS CALL UPON ISRAEL TO ACCEPT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, NOTING THAT THE PNC WOULD DISCUSS SEVEN OPTIONS REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE IN ALGIERS NEXT MONTH. IN HIS TV INTERVIEW, ARAFAT CALLED UPON ISRAEL TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE PLO AND ESTABLISH A "COURAGEOUS" PEACE, ADDING THAT THE UPRISING WOULD CONTINUE UNTIL "VICTORY" OR PEACE IS ACHIEVED.

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AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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COMSIXTHFLT
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3. TABA. AHRAM SEPTEMBER 23 REPORTS A HIGH-LEVEL EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL AFFIRMED THAT THE VERDICT ON TABA WILL BE IN FAVOR OF EGYPT, NOTING THAT QUICK IMPLEMENTATION OF THE VERDICT WOULD LEAD TO POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS BEYOND THE SUBJECT OF CONFLICT. IN A RELATED ITEM, AHRAM REPORTS THAT DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTRY TAMIR WILL DISCUSS WITH EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS IN GENEVA MEANS OF CARRYING OUT THE AWARD.

AKHBAR EL-YOM SEPTEMBER 24 NOTES THAT MUBARAK HAD REFUSED AN ISRAELI OFFER TO CONSIDER THE HOTEL IN TABA A JOINT PROPERTY WITH 49 PER CENT FOR THE ISRAELI SIDE AND 51 PER CENT FOR THE EGYPTIAN SIDE. MUBARAK INFORMED THE ISRAELIS THAT THEY DID NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO BUILD A HOTEL ON A LAND THAT WAS NOT THEIRS. AHRAM SEPTEMBER 25 REPORTS THAT AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE AWARD, EGYPT WILL PUBLISH A WHITE BOOK ON TABA INCLUDING ALL DOCUMENTS, MAPS, AND PROCEEDINGS.

4. ON THE ISRAELI SATELLITE, AHRAM SEPTEMBER 23 REPORTS

THE USSR ANNOUNCED THAT THE ISRAELI SATELLITE OFEK I COULD LEAD TO A NEW ESCALATION IN THE ARMS RACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY SAID THAT MOSCOW UNDERSTANDS ARAB FEARS ABOUT THE LAUNCHING OF THIS ISRAELI SATELLITE FOR ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES, ESPECIALLY SINCE ISRAEL INSISTS ON PROCEEDING WITH ITS MILITARY PROJECTS WHILE NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE PEACE PROCESS.

AKHBAR'S DAILY COLUMNIST ABDEL MONEIM MURAD SEPTEMBER 23 COMMENTS ON THIS EVENT AND ACCUSES THE ARABS OF BEING LAZY AND BACKWARD BECAUSE THEY ONLY THINK ABOUT FOOD AND SEX, WHILE ISRAEL - A SMALL COUNTRY THAT IS NOT WEALTHY - HAS UNCLASSIFIED

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MANAGED THROUGH HARD WORK TO ACHIEVE A TECHNOLOGICAL LEAP AND SURPASS ALL THE ARABS. THE COLUMNIST FURTHER CRITICIZES THE "STUPID" ARAB COUNTRIES WHICH THINK THAT THE US AND ISRAEL AIM AT INTRODUCING FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMS TO REDUCE THEIR POPULATION SO THAT THEY MAY NOT POSE A DANGER TO THEM.

GUMHOURIYYA'S COLUMNIST AWATEF ABDEL GALIL SEPTEMBER 24 WRITES THAT THE MAIN PURPOSE OF THE SATELLITE IS NOT ESPIONAGE, BECAUSE ISRAEL HAS ALWAYS OBTAINED THE INFORMATION IT WANTS THROUGH US SATELLITES. NOTING THAT ISRAEL CAN NOW HIT ANY SPOT IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD WITH A NUCLEAR MISSILE, THE COLUMNIST CONCLUDES THAT THE MAIN PURPOSE OF LAUNCHING THE SATELLITE IS TO SERVE ISRAEL'S EXPANSIONIST AIMS IN THE ARAB WORLD.

5. INTERVIEW WITH PERES. FOR THE THIRD WEEK IN A ROW, AHRAM RUNS AN INTERVIEW WITH AN ISRAELI OFFICIAL. THIS TIME AHRAM INTERVIEWS PERES, WHO SAID THAT HIS MEETING WITH ABDEL MEGUID, PRESIDENT REAGAN, AND SHULTZ IS AIMED AT GIVING MOMENTUM TO THE PEACE PROCESS. HOWEVER, PERES NOTED, THE MEETING WOULD HAVE LITTLE POSITIVE EFFECT BECAUSE THE PALESTINIANS STILL DO NOT RECOGNIZE ISRAEL OR RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. PERES EXPRESSED RESPECT FOR MUBARAK'S CONTINUOUS EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH PEACE.

ON THE SAME PAGE, AHRAM COMMENTS ON THE LAUNCHING OF THE ISRAELI SATELLITE AND WRITES THAT IT IS AIMED MAINLY AT OBLITERATING THE POSSIBILITY OF BEING TAKEN BY SURPRISE AS OCCURRED IN THE OCTOBER WAR.

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INFO USDOC WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA

AMEMBASSY BAGHDAD

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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- 6. EGYPT/US. ALL PAPERS SEPTEMBER 24 REPORT EGYPT AND THE US CONCLUDED A DEAL, WHEREBY THE FORMER WILL GET PILOTLESS BEACH CRAFT PLANES TO MONITOR EGYPTIAN SHORES AND DETECT ANY ATTEMPT BY FOREIGN SHIPS TO GET RID OF WASTE NEAR EGYPTIAN TERRITORIAL WATERS. AHRAM SEPTEMBER 22 REPORTS THAT USAID DECIDED TO DOUBLE ITS FINANCING TO THE COMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITY FROM DOLLARS 20 MILLION TO DOLLARS 40 MILLION.
- 7. EGYPTIAN-ARAB RELATIONS. AHRAM SEPTEMBER 23 REPORTS EGYPT OBTAINED ITS FIRST LOAN FROM THE ARAB MONETARY FUND SINCE APRIL, WHEN THE FREEZE OF ITS MEMBERSHIP WAS TERMINATED. THE LOAN AMOUNTS TO DOLLARS 18.3 MILLION WITH AN ANNUAL INTEREST RATE RANGING BETWEEN 3.75 AND 4.75 PER CENT TO BE REPAID OVER FOUR INSTALLMENTS EVERY SIX MONTHS, THE FIRST OF WHICH IS TO TAKE PLACE AFTER A GRACE PERIOD OF 18 MONTHS. SEPÄRATELY, AHRAM REPORTS THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ARAB LABOR ORGANIZATION WILL DISCUSS A MEMORANDUM IN ITS MEETING SEPTEMBER 25 ON EGYPT'S RETURN TO THE ORGANIZATION.
- 8. EGYPT/KUWAIT. AKHBAR EL-YOM SEPTEMBER 24 REPORTS AN EGYPTIAN DELEGATION FROM THE ARAB ORGANIZATION FOR INDUSTRIALIZATION LEFT FOR KUWAIT TO DISCUSS CONCLUDING A DEAL, WHEREBY EGYPT WILL PROVIDE KUWAIT WITH MODERN EGYPTIAN-MADE JEEPS.
- 9. EGYPT/UAE. ALL PAPERS SEPTEMBER 23 REPORT THAT TWO AGREEMENTS WERE SIGNED WITH UAE AT THE END OF THE TALKS CURRENTLY HELD IN CAIRO. THE FIRST AGREEMENT IS FOR CULTURAL COOPERATION, AND THE SECOND IS FOR ACTIVATION OF TOURISM THROUGH ESTABLISHING A TOURIST COMPANY WITH UNCLASSIFIED

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CAPITAL OF LE 100 MILLION. AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON ESTABLISHING A JOINT COMMITTEE TO BOOST AND FOLLOW UP COOPERATION IN VARIOUS FIELDS.

- 10. EGYPT/IMF/IBRD. AHRAM SEPTEMBER 23 REPORTS THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATION NOW IN WEST BERLIN WILL HOLD TALKS WITH THE IMF AND THE WORLD BANK ON IMPLEMENTATION OF A NEW ECONOMIC REFORM COURSE IN ORDER TO OBTAIN FURTHER FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT. AHRAM SEPTEMBER 24 REPORTS THE IMF HAILED THE SOUNDNESS OF THE EGYPTIAN ECONOMIC REFORM COURSE WHICH RESULTED IN INCREASING THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT BY 4 PER CENT.
- 11. EGYPTIAN PROPOSAL APPROVED. AHRAM REPORTS THE INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE IN SOFIA CONDEMNED ISRAELI ACTS OF REPRESSION AGAINST UNARMED PALESTINIANS AND CALLED FOR PUTTING AN END TO THESE INHUMAN PRACTICES. THE CONFERENCE AGREED TO A PROPOSAL BY THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATION REGARDING THE DISPATCHING OF A FACT-FINDING COMMISSION TO THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES. SEPARATELY, AHRAM REPORTS PERES ANNOUNCED AFTER MEETING WITH MITTERRAND THAT HE IS READY TO GIVE UP GAZA AND PARTS OF THE WEST BANK THAT CONTAIN A CLEAR ARAB MAJORITY.
- 12. EGYPT/CHINA. AHRAM SEPTEMBER 26 REPOTS EGYPT AND CHINA SIGNED AN AGREEMENT FOR EXCHNGING PROFESSORS, SENDING EGYPTIAN DELEGATES TO STUDY ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY IN CHINA, AND RECEIVING CHINESE STUDENTS TO STUDY ARABIC IN EGYPT.

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AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA

AMEMBASSY BAGHDAD

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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USDOC FOR 4520/IEP/ANESA/ONE/JOHNSON USCINCCENT FOR POLAD ROME PASS MFO LONDON FOR MILLIKEN

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PINS, ECON, EG, IS, US

SUBJECT: WEEKEND CAIRO PRESS REVIEW, SEPTEMBER 23-25, 1988

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DOMESTIC NEWS

13. STRIKE IN MAHALLA. WEEKEND PAPERS REPORT THAT 45 WORKERS FROM MISR SPINNING AND WEAVING COMPANY, LOCATED IN THE INDUSTRIAL CITY OF AL-MAHALLA AL-KUBRA NEAR

ALEXANDRIA, HAVE BEEN JAILED ON CHARGES OF RIOTING, RESISTING AUTHORITIES, AND IMPEDING PRODUCTION. THE WORKERS HAD SHOUTED ANTI-GOVERNMENT SLOGANS, ANNOUNCED A SIT-IN STRIKE, AND CALLED FOR CASHING THE ANNUAL SCHOOL BONUS, WHICH WAS NOT PAID TO WORKERS BY THE GOVERNMENT THIS YEAR.

- 14. LOCAL ADMINISTRATION REGULATION. AKHBAR SEPTEMBER 23 REPORTS ON NEW AMENDMENTS IN THE EXECUTIVE REGULATION OF THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION LAW. THE AMENDMENTS INCLUDE PERMITTING THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC TO EXTEND THE TERM OF OFFICE OF THE LOCAL COUNCILS TO FIVE YEARS INSTEAD OF FOUR
- 15. MEAT BOYCOTT. AKHBAR SEPTEMBER 25 REPORTS HOUSEWIVES IN ALEXANDRIA ADDRESSED A WARNING TO BUTCHERS AND FISH AND POULTRY MERCHANTS TO REDUCE THEIR PRICES WITHIN A WEEK OTHERWISE A BOYCOTT WILL BE ANNOUNCED. THIS DECISION BY THE HOUSEWIVES WAS MADE AFTER STUDYING THE PROFIT MARGIN IN ALL SUPPLY COMMODITIES.
- 16. ARMS PRODUCTION. AHRAM REPORTS STATE MINISTER FOR MILITARY PRODUCTION GAMAL AL-SAYYID AFFIRMED THAT THE LOCAL ARMS INDUSTRY SAVED 40 PER CENT OF ITS IMPORT COSTS. HE ADDED THAT EGYPT'S PROGRAM TO MANUFACTURE THE MIAI TANK WAS PROCEEDING ACCORDING TO PLAN, NOTING THAT EGYPT WILL MANUFACTURE 90 PER CENT OF THE TANK IN A FEW UNCLASSIFIED

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YEARS.

17. AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY. AHRAM SEPTEMBER 22 REPORTS THE PRICES OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY INCREASED BY 100 PER CENT DURING THE PAST YEAR. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AGRICULTURAL BANK SAID THAT THE BANK ALLOCATED LE 284 MILLION LAST YEAR TO FINANCE AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY, BUT ONLY 45 PER CENT OF THIS AMOUNT WAS USED.

18. TV NEWS SEPTEMBER 24: MUBARAK ARRIVED IN LONDON FOR A THREE-DAY VISIT AFTER WINDING UP HIS VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA; THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER OF UAE LEAVES CAIRO; THE SITUATION IN LEBANON; ISRAELI RAID ON TWO PALESTINIAN SITES IN SIDON RESULTING IN THE KILLING OF 33 PALESTINIANS; CLASHES BETWEEN ISRAELI FORCES AND PALESTINIANS IN THE WEST BANK RESULTING IN THE DEATH OF A PALESTINIAN CHILD; US-SOVIET UNDERSTANDING ABOUT

MONITORING THE IRAQI-IRANIAN BORDERS BY SATELLITES; THE MINISTER OF AWQAF RECEIVES HIS JORDANIAN AND IRAQI COUNTERPARTS; SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES WITHDRAW FROM ANGOLA; THE HEAD OF THE EGYPTIAN RADIO AND TV FEDERATION RECEIVES THE VISITING AFRICAN MINISTERS OF INFORMATION.

19. DOLLAR EXCHANGE RATE FOR SEPTEMBER 22: USD 1 EQUALS PT 231.0 (BUYING) AND PT 231.6 (SELLING).

OPPOSITION NEWS

20. EGYPT/ISRAEL. AL-WAFD SEPTEMBER 23 REPORTS STATE

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AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
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MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS BOUTROS GHALI STRONGLY DENOUNCED A REPORT BY AN ISRAELI PAPER THAT MUBARAK INFORMED THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR IN CAIRO THAT IRAQI PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN WAS WILLING TO CONCLUDE A RECONCILIATION AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL. GHALI DESCRIBED THIS AS A GROUNDLESS LIE AND EXPRESSIVE OF "CHEAP" METHODS INTENDED TO DRIVE A WEDGE AMONG THE ARABS. AL-WAFD SEPTEMBER 24 REPORTS ISRAEL INFORMED EGYPT OF ITS PROTEST AGAINST THE INCREASED COOPERATION AND COORDINATION WITH THE PLO AND THE RECENT MUBARAK-ARAFAT MEETING. THE ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE ISSUED A STATEMENT CLAIMING THAT ARAFAT'S VISIT TO CAIRO WAS A VIOLATION OF THE PEACE TREATY AND THAT EGYPTIAN-PALESTINIAN CONTACTS WOULD IMPEDE PEACE EFFORTS IN THE REGION.

AL-WAFD SEPTEMBER 24 DEVOTES A WHOLE PAGE TO ISRAELI FOREIGN RELATIONS. HALF OF THE PAGE IS A REPORT ON THE LAUNCHING OF THE OFEK-I SATELLITE, IN WHICH AL-WAFD EXPRESSES THE BELIEF THAT TEL AVIV IS GETTING READY TO DEAL A QUICK PRE-EMPTIVE BLOW INSTEAD OF ENGAGING IN A WAR AGAINST THE ARABS.

ON THE OTHER HALF OF THE PAGE UNDER THE TITLE "THE

GENERALS OF WAR CALL FOR PEACE", AL-WAFD RUNS AN INTERVIEW WITH RETIRED ISRAELI GENERAL HARKABI AND FORMER DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE YARIV, WHO SAID THAT ESTABLISHING A PALESTINIAN STATE WAS A NECESSITY TO GUARANTEE ISRAELI SECURITY. HARKABI NOTED THAT OTHER RETIRED GENERALS AND US JEWS SUPPORT THIS IDEA TOO BUT THEY ARE AFRAID OF VOICING THEIR OPINION FOR FEAR OF TERRORISM OF JEWISH EXTREMISTS. HARKABI POINTED OUT THAT ISRAELI POLICY TOWARD THE PLO SHOULD BE CHANGED, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE UNCLASSIFIED

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RECENT CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE IN THE POLICY OF THE PLO. (NOTE. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME WE ARE AWARE OF AN OPPOSITION PAPER PUBLISHING INTERVIEWS WITH ISRAELIS.)

- 21. DEMONSTRATIONS. AL-WAFD SEPTEMBER 24 REPORTS THAT DEMONSTRATIONS BY THE ISLAMIC GAM'AAT AND INHABITANTS BROKE OUT IN AL-MINYA IN PROTEST AGAINST THE PRICE INCREASES AND THE SIEGE LAID TO AL-RAHMAN MOSQUE, THE STRONGHOLD OF THE ISLAMIC GAM'AAT. LEAFLETS WERE DISTRIBUTED DENOUNCING THE GOVERNMENT FOR "ROBBING AND STARVING THE PEOPLE." AL-WAFD SEPTEMBER 25 ADDS THAT DEMONSTRATIONS BROKE OUT IN SEVERAL OTHER GOVERNORATES IN UPPER EGYPT IN PROTEST AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO PAY THE ANNUAL SCHOOL BONUS TO GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC SECTOR WORKERS.
- 22. ANOTHER TOUR BY MUBARAK. AL-WAFD SEPTEMBER 25 CLAIMS THAT MUBARAK WILL MAKE A TOUR OF EASTERN BLOC COUNTRIES IN JANUARY TO CONSOLIDATE EGYPT'S RELATIONS WITH THESE COUNTRIES.
- 23. ITALIAN PROPOSAL. AL-WAFD SEPTEMBER 25 REPORTS THAT ITALY HAS EXPRESSED READINESS TO HOST EGYPTIAN-IRANIAN TALKS IN ORDER TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF RELEASING THE EGYPTIAN PRISONERS IN IRAN.
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TAGS= KPAL, PINR, PNAT, PTER, IS, JO, EG, PLO



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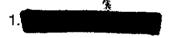
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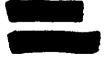
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REFS: A) STATE 303639, B) JERUSALEM 3004



INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

2. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM IS POSING AN INCREASING CHALLENGE TO SECULAR NATIONALIST PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATIONS ON THE WEST BANK. RECENT WEEKS HAVE SEEN DIRECT CHALLENGES BY THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD-CREATED GROUP "HAMAS" TO THE PLO/UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING (UNLU) WHICH CURRENTLY LEADS THE UPRISING. THIS



CHALLENGE, WHICH HAS MET WITH MIXED SUCCESS, HAS TAKEN THE FORM OF LEAFLETS CRITICAL OF UNLU AND THE PLO, ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE ALTERNATIVE STRIKE DAYS, AND EVEN CLASHES IN CERTAIN LOCALITIES. THUS FAR, HAMAS HAS DEMONSTRATED STRENGTH IN

THOSE AREAS WHERE EXISTING ISLAMIC INSTITUTIONS HAVE WIDESPREAD POPULAR SUPPORT: NABLUS AND THE NORTHERN WEST BANK, WHERE IT SEEMS TO BE BEST ORGANIZED; THE RAMALLAH-EL BIREH AREA; AND HEBRON. ITS ATTEMPTS TO MAKE INROADS INTO THE CHRISTIAN ENCLAVE OF BETHLEHEM-BEIT JALA-BEIT SAHOUR HAVE BEEN RESISTED BY LOCAL RESIDENTS. HAMAS REMAINS WEAK IN COSMOPOLITAN EAST JERUSALEM. WHATEVER THE CURRENT ACTUAL STRENGTH OF HAMAS--AND ESTIMATES VARY WIDELY--IT HAS SUCCEEDED IN BECOMING A FACTOR TO BE RECKONED WITH IN CONSIDERING THE FUTURE OF THE INTIFADA ON THE WEST BANK.

- 3. HAMAS IS NOT THE ONLY MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALIST GROUP FUNCTIONING ON THE WEST BANK. THE FATAHAFFILIATED "ISLAMIC JIHAD"--NOT TO BE CONFUSED WITH THE SHIITE GROUP OF THE SAME NAME FOUND IN LEBANON AND ELSEWHERE--WAS CRIPPLED BY THE KILLING OF THREE SENIOR LEADERS IN CYPRUS. IT HAS NOT RECOVERED TO ESTABLISH ITSELF AS AN INDEPENDENT PLAYER IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF WEST BANK PALESTINIANS. OTHER SMALL, SHADOWY GROUPS ALSO RISE AND FALL, CREATING LITTLE MORE THAN A RIPPLE.
- 4. THIS REPORT IS ONLY A PRELIMINARY ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY QUESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY. ISLAMIC



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FUNDAMENTALIST GROUPS ARE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO PENETRATE; UNDERSTANDING THEIR INTERNAL STRUCTURES AND EXTERNAL GOALS WILL TAKE MUCH TIME AND PATIENCE. THIS IS A FIRST PASS AT THE SUBJECT ON THE WEST BANK, BASED TO A LARGE EXTENT ON CONTACTS FROM JERUSALEM AND THE NORTHERN WEST BANK CITY OF NABLUS. WE HAVE LESS COMPLETE INFORMATION ON THE SITUATION IN THE SOUTHERN WEST BANK. GAZA HAS ITS OWN PATTERN OF ISLAMIC POLITICS. WE WOULD WELCOME INFORMATION FROM CAIRO AND AMMAN ON EGYPTIAN AND JORDANIAN ISLAMIC POLITICAL TIES WITH THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. END SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION.

HAMAS-BACKGROUND AND HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

5. HAMAS IS A CREATION OF THE MUSLIM

BROTHERHOOD (MB), WITH TIES TO THE MB THROUGHOUT THE ISLAMIC WORLD. THE NAME "HAMAS" WAS APPARENTLY CHOSEN IN FEBRUARY 1988, BUT NOT USED EXTENSIVELY UNTIL MAY. AN ACRONYM FOR "ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT," THE WORD ITSELF IS ARABIC FOR "ZEALOTS."

6. ALTHOUGH PALESTINIANS IN CERTAIN PARTS OF THE WEST BANK HAVE STRONG ISLAMIC CONVICTIONS, THEY TEND TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES POLITICALLY IN SECULAR TERMS. ISLAM HAS, HOWEVER, PLAYED A ROLE IN WEST BANK POLITICS SINCE THE LATE 1940S, WHEN THE MB FIRST CAME TO THE WEST BANK. THE MB WAS SHORTLY AFTER DISCREDITED IN THE EYES OF

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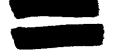
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TAGS: PINR, PNAT, PTER, KPAL, IS, JO, EG

SUBJECT: FUNDAMENTALISM AND THE INTIFADA:

PALESTINIANS BY ITS SUPPORT FOR KING HUSSEIN IN HIS POWER STRUGGLE AGAINST PM NABULS! IN THE MID-50S. DURING JORDANIAN RULE, IT WAS TIGHTLY MONITORED BY JORDANIAN INTELLIGENCE AND DID NOT GAIN SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE UNTIL THE MID-TO LATE-70S, PARTICULARLY IN THE NORTHERN WEST BANK.

7. IN 1976, MO SUPPORTERS ATTACKED AND BURNED A NABLUS THEATER SHOWING AN "IMMODEST" PLAY. THIS IS OFTEN CONSIDERED THE BEGINNING OF THE MB'S EMERGENCE AS A VIABLE POLITICAL FORCE IN THE NORTHERN WEST BANK. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISTS BUILT A POWER BASE IN AN-NAJAH UNIVERSITY, WHERE THEY GAINED CONTROL OF THE STUDENT COUNCIL IN 1978. THIS SURGE IN POPULARITY WAS PROBABLY DUE



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TO A NUMBER OF FACTORS: 1) THE RISE OF KHOMEINISM IN IRAN, WHICH GAVE FUNDAMENTALISM A BOOST THROUGHOUT THE MUSLIM WORLD; 2) THE DISCREDITING OF TRADITIONAL ARAB LEADERS IN THE WAKE OF SADAT'S TRIP TO JERUSALEM; 3) A LARGE INFLOW OF MONEY FROM THE MB IN JORDAN AND EGYPT; AND 4) THE DENIAL BY FUNDAMENTALISTS THAT THEY BELONGED TO THE FORMERLY DISCREDITED MB--INSTEAD, THEY CALLED THEMSELVES THE "INDEPENDENT ISLAMIC BLOC."

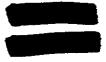
8. SUPPORT FOR THE FUNDAMENTALISTS AT AN-NAJAH, AS ELSEWHERE IN THE WEST BANK, HAS EBBED AND FLOWED ACCORDING TO THE PLO'S FORTUNES AND THE STATUS OF FUNDAMENTALISM IN THE MUSLIM WORLD. SECULAR LEADERS.IN THE NORTHERN WEST BANK, AIDED BY PLO MONEY, WORKED TO CONTAIN THE FUNDAMENTALISTS AND REDUCE THEIR INFLUENCE IN AN-NAJAH UNIVERSITY. THE FUNDAMENTALISTS LOST CREDIBILITY, FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN THE PLO BORE THE BRUNT OF THE FIGHTING DUSING THE 1982 INVASION OF LEBANON AND DURING THE PERIOD OF ARAFATHUSSEIN RECONCILIATION. THEY HAVE GAINED STRENGTH WHEN THE PLO APPEARED WEAK AND DIVIDED.

9. BY THE END OF 1987, FUNDAMENTALISTS AND NATIONALISTS IN THE NORTHERN WEST BANKHAD



ACHIEVED AN UNEASY STATUS QUO MARKED BY OCCASIONAL VIOLENT CLASHES. IN NABLUS THE FUNDAMENTALISTS TENDED TO BE RESENTED BY THE SECULAR COMMUNITY, BUT ALSOFEARED.

10. WHEN THE INTIFADA BEGAN, THE MB ACTED DECISIVELY TO SEIZE A ROLE. SEVERAL FACTORS



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CONTRIBUTED TO THE MB DECISION TO INVOLVE ITSELF FOR SEVERAL REASONS. ISLAMIC JIHAD HAD WON CONSIDERABLE PRESTIGE FOR ITS ROLE IN GAZA, AND THE MB FEARED LOSING SUPPORT AND CREDIBILITY IN THE FUNDAMENTALIST COMMUNITY. INDIVIDUAL MB MEMBERS WANTED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INTIFADA; THE MB LEADERSHIP FEARED THAT IF MEMBERS COULD NOT USE THE MB AS A VEHICLE FOR PARTICIPATION, THEY WOULD TURN TO OTHER FUNDAMENTALIST OR NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS. MB LEADERS BELIEVED. THEN AS NOW, THAT THE INTIFADA WILL BE CARRIED TO A CONCLUSION. THEY WANTED A SAY IN THAT FINAL SETTLEMENT. FINALLY, THE MB HAD A READY-MADE ORGANIZATION PRESENT IN THE WEST BANK. ACCORDINGLY, THE MB CREATED HAMAS IN FEBRUARY 1988 AND BEGAN ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE UPRISING.

HAMAS--STRUCTURE

- 11. THE MB HAS ITS HEADQUARTERS IN CAIRO, WITH A BRANCH IN AMMAN. SUB-BRANCHES ARE PRESENT IN THE WEST BANK (NABLUS) AND GAZA. THE HEAD OF THE MB IN THE WEST BANK REPORTEDLY IS NABIL BUSHTAWI, OF NABLUS. OTHER KEY WEST-BANK FIGURES FROM NABLUS ARE SHEIKH SAID BILAL AND HAMID BITAWI.
- 12. THE RELATION BETWEEN CAIRO, AMMAN, THE WEST BANK, AND GAZA REMAINS UNCLEAR, AS IS THE RELATION BETWEEN THE NABLUS LEADERSHIP AND OTHER



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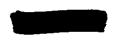
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TAGS: PINR, PNAT, PTER, KPAL, IS, JO, EG

SUBJECT: FUNDAMENTALISM AND THE INTIFADA:

AREAS OF THE WEST BANK. THERE ARE STRONG LINKS WITH CAIRO AND AMMAN, AND SOME MB LEADERS MAY HOLD POSITIONS IN JORDANIAN INTELLIGENCE. APPARENTLY, KY DECISIONS ARE MADE IN CAIRO AND AMMAN, BUT LOCAL UNITS RETAIN CONSIDERABLE INDEPENDENCE OF ACTION. MONEY FLOWS IN FROM CAIRO AND AMMAN, AS WELL AS BEING RAISED LOCALLY THROUGH THE MOSQUES.

13. THE MB IN NABLUS REPORTEDLY CONSISTS OF APPROXIMATELY 150 MEMBERS HEADED BY A 4 OR 5 MAN COMMITTEE. THE LEADERSHIP CONSISTS OF MUSLIM SHEIKHS, UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS AT AN-NAJAH AND BIR ZEIT UNIVERSITIES, INSTRUCTORS AT THE KULLIYET AL-DAWA (AN ISLAMIC COLLEGE AFFILIATED



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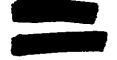
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WITH JERUSALEM UNIVERSITY, LOCATED IN BEIT HANINA, NORTH JERUSALEM), EMPLOYEES OF THE ISLAMIC WAQF, A SHARIA JUDGE, AND VARIOUS MERCHANTS. THE "FOOT SOLDIERS" OF HAMAS/MB IN NABLUS CONSIST OF DISADVANTAGED YOUTHS FROM THE POORER SECTIONS OF THE OLD TOWN (CASBAH). THIS NETWORK SEEMS TO BE STABLE--FEW ARRESTS, FEW DEFECTIONS, FEW NEW CONVERTS.

14. THE LEADERSHIP MAKES USE OF THE MOSQUES TO PLAN, PROSELYTIZE, INSTRUCT, AND RAISE MONEY. THIS IS A MAJOR ADVANTAGE HAMAS POSSESSES OVER THE UNLU, SINCE MANY ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS UNIVERSITIES, CHARITIES, AND PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES THROUGH WHICH THE UNLU COULD OPERATE HAVE BEEN CLOSED BY ISRAELI AUTHORITIES.

HAMAS--METHOD OF OPERATION

15. ACTIVITIES ARE CARRIED OUT BY TIGHTLY KNIT CELLS OF AS FEW AS FIVE MEMBERS. OUTSIDERS RARELY PARTICIPATE IN HAMAS ACTIONS, A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE FROM INTIFADA ACTIVITIES IN GENERAL, WHICH DERIVE CONSIDERABLE STRENGTH FROM THE SPONTANEOUS PARTICIPATION OF LARGE NUMBERS OF PALESTINIANS. HAMAS ALSO SEEKS MAXIMUM PUBLICITY FOR ITS ACTS. BEFORE A STRIKE, FOR EXAMPLE, RED SPRAY-PAINTED INSTRUCTIONS--BOLDLY SIGNED "HAMAS"--ARE IN EVIDENCE THROUGHOUT AREAS OF HAMAS INFLUENCE. AS A RESULT OF ITS PENCHANT FOR TIGHT CONTROL AND PUBLICITY, HAMAS TENDS NOT TO COOPERATE IN



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UNLU-ORGANIZED ACTIONS. IN NABLUS, FOR EXAMPLE, HAMAS HAS REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE IN IMPROMPTU BLOOD DRIVES ORGANIZED ON SHORT NOTICE BY POPULAR COMMITTEES TO TREAT WOUNDED PALESTINIANS.

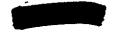
16. HAMAS USES DIFFERENT METHODS TO ENFORCE ITS STRIKE CALLS, DEPENDING ON ITS STRENGTH IN THE TOWN INVOLVED. IN RAMALLAH AND THE BEIT HANINA

NEIGHBORHOOD OF NORTH JERUSALEM, FOR EXAMPLE. HAMAS FOLLOWERS REPORTEDLY WERE ON THE SCENE TO ENFORCE THE SEPTEMBER 9 STRIKE. ALTHOUGH NO CLASHES WERE REPORTED IN THESE AREAS, THERE HAVE BEEN CONFRONTATIONS WITH UNLU SUPPORTERS ON PRIOR OCCASIONS. NO CLASHES WERE REPORTED IN NABLUS, APPARENTLY BECAUSE THE UNLU CHOSE NOT TO TEST HAMAS' STRENGTH. IN THE PAST, HOWEVER, HAMAS HAS FIREBOMBED CHRISTIAN SHOPS THAT SOLD LIQUOR OR OTHERWISE DEFIED ITS ORDERS. IN BETHLEHEM, TIRES WERE BURNED AND THERE WERE CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN HAMAS AND UNLU SUPPORTERS ON THE OCCASION OF THE SEPTEMBER 9 STRIKE. SOME SHOPS WERE INTIMIDATED INTO CLOSING EARLY. HOWEVER, MOST STAYED OPEN. IN JERUSALEM, HAMAS WAS NOT IN EVIDENCE, AND THE STIKE CALL WAS LARGELY IGNORED.

HAMAS--RELATIVE REGIONAL STRENGTH

17. HAMAS APPEARS TO BE STRONGEST IN GAZA. IN THE WEST BANK, IT SEEMS TO BE BASED IN THE TOWNS, PARTICULARLY THOSE WHERE THE INHABITANTS ARE RELATIVELY HOMOGENEOUS AND HAVE A RELIGIOUS





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SECTION 04 OF 07 JERUSALEM 03168

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PINR, PNAT, PTER, KPAL, IS, JO, EG

SUBJECT: FUNDAMENTALISM AND THE INTIFADA:

BENT. ITS PRIMARY WEST BANK STRONGHOLDS, IN DESCENDING ORDER OF INFLUENCE, APPEAR TO BE NABLUS, RAMALLAH, AND HEBRON. HAMAS IS PRESENT IN JERUSALEM, PARTICULARLY THE BEIT HANINA NEIGHBORHOOD IN NORTH JERUSALEM NEAR RAMALLAH. IN DOWNTOWN EAST JERUSALEM AND THE OLD CITY, HAMAS IS PRESENT BUT WEAK, PROBABLY BECAUSE OF THE COSMOPOLITAN CHARACTER OF THESE AREAS. HAMAS IS TRYING TO INCREASE ITS FOOTHOLD IN THE CHRISTIAN AREA OF BETHLEHEM-BEIT JALA-BEIT SAHOUR, THOUGH THUS FAR ITS INTIMIDATION TACTICS HAVE NOT PROVED SUCCESSFUL. (IN FACT, HAMAS ACTIONS IN THESE CHRISTIAN AREAS HAVE LED TO THE REAPPEARANCE OF HAMAM, THE "CHRISTIAN" RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, WHOSE ACRONYM FORMS THE



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ARABIC WORD FOR "DOVE.") WE DO NOT YET HAVE A GOOD FEEL FOR HAMAS IN HEBRON, THOUGH WE KNOW IT HAS BEEN ACTIVE. THE AUGUST 21 AND SEPTEMBER 9 STRIKE CALLS WERE OBSERVED THERE. IN ADDITION, ITS INHABITANTS ARE KNOWN TO HAVE STRONG RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT HERE AS ELSEWHERE MUCH OF HAMAS' STRENGTH DERIVES FROM THE POPULATION'S TRADITIONAL SUPPORT FOR ISLAMIC INSTITUTIONS, RATHER THAN FROM A CONSCIOUS DECISION TO CHOOSE BETWEEN HAMAS AND THE PLO.

18. HAMAS IS THOUGHT TO BE WEAK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, WHERE THE MB HAS TRADITIONALLY LACKED INFLUENCE AND ORGANIZATION, AND IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS, WHERE SECULAR NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS (FATAH, PFLP, COMMUNISTS, ETC.) REMAIN

FIRMLY ENTRENCHED. AN INTERESTING EXCEPTION IS NEW ASKAR CAMP WHERE, BECAUSE OF THE ARREST OF ALMOST THE ENTIRE FATAH LEADERSHIP, HAMAS HAS BEEN ABLE TO MOVE IN AND ORGANIZE.

19. IT IS DIFFICULT ACCURATELY TO GAUGE HAMAS' STRENGTH FROM THE SUCCESS OF ITS STRIKE CALLS. HAMAS HAS CHOSEN ITS DAYS WISELY--AUGUST 21 WAS THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE ATTEMPT TO BURN THE AL-AQSA MOSQUE, A TRADITIONAL DAY OF PROTEST, AND SEPTEMBER 9 WAS BOTH A FRIDAY, WHEN MANY SHOPS ARE CLOSED ANYWAY, AND THE BEGINNING OF A NEW MONTH OF THE INTIFADA, AGAIN A TRADITIONAL DAY OF PROTEST. THUS, HAMAS WAS CALLING FOR STRIKES ON DAYS THAT PEOPLE CUSTOMARILY MARK WITH STRIKES AND PROTESTS AND DID NOT ACT AGAINST THE FLOW OF THE INTIFADA.



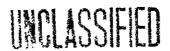
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HAMAS--RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL

20. MANY WEST BANKERS BELIEVE THAT ISRAEL ACTIVELY SUPPORTS HAMAS IN AN EFFORT TO DIVIDE PALESTINIANS AND WEAKEN THE INTIFADA. THEY POINT TO THE FACT THAT HAMAS OPERATIVES ACT BOLDLY IN DISTRIBUTING THEIR LEAFLETS. SHOPKEEPERS IN JERUSALEM AND NABLUS REPORT THAT, WHEREAS UNLU LEAFLETS ARE DISTRIBUTED SECRETLY FOR FEAR OF ISRAELI SECURITY FORCES, HAMAS OPERATIVES WALK INTO SHOPS AND PRESENT THEIR LEAFLETS DIRECTLY TO THE OWNERS. MAYOR FREIJ OF BETHLEHEM CLAIMS THAT MEMBERS OF SOME WELL KNOWN FAMILIES WHO COLLABORATE WITH ISRAELI OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN SEEN AMONG HAMAS STREET GANGS IN BETHLEHEM. FURTHERMORE, DESPITE MASSIVE ARRESTS--AND THE PUBLIC IDENTITY OF MANY MB LEADERS--RELATIVELY FEW HAMAS LEADERS HAVE BEEN DETAINED. IN RECENT WEEKS, FUNDAMENTALIST LEADERS HAVE GIVEN INTERVIEWS TO ISRAELI PUBLICATIONS THAT WOULD HAVE LANDED SECULARIST LEADERS IN DETENTION. WE BELIEVE THAT, WHILE ISRAELI FORCES MAY BE TURNING A BLIND EYE TO HAMAS ACTIVITIES, THERE IS INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE TO CONCLUDE THAT ISRAEL IS PROVIDING ACTIVE SUPPORT.

HAMAS--RELATIONSHIP WITH THE INTIFADA LEADERSHIP



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SECTION 05 OF 07 JERUSALEM 03168

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PINR, PNAT, PTER, KPAL, IS, JO, EG

SUBJECT: FUNDAMENTALISM AND THE INTIFADA:

21. HAMAS' FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES, AS SET OUT IN ITS AUGUST 18 CHARTER (REF B), PUT IT IN OPPOSITION TO THE SECULAR LEADERSHIP OF THE INTIFADA. ACCORDING TO THE CHARTER, HAMAS CONSIDERS ALL OF PALESTINE AN ISLAMIC "WAQF," OR TRUST FROM GOD. CEDING ANY PART OF IT TO A

JEWISH STATE WOULD VIOLATE THAT TRUST. HAMAS OPPOSES THE TWO-STATE SOLUTION TOWARD WHICH THE PLO SEEMS TO BE INCHING. IT OPPOSES THE CREATION OF A SECULAR STATE IN PALESTINE, AS CALLED FOR IN THE PLO COVENANT. INSTEAD, IT DEMANDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ISLAMIC STATE. IT ALSO OPPOSES CONVENING AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE. AS HAMAS LEAFLET NO. 28 SUCCINCTLY PHRASED IT, "NEGOTIATION WITH THE ENEMY IS



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RETREAT AND CAPITULATION." INSTEAD, HAMAS CALLS FOR LIBERATING ALL OF PALESTINE THROUGH JIHAD--BOTH ARMED STRUGGLE AND PROSELYTIZING.

24. THIS HAMAS/UNLU COMPETITION HAS LED TO A BATTLE OF LEAFLETS AND STRIKE CALLS. HAMAS LEAFLETS EXCORIATE THE PLO--PARTICULARLY FATAH--AND THE UNLU FOR CAPITULATING TO THE ZIONIST ENEMY. UNLU, IN RESPONSE, ACCUSES HAMAS OF SERVING ISRAEL BY DIVIDING THE UPRISING. AT THE SAME TIME, UNLU INVITES HAMAS TO JOIN THE INTIFADA LEADERSHIP.

25. HAMAS, TO DATE, HAS REJECTED ALL CALLS FOR UNITY WITH UNLU. ONE EXCUSE OFTEN HEARD IS THAT HAMAS WILL NOT SIT ON THE SAME COMMITTEE WITH THE COMMUNISTS. OTHERS SAY IT WILL NOT SIT WITH ANY LEFTIST GROUP, SUCH AS THE PFLP. OTHER SOURCES, INCLUDING SOME CLOSE TO THE HAMAS LEADERSHIP IN NABLUS, HAVE TOLD US HAMAS HAS AGREED IN PRIVATE TO A TWO-STATE SOLUTION AND WILL SOON JOIN NOT ONLY THE UNLU BUT THE PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AS WELL. ACCORDING TO THESE REPORTS, HAMAS IS MAINTAINING ITS PUBLIC STANCE IN OPPOSITION TO THE UNLU IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN ITS ORGANIZATION.

24. UNDOUBTEDLY, THERE ARE CONTACTS AND EVEN OCCASIONAL COORDINATION BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS. HOWEVER, RECONCILIATION AND/OR UNITY BETWEEN THEM SEEMS UNLIKELY AT THIS TIME. HAMAS APPEARS GENUINELY COMMITTED TO THE GOAL OF CREATING AN



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ISLAMIC STATE IN ALL OF PALESTINE. THIS IS A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE WITH THE SECULAR NATIONALISTS THAT CANNOT BE PAPERED OVER. IT IS THEREFORE LIKELY THAT THE UNLU AND HAMAS WOULD FORGE A PERMANENT ALLIANCE.

25. MOST IMPORTANTLY, HAMAS RETAINS ITS FEAR OF BEING COOPTED INTO THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT AND BECOMING IRRELEVANT. THIS FEAR WAS ONE OF THE MAIN FACTORS SPURRING THE CREATION OF HAMAS. IT IS IMPROBABLE THAT THE MB WOULD SACRIFICE ITS CREATION NOW, JUST WHEN IT IS GAINING ACCEPTANCE AS A PLAYER. HOWEVER, SHOULD HAMAS FAIL TO MAINTAIN ITS FOOTHOLD AND BECOME THREATENED WITH EXTINCTION OR IRRELEVANCE, IT MIGHT AT THAT POINT CONSIDER COOPERATING WITH THE SECULARIST NATIONALIST LEADERSHIP OF THE UNLU FOR TACTICAL REASONS.

HAMAS--PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

26. GAUGING THE CURRENT STRENGTH OF HAMAS IS A RISKY ENDEAVOR. IN MANY REGIONS OF THE WEST BANK, ISLAMIC INSTITUTIONS ARE HELD IN HIGH REGARD, AND SUPPORT FOR HAMAS APPEARS TO DERIVE MUCH OF ITS STRENGTH FROM THAT TRADITIONAL RESPECT RATHER THAN FROM A CONSCIOUS CHOICE BETWEEN FUNDAMENTALIST AND SECULAR OPTIONS. NEVERTHELESS, HAMAS IS BEING TAKEN INCREASINGLY SERIOUSLY THROUGHOUT THE WEST BANK. WHETHER THAT IS BECAUSE OF ACTUAL STRENGTH AND





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SECTION 06 OF 07 JERUSALEM 03168

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PINR, PNAT, PTER, KPAL, IS, JO, EG

SUBJECT: FUNDAMENTALISM AND THE INTIFADA:

INFLUENCE, OR MERELY DUE TO INSPIRED SELF-PROMOTION, WE CANNOT SAY. IN ANY CASE, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE HAMAS PHENOMENON WILL BE A SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN FUTURE CALCULATIONS.

27. ALTHOUGH ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM WILL REMAIN A FEATURE OF THE WEST BANK LANDSCAPE, IMPORTANT FACTORS WORK AGAINST IT BECOMING A PERVASIVE INFLUENCE OR REPLACING THE SECULARIST STRAIN IN WEST BANK POLITICS. WEST BANKERS AS A WHOLE ARE WELL EDUCATED, MUCH TRAVELED, AND CAPITALISTIC IN ORIENTATION. THEY ARE UNLIKELY WILLINGLY TO TURN TO THE NARROW ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALIST WORLD VIEW, NO MATTER HOW DEEP THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT WITH THE PLO LEADERSHIP.



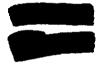
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28. AS NOTED ABOVE, THE MB HAS HAD ONLY A BRIEF AND UNDISTINGUISHED HISTORY IN THE WEST BANK. IN THE CURRENT ENVIRONMENT, THE INTIFADA ENJOYS VERY WIDESPREAD SUPPORT AMONG WEST BANKERS, WHO ARE GENERALLY OPPOSED TO ANY EFFORT TO DISRUPT THIS UNITY AND THREATEN THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF

THE UPRISING. THUS FAR, PEOPLE HAVE NOT BEEN FORCED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE UNLU AND HAMAS, AND SUPPORT FOR THE FUNDAMENTALISTS HAS BEEN RELATIVELY COST FREE. IN A SHOWDOWN BETWEEN THE UNLU AND HAMAS, MUCH OF THAT SUPPORT COULD MELT AWAY.

29. IN ADDITION THE WEST BANK, UNLIKE GAZA, CONTAINS AN IMPORTANT CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY. AS NOTED ABOVE, HAMAS IS MEETING RESISTANCE IN THE CHRISTIAN ENCLAVE OF BETHLEHEM-BEIT JALA-BEIT SAHOUR, EVEN TO THE POINT OF STIMULATING THE REACTIVATION OF A RIVAL CHRISTIAN GROUP. STILL, HAMAS HAS EXTENDED ITS INFLUENCE TO THE LARGELY CHRISTIAN RAMALLAH-EL BIREH AREA, PROVING THAT IT CAN SURVIVE IN A MIXED CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM ENVIRONMENT. THE CHRISTIAN CHARACTER OF THESE AREAS IS ALSO SLOWLY BEING DILUTED AS CHRISTIANS EMIGRATE TO FRIENDLIER CLIMES.

30. NONETHELESS, DESPITE THE FACTORS WORKING AGAINST THE SPREAD OF FUNDAMENTALIST INFLUENCE, THERE ARE SITUATIONS IN WHICH FUNDAMENTALIST STRENGTH COULD GROW TO THE POINT THAT HAMAS WOULD BECOME A SPOILER IN ATTEMPTS TO BRING PALESTINIANS AND ISRAELIS TOGETHER. ALTHOUGH WIDESPREAD DECAPITATION THROUGH ARREST OF THE UNLU LEADERSHIP IS NOT LIKELY, GIVEN ITS



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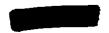
OVERWHELMING POPULAR SUPPORT, ISRAELI EFFORTS TO DO SO TEND TO PROMOTE HAMAS IN SPECIFIC AREAS, SUCH AS IN THE EXAMPLE OF THE NEW ASKAR CAMP GIVEN ABOVE.

31. WEST BANKERS ARE BOTH RELIGIOUS AND NATIONALISTIC. THUS FAR, THEIR POLITICS HAVE FOLLOWED THE NATIONALIST BENT OF THEIR CHARACTER AND CULTURE. THEY HAVE SUPPORTED THE PLO BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE THE PLO IS THE ONLY VIABLE INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED EXPRESSION OF PALESTINIAN NATIONALISM. THEY HAVE THEREFORE CONTINUED TO BACK THE PLO DESPITE MANY DISAPPOINTMENTS, AND THE MAJORITY ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO DO SO. HOWEVER, SHOULD THE PLO FAIL TO OVERCOME ITS IDEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS AND TAKE INITIATIVES THAT WILL LEAD TO A POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH ISRAEL, THE UNITY OF THE INTIFADA COULD BEGIN TO FRAY ONE CAN IMAGINE A SCENARIO



IN WHICH PFLP, DFLP, AND COMMUNIST ELEMENTS IN THE TERRITORIES, WHO ARE NOW WORKING WITH FATAH, COULD REVERT TO MORE EXTREME POSITIONS IN THE ABSENCE OF A POLITICAL BREAKTHROUGH. IN SUCH A SITUATION, THE SECULAR-NATIONALIST PRAGMATIC CONSENSUS THAT IS THE DOMINANT FEATURE OF THE INTIFADA COULD CRUMBLE, AND FUNDAMENTALISM COULD MAKE SIGNIFICANT NEW INROADS, ESPECIALLY AMONG DISPOSSESSED GROUPS. THUS, ALTHOUGH A MASS-BASED FUNDAMENTALIST MOVEMENT IS UNLIKELY TO EMERGE, THE FUNDAMENTALISTS COULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF GROWING DESPAIR AND SECULARNATIONALIST DISUNITY TO FURTHER ITS POLICIES OF





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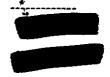
TAGS: PINR, PNAT, PTER, KPAL, IS, JO, EG

SUBJECT: FUNDAMENTALISM AND THE INTIFADA:

CONFRONTATION AND REJECTION.

32. DESPITE THE AVOWED ANTI-ISRAELI INTENTIONS OF HAMAS, IT IS LIKELY THAT THE MAIN CONTEST WILL, FOR THE TIME BEING, BE BETWEEN HAMAS AND THE UNLU. THE MB HAS TRADITIONALLY FOCUSED ON ONE MAINSTREAM OPPONENT AT A TIME--THE WAFD IN EGYPT, THE BAATH IN SYRIA. ITS CURRENT OPPONENT IN ITS STRUGGLE FOR THE SOULS OF PALESTINIANS IS THE MAJOR COMPONENT OF THE UNLU, FATAH. UNTIL THIS STRUGGLE IS DECIDED, HAMAS IS UNLIKELY TO DIRECT ITS EFFORTS PRIMARILY AGAINST ISRAEL.

ISLAMIC JIHAD



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33. THIS REPORT HAS FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON HAMAS/MB BOTH BECAUSE HAMAS IS THE MAIN FUNDAMENTALIST GROUP ON THE WEST BANK, AND BECAUSE WE HAVE SO LITTLE INFORMATION ON THE OTHER ISLAMIC PARTIES. ISLAMIC JIHAD, THE ONLY OTHER SUCH GROUP WITH A SIGNIFICANT WEST-BANK FOLLOWING, WAS ESTABLISHED BY ABU JIHAD TO ENHANCE FATAH'S APPEAL WITH RELIGIOUS MUSLIMS. ALTHOUGH IT HAS IN THE PAST CLAIMED INDEPENDENT RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACTS SUCH AS THE OCTOBER 1986 ATTACK AT THE DUNG GATE, IT WAS DECAPITATED WHEN THREE SENIOR LEADERS WERE ASSASSINATED IN CYPRUS. OUR INFORMATION IS THAT ITS CURRENT INFLUENCE ON THE WEST BANK IS MINOR AND THAT IT IS INCAPABLE OF ACTING INDEPENDENTLY OF THE MAINSTREAM FATAH ORGANIZATION ON THE WEST BANK. IT SEEMS TO BE DOING MOST OF ITS ORGANIZING IN WEST BANK PRISONS, WHERE A STRICT QUOTA SYSTEM AMONG GROUPS IS ENFORCED BY THE PRISONERS. WE HAVE NO FIRM INFORMATION ON LINKS BETWEEN ISLAMIC JIHAD ON THE WEST BANK AND IN GAZA, OR WHETHER THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS ARE IN FACT THE SAME.

QUESTIONS

34. THIS BRIEF OVERVIEW OF ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALIST ACTIVITY ON THE WEST BANK DOES NOT ADDRESS SEVERAL ISSUES OF CONTINUING IMPORTANCE, SUCH AS KEY FIGURES IN MB/HAMAS AND ISLAMIC JIHAD; COMMUNICATION BETWEEN HAMAS UNITS IN VARIOUS REGIONS OF THE WEST BANK, GAZA,

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CAIRO, AND AMMAN; THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISLAMIC JIHAD AND HAMAS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA; AND FATAH-HAMAS RELATIONS. WE WILL BE EXPLORING THESE ISSUES IN FUTURE REPORTING. WILCOX



*** Current Classification ***

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

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SUBJECT= FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSION WITH TERRITORIES

REFERENCE= 88 TEL AVIV 15885

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CONCEPTS= DISCUSSION, PRESS COMMENTS, DEATH SQUAD

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E.O. 12356: OADR TAGS: PREL, IS, US

SUBJECT: FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSION WITH TERRITORIES

COORDINATOR ON PRESS REPORT OF DEATH SQUADS

REF: TEL AVIV 15885

1.

2. IN MEETING OCTOBER 27, DCM PURSUED WITH GOI COORDINATOR FOR THE TERRITORIES GOREN THE REUTER REPORT OF IDF DEATH SQUADS IN THE TERRITORIES AND GOREN'S COMMENTS IN THEIR CONVERSATION OF THE PREVIOUS DAY (SEE REFTEL). DCM SAID HE WANTED TO EXPAND ON HIS QUESTION OF THE PREVIOUS DAY AND HAVE GOREN'S REACTION. HE SAID THAT, AS GOREN AND OTHERS HAVE TOLD US, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE GOI HAS VARIOUS SPECIAL UNITS OPERATING IN THE TERRITORIES CARRYING OUT SPECIAL OPERATIONS INCLUDING SETTING UP AMBUSHES AIMED AT PALESTINIANS CARRYING OUT ACTIONS AGAINST THE OCCUPATION. DCM SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THESE ISRAELI UNITS, USING INFORMATION FROM INTELLIGENCE SOURCES, STAKE OUT ROUTES OF APPROACH AND ESCAPE IN ORDER TO APPREHEND PALESTINIAN ACTIVISTS. HE ASKED ABOUT THE

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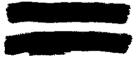
ROE IN SUCH CASES, AS WELL AS THE ROE FOR SPECIAL UNITS INVOLVED IN OTHER KINDS OF OPERATIONS.

3. GOREN SAID THAT ISRAEL HAD NO OBJECTIVE AND NO UNIT TO CARRY OUT THE KINDS OF THINGS ALLEGED IN THE PRESS. HE SAID THERE WAS NO IDF UNIT, NO POLICE UNIT

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OR NO UNIT OF THE SERVICES WHICH HAD ANY AUTHORIZATION TO OPERATE ON THE BASIS OF ROE OTHER THAN THOSE WE HAD BEEN INFORMED OF. DCM SAID THAT, NEVERTHELESS, THERE HAD BEEN HINTS IN THE ISRAELI PRESS AND THE WORD WAS CIRCULATING AROUND THAT THERE HAD BEEN DEATHS UNDER SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES. AND THERE WAS A PERCEPTION THAT SOME UNITS WERE OPERATING BEYOND THOSE ROE OR AT LEAST ON THE VERY MARGINS OF LEGALITY. GOREN REPEATED THAT THERE WERE NO ISRAELI UNITS WHICH WERE AUTHORIZED TO OPERATE BEYOND THE STANDARD ROE. DCM ASKED ABOUT THE KILLINGS IN YATTA. GOREN SAID THAT WAS A CASE OF A GROUP OF MASKED PALESTINIANS CARRYING OUT AN ACTION WHO WERE CONFRONTED BY REGULAR IDF SOLDIERS. THE SOLDIERS WERE IN DANGER AND HAD FIRED AT THOSE PALESTINIANS WHO SEEMED TO BE GIVING ORDERS. GOREN INDICATED THE IDF WAS SURPRISED AFTERWARD TO LEARN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DEAD PALESTINIANS AND REGRETTED THE FATALITIES NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE LOSS OF HUMAN LIFE. BUT ALSO BECAUSE THEY WOULD HAVE BEEN OF MORE VALUE TO THE IDF ALIVE.

4. DCM ALSO RAISED THE QUESTION OF PROVOCATIONS, NOTING THAT THE GIVATI BRIGADE IN PARTICULAR HAD A REPUTATION OF AGGRESSIVENESS AND PROVOCATION TO DRAW PALESTINIAN REPONSE. GOREN WENT INTO A LONG MONOLOGUE ABOUT THE HIGH QUALITY OF THE GIVATI BRIGADE (HIS OLD UNIT -- HE WAS S-2) AND THE DIFFICULTY OF SOLDIERS



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CARRYING OUT POLICE WORK BUT HE DID NOT WANT TO ENGAGE AT ALL IN THE QUESTION OF PROVOCATIVE BEHAVIOR.

5. COMMENT: AN INTERNATIONAL PRESS SOURCE HAS TOLD US THAT HE HAD BEEN WORKING ON A "DEATH SQUADS" STORY FOR MONTHS AND WAS CONVINCED THERE WAS SOMETHING TO IT. HE TOLD US HIS ORGANIZATION HAD BUILT UP A NUMBER OF INCIDENTS FROM BOTH PALESTINIAN AND ISRAELI SOURCES. IN OUR CONVERSATION WITH HIM, HE FOCUSED ON WHAT HE THOUGHT WERE THE VERY BROAD TERMS OF ISRAELI DENIALS AND SAID HE BELIEVED IT WAS TRUE THAT THERE WERE VERBAL ORDERS TO SHOOT THOSE WITH BLOOD ON THEIR HANDS. HE ASSERTED THAT THE IDF RULES WERE SUFFICIENTLY ELASTIC THAT IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY TO BREAK THE LAW IN ORDER TO SHOOT SOMEONE.

6. COMMENT CONTINUED: IF THERE WERE EXTRA-LEGAL OPERATIONS ON DEATH SQUAD LINES BEING CARRIED OUT IN THE TERRITORIES, WE WOULD THINK THAT ALL OF THE

PUBLICITY OVER THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS WOULD BE CAUTIONARY. AS STATED REFTEL, WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE WHICH WOULD SUPPORT THE ALLEGATION OF DEATH SQUADS IN THE REUTER REPORT, EXCEPT OCCASIONAL CLAIMS BY PALESTINIANS TO CONGEN JERUSALEM OFFICERS, WHICH WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO SUBSTANTIATE, OF PALESTINIANS BEING KILLED IN COLD BLOOD. REGARDING ISRAELI SECURITY PRACTICES, ESPECIALLY IN THIS PERIOD BEFORE THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS (NOVEMBER 1) AND LEADING UP TO A POSSIBLE PNC ONE CAN BE SURE THAT THE ESRAELIS ARE

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 /000 W ------177354 291200Z /38

O 291357Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1753 INFO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

SECTION 02 OF 02 TEL AVIV 15542

E.O. 12356: OADR

TAGS: PREL, IS, US SUBJECT: FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSION WITH TERRITORIES

GOING TO BE VERY ACTIVE AND EVEN AGGRESSIVE IN THEIR

SECURTIY OPERATIONS. END COMMENT. PICKERING

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SUBJECT= GAZA WRAP-UP; OCT 20-26, 1988

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= CASUALTY, VIOLENCE, HUMAN RIGHTS, DEATH SQUAD, ALLEGATION, DENIA TAGS= KPAL, PHUM, PINS, IS, GZ, (RABIN, YITZHAK)

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /069 W

-132524 281711Z/40

O 281835Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1733 INFO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

SECTION 01 OF 03 TEL AVIV 15532

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PHUM, KPAL, PINS, IS

SUBJECT: GAZA WRAP-UP; OCT 20-26, 1988

1. (U) SUMMARY: APPROXIMATELY 40 WERE WOUNDED IN INTIFADA VIOLENCE IN THE PERIOD, AND ONE WAS KILLED. TWO ISRAELI VEHICLES WERE STONED. AN OCT 26 GENERAL STRIKE GOT SOLID ADHERENCE, DESPITE CONFUSION OVER THE PROPER DATE. THE IDF DEMOLISHED ONE HOUSE AND SEALED FOUR OTHERS. DEFENSE MINISTER RABIN DENIED A REUTERS STORY THAT THE IDF HAD SET UP TWO "DEATH SQUADS," AND. RESPONDING TO THE DEATH OF A GAZA GIRL AND THE WOUNDING OF A NUMBER OF GIRLS AND SMALL CHILDREN IN GAZA, SAID IDF RULES OF ENGAGEMENT HAD NOT CHANGED. RABIN AND CHIEF OF STAFF SHOMRON ANTICIPATED INCREASED VIOLENCE AT THE TIME OF ISRAELI ELECTIONS (NOV 1), BALFOUR DAY (NOV 2), AND THE PNC MEETINGS. ABOUT 50 GAZANS WERE RELEASED FROM ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION. END

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SUMMARY

- 2. (U) APPROXIMATELY 40 WOUNDED:
- -- ON OCT 21/22, APPROXIMATELY 20 GAZANS WERE

REPORTED WOUNDED IN VARIOUS CLASHES IN RAFAH, KHAN YUNIS, SHATI REFUGEE CAMP, AND DAYR AL-BALAH CAMP (PRESS REPORTS DID NOT GIVE BREAKDOWN OF NUMBERS BY LOCATION). ONE OF THE WOUNDED WAS A 13 YEAR OLD GIRL.

- -- ON OCT 23, TWO GAZANS WERE WOUNDED IN DISTURBANCES IN SHATI CAMP. IN RAFAH, ONE YOUTH WAS SLIGHTLY WOUNDED, AND, IN JABALYA CAMP, A RESIDENT WAS WOUNDED, APPARENTLY BY ANOTHER RESIDENT.
- -- ON OCT 24, A SEVEN YEAR OLD RAFAH BOY WAS SERIOUSLY WOUNDED IN THE CHEST BY A PLASTIC BULLET. ON THE FOLLOWING DAY, THE PRESS INITIALLY REPORTED THAT THE BOY HAD DIED OF HIS INJURIES, BUT LATER RETRACTED THE STORY, BASED APPARENTLY ON MISLEADING INFORMATION FROM TEL HASHOMER HOSPITAL WHERE HE WAS IN INTENSIVE CARE.
- -- ALSO ON OCT 24, IN THE SAME DEMONSTRATION WHICH BROUGHT ABOUT INJURY OF THE SEVEN YEAR OLD BOY, A 16 YEAR OLD WAS WOUNDED WITH A PLASTIC BULLET. THREE YOUTHS IN NUSAIRAT CAMP, INCLUDING ONE GIRL, WERE ALSO WOUNDED.
- -- ON OCT 25, THREE WERE WOUNDED IN GAZA CITY WHEN TROOPS OPENED FIRE AFTER AN IDF TANKER TRUCK CAME

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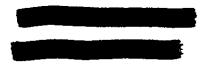
UNDER FIREBOMB ATTACK. THREE WERE WOUNDED IN NUSAIRAT CAMP, AND THREE OTHERS ELSEWHERE IN GAZA. A 23 YEAR OLD WAS WOUNDED IN SHATI CAMP.

- -- ON OCT 26, FOUR WERE WOUNDED, INCLUDING A FIVE YEAR OLD BOY, IN VARIOUS CLASHES IN MAGHAZI AND JABALYA CAMPS, AND RAFAH TOWN.
- 3. (U) ONE KILLED; A SECOND DIES IN QUESTIONABLE CIRCUMSTANCES:
- -- ON OCT 25, A 14 YEAR OLD GIRL WAS KILLED BY A PLASTIC BULLET IN SHATI CAMP WHEN IDF TROOPS, ATTACKED BY ROCKS AND FIREBOMBS, OPENED FIRE. THE IDF SAYS THAT ATTEMPTS TO DISPERSE THE DEMONSTRATORS FAILED, THE UNIT WAS IN DANGER, AND SOLDIERS FIRST FIRED INTO THE AIR AND THEN AT THE LEGS OF THE DEMONSTRATORS.

-- ON OCT 26, A THREE YEAR OLD DIED IN KHAN YUNIS. HER FAMILY CLAIMED THE CAUSE WAS TEAR GAS INHALATION. HOWEVER, THE IDF ANNOUNCED OCT 27 THAT POST MORTEM REVEALED THE GIRL HAD DIED OF PNEUMONIA (PERHAPS COMPLICATED BY DOWNS SYNDROME AND A CONGENITAL HEART DEFECT). IDF SPOKESMAN COULD NOT SAY WHETHER THE GIRL HAD BEEN EXPOSED TO TEAR GAS. HOWEVER, JERUSALEM POST OF OCT 28. REPORTS AN EYEWITNESS CLAIM THAT TROOPS HAD THROWN A TEAR GAS GRENADE INTO THE GIRL'S HOUSE WHILE BREAKING UP A DEMONSTRATION.

4. (U) OTHER VIOLENCE:

-- ON OCT 26, TWO ISRAELI VEHICLES WERE STONED IN THE SOUTHERN GAZA STRIP.



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /069 W

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O 281835Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1734 INFO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

SECTION 02 OF 03 TEL AVIV 15532

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PHUM, KPAL, PINS, IS

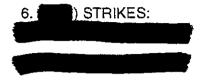
SUBJECT: GAZA WRAP-UP; OCT 20-26, 1988

5. (U) CURFEWS:

- -- ON OCT 21/22, IDF PLACED CURFEWS ON NUSAIRAT AND JABALYA CAMPS, AND ON SHABURA NEIGHBORHOOD OF RAFAH.
- -- ON OCT 25, IDF PLACED A CURFEW ON SHATI CAMP AFTER DISTURBANCES IN WHICH THE 14 YEAR OLD GIRL

WAS KILLED, AND ON KHAN YUNIS CAMP. CURFEW REMAINED IN EFFECT ON NUSAIRAT CAMP.

-- ON OCT 26, SEVEN OF EIGHT REFUGEE CAMPS IN GAZA WERE REPORTED UNDER CURFEW.



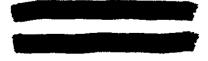
PAGE 02 TEL AV 15532 02 OF 03 281707Z

-- A STRIKE CALLED FOR OCT 26 GOT NEARLY FULL PARTICIPATION IN GAZA, DESPITE APPARENT CONFUSION OVER THE ACTUAL STRIKE DATE. STRIKE PARTICIPATION WAS REPORTED MORE SPORADIC IN THE WEST BANK THAN IN GAZA. A UNIFIED LEADERSHIP PAMPHLET CALLED FOR A STRIKE OCT 26 TO COMMEMORATE A LATE-1950'S MASSACRE AT KFAR QASSIM, WHILE A HAMAS PAMPHLET CALLED OCT 29 THE PROPER COMMEMORATION DAY. THE PRESS REPORTED THAT THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP. IN AN UNPRECEDENTED ACT OF COOPERATION WITH HAMAS. WITHDREW ITS STRIKE ORDER. RON KRUMER. TERRITORIES' COORDINATOR'S OFFICE DIRECTOR, GAVE US A DIFFERENT INTERPRETATION, CALLING THE LIMITED ADHERENCE IN THE WEST BANK THE RESULT OF CONFUSION OVER THE CORRECT DATE AND CONTRADICTORY. LAST-MINUTE, WORD-OF-MOUTH INSTRUCTIONS THAT ONLY CONFUSED PEOPLE FURTHER.

-- COMMENT: THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GAZA AND WEST BANK ADHERENCE TO THE OCT 26 STRIKE MAY BE AN EXAMPLE OF REPORTED TIGHT INTIFADA DISCIPLINE IN GAZA. WE HAVE HEARD THIS PHENOMENON ATTRIBUTED TO GAZA'S MORE COMPACT, URBAN NATURE, AND TO THE PROMINENT ROLE OF GAZA'S ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP, WITH ITS REPUTATION FOR TIGHTER DISCIPLINE THAN THE MORE DOMINANT SECULAR LEADERSHIP OF THE WEST BANK. END COMMENT.

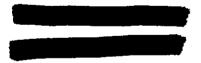
-- IN LIGHT OF THE ABOVE, OCT 29 HAS TO BE CONSIDERED A PROBABLE STRIKE DAY.

7. (U) DEMOLITIONS AND SEALINGS:



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- -- ON OCT 25, IDF FORCES DEMOLISHED THE RAFAH HOME OF A SUSPECTED ISLAMIC JIHAD MEMBER WHO IS ACCUSED OF STABBING FOUR WARDENS WHILE VISITING HIS BROTHER IN GAZA JAIL IN JULY. THE IDF ALSO SEALED FOUR HOMES IN KHAN YUNIS BELONGING TO FAMILIES OF PERSONS SUSPECTED OF THREATENING AND ATTACKING LOCAL EMPLOYEES OF THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION.
- 8. (U) OFFICIAL, PUBLIC DENIAL OF IDF "DEATH SQUADS":
- -- DEFENSE MINISTER RABIN DENIED THE TRUTH OF AN OCT 23 REUTERS STORY THAT SAID THE IDF HAD SET UP TWO UNDERCOVER UNITS AS "DEATH SQUADS." RABIN SAID IDF UNITS OPERATE WITHIN THE LAW.
- 9. (U) RABIN REAFFIRMS RULES OF ENGAGEMENT:
- -- IN A TOUR OF GAZA, OCT 26, RABIN RESPONDED TO THE DEATH OF A GAZA GIRL AND THE WOUNDINGS OF GIRLS AND LITTLE CHILDREN, SAYING THERE WAS NO CHANGE IN THE IDF'S RULES OF ENGAGEMENT. HE SAID IT WAS ADVISABLE FOR LITTLE GIRLS NOT TO RUN AROUND WHEN VIOLENCE IS OCCURRING.
- 10. (U) RABIN AND SHOMRON ANTICIPATE INCREASED VIOLENCE:
- -- IN COMMENTS TO THE PRESS ON OCT 25, RABIN SAID HE EXPECTED DISTURBANCES WOULD GET WORSE ON ISRAEL'S ELECTION DAY (NOV 1), ON BALFOUR DAY (NOV 2), AND AT THE TIME OF THE ANTICIPATED NOVEMBER PNC MEETINGS. IDF CHIEF OF STAFF SHOMRON ECHOED THESE SENTIMENTS IN COMMENTS MADE THE FOLLOWING



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /069 W

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O 281835Z OCT 88
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1735
INFO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

SECTION 03 OF 03 TEL AVIV 15532

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PHUM, KPAL, PINS, IS

SUBJECT: GAZA WRAP-UP; OCT 20-26, 1988

DAY.

11. (U) GAZANS RELEASED FROM KETZIOT:

-- ON OCT 23, APPROXIMATELY 50 GAZANS WERE RELEASED FROM ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION IN KETZIOT, IN WHAT THE IDF CALLED A "HUMANE GESTURE." BEFORE THEIR RELEASE, AN IDF OFFICER WAS REPORTED TO HAVE EXPRESSED TO THEM THE HOPE THAT THEY WOULD NO LONGER PARTICIPATE IN SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES OR RIOTS.

12. REPORTED RAID ON ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY:

-- FBIS (TA 2310130188) REPORTED THAT SECURITY *FORCES HAD RAIDED GAZA'S ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY



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(PRECISE TIME NOT SPECIFIED) AND ARRESTED SUSPECTED ISLAMIC RESISTANCE LEADERS. RON KRUMER SAYS HE HAS NOT HEARD OF SUCH A RAID, AND DOUBTS ITS TRUTH SINCE THE UNIVERSITY REMAINS CLOSED, BUT WILL CHECK. PICKERING



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FILM= D880959-0542

DATE= 28 OCT 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= JERUSALEM

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE
ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

CHANNEL= n/a

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EO= OA

SUBJECT= INTIFADA LEADERSHIP'S APPEAL TO ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PEACE, SOVEREIGNTY, PALESTINIANS, TEXT

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, IS, PLO

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01 /088 W

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O 281549Z OCT 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3873
ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03581

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL PLO IS

SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEADERSHIP'S APPEAL TO

ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION

1.

2. ON OCTOBER 26 THE PLO/UNIFIED LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING, THE UNDERGROUND INTIFADA LEADERSHIP, ISSUED "A SPECIAL APPEAL TO THE ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION" CALLING FOR PEACE AND COEXISTENCE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND PALESTINIANS, BASED ON A TWO-STATE SOLUTION, SECURITY FOR PALESTINIANS AND ISRAEL, AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PLO. THE LEAFLET, ISSUED IN HEBREW AND ENGLISH, WAS CONCEIVED OF SEVERAL WEEKS AGO IN CONTACTS BETWEEN PRO-FATAH PALESTINIANS AND ISRAELI PEACE ACTIVISTS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE FATAH ELEMENT IN THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP TOOK THE LEAD ON THIS PROJECT. ALTHOUGH IT WAS ISSUED IN THE NAME OF THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP, WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT THE PFLP, DFLP AND COMMUNIST ELEMENTS

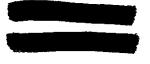
OF THE LEADERSHIP DID NOT SIGN OFF ON IT, BUT ACQUIESCED IN ITS ISSUANCE IN THE NAME OF THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP.

3. BEGIN TEXT: A SPECIAL APPEAL TO THE ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION

TO THE ISRAELI PUBLIC, TO THE LOVERS OF A JUST AND HONORABLE PEACE TO ALL THE PEOPLE IN THE AREA.

DURING THE PAST 21 YEARS, WHICH IS THE AGE OF THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, THE CASE OF THE OCCUPATION AND PEACE HAS NEVER LIKE NOW BEEN THE CENTER OF YOUR DAILY AND ELECTION CONCERNS. YOU WERE NEVER THIS CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT OUR PALESTINIAN PEOPLE WANT, AND WHAT OUR COMING EMERGENCY PNC SESSION -- THE SESSION OF THE POPULAR UPRISING -- WILL DECIDE. WE ARE NOW WITNESSING HISTORIC TIMES IN WHICH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS EXPERIENCING A PERIOD OF OPENNESS AND A DESIRE TO SOLVE REGIONAL CONFLICTS BY PEACEFUL MEANS. THIS IS A TIME IN WHICH OUR PEOPLE ARE MORE DETERMINED THAN EVER TO OBTAIN THEIR JUST AND LEGITIMATE RIGHTS AND ACCOMPLISH A COMPREHENSIVE AND LASTING PÉACE FOR ALL THE PEOPLES OF THIS AREA.

BUT INSTEAD OF YOUR LEADERS STATING THE CLEAR TRUTH, THEY INSTEAD TRY TO BLOCK EVERY INITIATIVE AIMED AT SOLVING OUR BLOODY CONFLICT IN AN HONORABLE AND JUST WAY. YOUR LEADERS

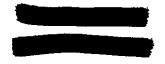


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CONSCIOUSLY DISTORT OUR BLESSED POPULAR UPRISING, ITS GOALS AND ITS DEMOCRATIC AND PEACEFUL MEANS BY INCREASING THEIR OPPRESSIVE MEASURES, VIOLATING THE MOST BASIC OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES WHICH ARE AIMED AT PROTECTING WOMEN, CHILDREN AND THE AGED. YOUR LEADERS ARE WORKING ON THE ILLUSION THAT THEY CAN DEMORALISE AND EXHAUST OUR PEOPLE AND THEREFORE CRUSH THE UPRISING: WE APPROACH YOU FROM A POSITION OF CONFIDENCE THAT THE WAY OF REPRESSION AND TERROR WHICH YOUR ARMY AND GOVERNMENT PRACTICE AGAINST OUR UNARMED PEOPLE IS PROVING EVERY DAY ITS FAILURE BECAUSE OUR PEOPLE'S UPRISING IS ACCELERATING. YOUR LEADERS' ACTION WILL NOT PRODUCE ANY SIGN OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE BETWEEN THE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES AND THE VICTIMS. THEREFORE, THE ONLY GUARANTEED WAY TO PEACE IS BY GRANTING THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE THEIR LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF

SELF DETERMINATION, THE RIGHT TO RETURN, AND TO ESTABLISH THE INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP, (PEACE WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED) BY GUARANTEES OF MUTUAL SECURITY FOR ALL THE PEOPLE IN THE AREA.

AND CONTRARY TO WHAT YOUR GOVERNMENT LEADERS ARE ACCUSING US OF, WE PRESENT TO YOU IN A CLEAR WAY AND IN THE NAME OF OUR PEOPLE, THAT THE BLESSED UPRISING CAME AS AN EXPRESSION OF OUR PEOPLE'S REFUSAL TO OCCUPATION AND INSISTENCE ON LIVING IN FREEDOM, LIBERTY AND HONOR JUST LIKE ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE FREE WORLD, WHO ARE ABLE TO EXERCISE SOVEREIGNTY. THIS HAS BEEN OUR CONTINUOUS SEARCH, FOR A JUST PEACE AND SECURITY FOR ALL. THE SLOGAN OF THE UPRISING HAS ALSO



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01 /088 W

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O 281549Z OCT 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3874
ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

SECTION 02 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03581

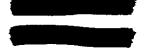
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL, PLO, IS

SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEADERSHIP'S APPEAL TO

BEEN CLEAR. THE NEED FOR ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW FROM THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967 SO THAT WE CAN CREATE OUR PALESTINIAN STATE ON IT. THUS WE WERE ABLE TO REMOVE EVERY JUSTIFICATION BY YOU FOR SUPPORTING THE REPRESSION AND TERROR PRACTICES BY YOUR ARMY IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. IT ALSO REMOVED ALL THE FAKE MASKS AND THE DISTORTED PICTURES WHICH YOUR LEADERS HAVE TRIED TO PAINT ABOUT OUR PEOPLE AND THEIR UPRISING. WE ARE ALSO CALLING EVERYONE WITH A LIVE CONSCIOUS TO MOBILISE IN DEFENCE OF HUMANITY IN THE FACE OF THE UGLY OCCUPATION. IT

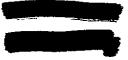
SHOULD NOT BE SAID BY ISRAELIS THAT WE DIDN'T KNOW. THE PICTURES OF THE REPRESSION AND THE TERROR ARE CLEAR IN FRONT OF THE EYES OF THE ENTIRE WORLD.

THE UPRISING HAS PROVED THE FAILURE OF THE



MILITARY EXPANSIONIST POLICIES AND THE THREATS WITH "TRANSFER" AND THE VARIOUS OPTIONS THAT ARE BEING ATTEMPTED TO BE IMPOSED ON OUR PEOPLE. OPTIONS LIKE AUTONOMY AND THE CONDOMINIUM PLAN AND OTHERS. WE HAVE SHOWN THAT NO OPTION EXISTS EXCEPT THE PALESTINIAN OPTION REPRESENTED BY THE PLO, OUR SOLE AND LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE. WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WITH AUTHORITY. IN THE SAME WAY THAT OUR PEOPLE DON'T IMPOSE THE PERSONALITY OR THE IDENTITY OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ISRAEL IN THIS CONFERENCE, WE INSIST ON OUR RIGHT TO CHOOSE BY OURSELVES WHO REPRESENTS US. AND IN THIS CONTEXT OUR CHOICE IS THE PLO AS THE SOLE AND LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL OUR PEOPLE INSIDE AND OUTSIDE. PEACE WILL NOT BE WITHOUT GIVING OUR PALESTINAN PEOPLE THEIR LEGITIMATE RIGHTS. THE SEARCH FOR ALTERNATIVES TO THE PLO WILL NOT PRODUCE RESULTS AND IS COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. ATTEMPTS TO SEPARATE OUR PEOPLE FROM THEIR BRETHREN OUTSIDE WILL ALSO FAIL.

THE PLO/UNIFIED LEADERSHIP FEELS THAT THE CLARITY OF THE UPRISING'S SLOGANS AND ITS PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC NATURE ARE A VIVID EXPRESSION OF THE PALESTINIANS' DESIRE FOR A JUST PEACE AND SECURITY. IT APPROACHES ISRAELIS IN ORDER TO CREATE THE KIND OF ATMOSPHERE NECESSARY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS JUST PEACE THAT WILL GIVE SECURITY TO ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE AREA INCLUDING THE STATES IN THE AREA. THIS INCLUDES THE PALESTINIAN STATE AND ISRAEL. FOR THIS IT CALLS ON THE ISRAELIS TO VOTE FOR PEACE, FOR



PAGE 03 JERUSA 03581 02 OF 03 281552Z

WITHDRAWAL AND AGAINST WAR AND OCCUPATION. FOR

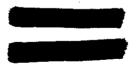


AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, FOR RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT OF PALESTINIANS TO SELF DETERMINATION, FOR THE RECOGNITION AND THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PLO.

THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP GREETS ALL THE ISRAELIS PROGRESSIVE AND PEACE FORCES FOR ITS COURAGE AND APPLAUDS ALL THE MOVEMENTS THAT DENOUNCE THE ISRAELI TERROR IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

THE PLO/UNIFIED LEADERSHIP AND IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UPRISING CALLS ON OUR ARAB BRETHREN INSIDE TO VOTE FOR THE LISTS THAT RAISE SLOGANS SUPPORTING THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF OUR PALESTINIAN PEOPLE LED BY THE PLO. AND THOSE LISTS THAT SUPPORT THE CONVENING OF AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PLO IN ORDER TO CREATE THE PALESTINIAN STATE UNDER ITS LEADERSHIP. THIS VOTE WILL INCREASE THE EFFECTIVENESS AND THE POWER OF OUR BROTHER THE ARAB CITIZENS.

THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING ADDRESSES THE MINDS AND LIVE CONSCIOUSNESS OF EVERY ISRAELI SO THAT THEY CAN GRAB THIS HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO REACH A JUST PEACE. THIS APPEAL IS MADE WITH THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP COGNIZANT OF ITS HISTORIC RESPONSIBILITY, AND AT THE SAME TIME ITS PERSISTENCE TO CONTINUE THE UPRISING UNTIL THE FULL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM JERUSALEM, THE WEST BANK AND GAZA IS ACCOMPLISHED AND THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE ARE ABLE TO ENJOY THEIR RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION, THE RIGHT TO RETURN AND TO ESTABLISH THE INDEPENDENT



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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03581 03 OF 03 281553Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01 /088 W

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O 281549Z OCT 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3875
ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03581

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL, PLO, IS

SUBJECT: INTIFADA LEADERSHIP'S APPEAL TO

PALESTINIAN STATE.

A THOUSAND YESES TO A JUST PEACE, FREEDOM AND LIBERTY AND A THOUSAND NOES TO OCCUPATION.

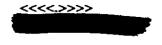
PLO/UNIFIED LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING 26/10/88 END TEXT.

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DOC_NBR= 88TELAV153	91	
FILM= D880952-0415		
DATE= 26 OCT 88		
TYPE= TE		
FROM= TEL AVIV		
DRAFTER= n/a		
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EO= OA		
SUBJECT= HISTADRUT'S	S KESSAR ON ELECTIONS, ECONOMY, ETC.	
REFERENCE= 88 TEL A	/IV 14992	
CONTROL_NBR= n/a		π.
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LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LI	NE, ON MICROFILM	



TAGS= ELAB, PGOV, IS, (KESSAR, ISRAEL)

ERRORS= N/A

*** Current Classification ***

UNCLASSIFIED

CONCEPTS= CAMPAIGN, ELECTION, ELECTION FORECAST, POLITICAL PARTY, PROGRAM

PAGE 01 TEL AV 15391 01 OF 02 261720Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 COME-00 HA-09 L-03 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 STR-17 SIL-01 INRE-00 OPM-01 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /077 W

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R 261714Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1690

BECTION 01 OF 02 TEL AVIV 15391

FOR S/IL, NEA/IAI AND NEA/RA PASS LABOR FOR ILAB-DAVEY PASS USTR

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: ELAB, PGOV, IS

SUBJECT: HISTADRUT'S, KESSAR ON ELECTIONS, ECONOMY, ETC.

REF: TEL AVIV 14992

2. SUMMARY

HISTADRUT SECRETARY GENERAL ISRAEL KESSAR BELIEVES THE HISTADRUT ISSUE WILL NOT HURT THE LABOR PARTY IN ISRAEL'S NOVEMBER 1 PARLIAMENTARY (KNESSET) ELECTIONS. SAID IN AN OCTOBER 24 CONVERSATION WITH THE EMBASSY LABOR ATTACHE, KESSAR PREDICTED A VIRTUAL TIE BETWEEN LABOR AND LIKUD, FOLLOWED BY COMPLEX NEGOTIATIONS FOR A NEW GOVERNMENT. HE HOPED FOR AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN BANKERS TRUST AND KOOR, AND WAS HAPPY AT KOOR'S PROGRESS IN RECENT MONTHS IN

PAGE 02 TEL AV 15391 01 OF 02 261720Z

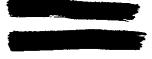
CARRYING OUT A RECOVERY PROGRAM. HE REITERATED THAT WEST BANK AND GAZA UNIONS ARE PLO FRONTS AND SAID HIS SUPPORT OF ENGINEER UNION DEPSECGEN COHEN-KAGAN TO BE ISRAEL'S NEW LABOR ATTACHE IN WASHINGTON WAS A CONCILIATORY GESTURE TO THE PROFESSIONAL UNIONS. END SUMMARY.

3. HE'S ACTIVE IN THE CAMPAIGN, IF NOT ON TV

KESSAR SAID HE HAS BEEN OUT CAMPAIGNING THROUGHOUT ISRAEL, EVEN IF HE HAS NOT APPEARED ON TV, AS HARDLY ANYONE BUT PERES AND RABIN HAS BEEN FEATURED IN LABOR'S ADVERTISEMENTS. THIS WAS THE STRATEGY OF LABOR'S CAMPAIGN CONSULTANTS. KESSAR WAS NOT SURE THIS WAS BEST, BUT SAID HE DID NOT MIND, AND WOULD APPEAR SOON IN LABOR'S TV ADS. HE NOTED THAT HE WAS NOT THE ONLY ONE KEPT IN THE BACKGROUND. KNESSET SPEAKER HILLEL WAS UPSET AT NOT BEING ALLOWED TO EXPLOIT HIS BOOK ABOUT HIS UNDERCOVER ACTIVITIES IN IRAQ, AND MINISTER SHAHAL COMPLAINED RECENTLY TO KESSAR ABOUT HIS EXCLUSION.

4. EVEN ELECTION, PROBLEMS AFTER

KESSAR SAID THERE WILL BE "NO KNOCKOUT, NO BIG CHANGE" FOR THE BIG PARTIES IN THE ELECTION RESULTS--A SEAT OR TWO EITHER WAY. THERE WILL BE CHANGES FOR SOME OF THE SMALL PARTIES, AND THE CITIZENS RIGHTS MOVEMENT WILL GAIN, BUT THIS WILL NOT HAVE MUCH EFFECT ON THE BALANCE BETWEEN THE BLOCS. HE WOULD NOT RULE OUT FORMATIOIN OF A NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT WITHOUT ROTATION AFTER THE ELECTIONS. HISTADRUT WILL BE ANXIOUS TO HAVE THE LABOR PARTY IN THE GOVERNMENT, IN VIEW OF THE PROBLEMS IN THE HISTADRUT SICK FUND (KUPAT HOLIM CLALIT) AND ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES (KOOR AND OTHER HEVRAT OVDIM FIRMS).



PAGE 03

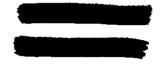
TEL AV 15391 01 OF 02 261720Z

5. HISTADRUT WILL NOT HURT LABOR IN THE ELECTIONS

KESSAR SAID HE DID NOT THINK THE HISTADRUT ISSUE WOULD HURT LABOR IN THE ELECTIONS. IN HIS FREQUENT CONTACT WITH THE PUBLIC, HE FOUND LITTLE CONCERN FOR THE PROBLEMS OF HISTADRUT'S ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES, EXCEPT AMONG THEIR EMPLOYEES, WHO WERE WORRIED ABOUT THEIR JOBS. KESSAR THOUGHT IT HARD TO TELL HOW THIS WOULD INFLUENCE THEIR VOTE: FOR LIKUD OUT OF ANGER, OR FOR LABOR TO PROTECT THE ENTERPRISES THAT EMPLOY THEM. THE ISSUE DIED DOWN AFTER THE INITIAL FUROR AROUSED WHEN KOOR ANNOUNCED A QUARTER BILLION DOLLAR LOSS LAST MAY, KESSAR ASSERTED, BECAUSE THE PUBLIC WAS REASSURED THAT KOOR'S NEW MANAGEMENT WAS DOING A GOOD JOB. IT REDUCED KOOR EXPENSES BY 100 MILLION DOLLARS IN 3-4 MONTHS, HE ADDED. ALTHOUGH BANKER'S TRUST RECENTLY REINTRODUCED THE KOOR ISSUE BY APPEALING TO THE COURTS TO DISSOLVE THE FIRM, KESSAR DID NOT THINK KOOR WOULD AFFECT THE ELECTION RESULTS.

6. KOOR

KESSAR FELT BANKERS' TRUST (BT) HAD BEEN SHORT-SIGHTED IN TRYING TO USE THE PRE-ELECTORAL PERIOD FOR LEVERAGE AGAINST KOOR. HE THOUGHT BT MIGHT HAVE BEEN ILL-ADVISED BY ITS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN ISRAEL FOR THE KOOR CASE (NOT TO BE CONFUSED WITH BT'S GENERAL REPRESENTATIVE HERE, KESSAR NOTED). KESSAR THOUGHT THIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, FORMER DIRECTOR GENERAL OF FINANCE UNDER LIKUD FINANCE MINISTER HURWITZ, MIGHT BE TRYING TO HELP LIKUD BY PERSUADING BT TO PROCEED IN THIS FASHION. KESSAR HAD ASKED BANKERS' TRUST TO GIVE HIM A FEW DAYS TO FIND A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO THEM, BUT BT INSISTED ON PRESSING AHEAD WITH THE CASE. KESSAR SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO CRITICIZE BANKERS' TRUST AND EXACERBATE THE



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 COME-00 HA-09 L-03 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 STR-17 SIL-01 INRE-00 OPM-01 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /077 W

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R 261714Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1691



SECTION 02 OF 02 TEL AVIV 15391

FOR S/IL, NEA/IAI AND NEA/RA PASS LABOR FOR ILAB-DAVEY PASS USTR

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: ELAB. PGOV. IS

SUBJECT: HISTADRUT'S KESSAR ON ELECTIONS, ECONOMY, ETC.

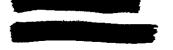
SITUATION. KESSAR THOUGHT THE FACT MANY KOOR WORKERS VOTE LIKUD HELPED INFLUENCE PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR, BUT THAT THE GOVERNMENT INTERVENED SO HELPFULLY BECAUSE IT AND THE BANK OF ISRAEL REALIZED THIS WAS A BIG PROBLEM FOR THE GOI AND THE ISRAELI BANKS, NOT JUST FOR KOOR. THE BIG QUESTION WOULD NOW BE IF THE GOI, AFTER THE ELECTION, WOULD ACTUALLY MAKE AVAILABLE 50 MILLION DOLLARS IN EXCHANGE FOR SHARES, AS ANNOUNCED. (COMMENT: FINANCE MINISTER NISSIM TOLD US THIS OFFER NO LONGER

STANDS.)

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7. PENSION FUNDS IN GOOD SHAPE NOW

KESSAR SAID THE HISTADRUT PENSION FUNDS ARE NOT A PROBLEM



PAGE 02

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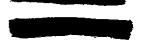
NEEDING THE PROTECTION OF A LABOR PARTY PRESENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT, AS ARE THE SICK FUND (KUPAT HOLIM) AND KOOR AND OTHER HISTADRUT (HEVRAT OVDIM) ENTERPRISES. THE FISCAL/ACTUARIAL SITUATION OF THE FUNDS HAD IMPROVED DRAMATICALLY SINCE THE CONTRIBUTION WAS RAISED BY ONE AND A HALF PERCENT OF SALARY (AN ADDITIONAL ONE PERCENT FROM EMPLOYERS, HALF PERCENT FROM EMPLOYEES). KESSAR ADDED THAT THIS SITUATION WAS SOLIDIFIED WHEN THE HISTADRUT SUCCEEDED IN PRESSING NISSIM NOT TO DECREASE THE INTEREST RATE PAID TO THE FUNDS ON GOVERNMENT BONDS BY ONE PERCENT, BUT TO LEAVE IT AT 6.3 PERCENT.

8. WB/G UNIONS ARE JUST PLO FRONTS, KESSAR REITERATES

SINCE KESSAR PROTESTED TO US ABOUT THE HEARINGS ON THE PALESTINIAN WORKER RIGHTS PETITION AGAINST ISRAEL, THERE HAVE BEEN NEWS REPORTS THAT THE DEPARTMENT HAS ASKED THE SPECIAL TRADE REPRESENTATIVE TO DROP THE PROCEEDINGS ON THE GROUNDS OF NON-RECOGNITION OF ISRAELI SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE TERRITORIES, THE LABOR ATTACHE NOTED. KESSAR COMMENTED THAT THE PLO NEEDS UNIONS IN THE TERRITORIES AS COVER FOR ITS ACTIVITIES. UNABLE TO PUT ANYONE OPENLY ON ITS PAYROLL AND OPEN OFFICES IN THE TERRITORIES AS IT DOES ABROAD, IT FINDS UNIONS THE MOST CONVENIENT SUBSTITUTE, KESSAR ALLEGED.

9. NEW WASHINGTON LABOR ATTACHE

KESSAR DENIED THAT ISRAEL'S NEW LABOR ATTACHE ABOUT TO LEAVE FOR ITS WASHINGTON EMBASSY, ELI COHEN-KAGAN, IS A LIBERAL. KESSAR SAID HE IS A LABOR PARTY PERSON. (COMMENT: MAYBE WASHINGTON IS WORTH NOT A MASS BUT A QUICK CONVERSION). KESSAR OBSERVED THAT MANY WANTED THE



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WASHINGTON JOB, THE MOST DESIRABLE FOREIGN ASSIGNMENT FOR ISRAELIS, AND CRITICIZED COHEN-KAGAN AS NON-LABOR OUT OF

JEALOUSY. KESSAR SAID HE RECOMMENDED COHEN-KAGAN FOR THE JOB TO ENCOURAGE THE PROFESSIONAL UNIONS. HE NOTED THAT THESE HARD ECONOMIC TIMES MADE IT HARD FOR THEM, AND OTHER UNIONS, TO GET MUCH IN CONCRETE TERMS, AND THAT THEY HAVE LONG BEEN DISSATISFIED WITHIN THE HISTADRUT BECAUSE OF ITS WAGE POLICY, SO HE WANTED TO GIVE THEM SOMETHING, IF ONLY A GESTURE LIKE THIS. PICKERING

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*** Current Classification ***

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DOC_NBR= 88TELAV15385

FILM= D880951-0845

DATE= 26 OCT 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= TEL AVIV

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION SS

TO= SECSTATE WASHDC JERUSALEM

CHANNEL= n/a

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EO= N/A

SUBJECT= QUERY TO GOI ON PRESS REPORT OF DEATH SQUADS

FOiA Exemptions

REFERENCE= 88 STATE 347937

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= DEATH, ALLEGATION, POLICE FORCE, MEETING

TAGS= PREL, IS, US

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PAGE 01 TEL AV 15385 261554Z ACTION SS-00

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O 261550Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1682 INFO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

TEL AVIV 15385

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E.O. 12356: OADR TAGS: PREL, IS, US

SUBJECT: QUERY TO GOI ON PRESS REPORT OF DEATH SQUADS

REF: STATE 347937

1.

2. DCM RAISED THE PRESS REPORT OF IDF DEATH SQUADS OPERATING IN THE TERRITORIES WITH GOREN ON 10/26. DCM SAID WE HAD SEEN THE REUTER REPORT OF OCTOBER 23 ALLEGING THE EXISTENCE OF IDF DEATH SQUADS IN THE TERRITORIES, THE IDF DENIAL STATEMENT OF 10/24 AND THE TEXT OF A RADIO INTERVIEW GIVEN BY RABIN 10/25 WITH VOICE OF ISRAEL ALSO DENYING THE REUTER REPORT. DCM SAID HE WANTED TO ASK GOREN, IN HIS CAPACITY AS GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL COORDINATOR FOR ACTIVITIES IN THE TERRITORIES, FOR HIS OFFICIAL REACTION TO THE REUTERS REPORT. GOREN SAID THERE WAS NO DOUBT THAT THERE WERE NO SUCH ACTIVITIES. NONE AT ALL. HE SAID THE GOI WAS USING SPECIAL UNITS IN THE TERRITORIES TO CARRY OUT SECURITY WORK BUT THAT NONE HAD ANY AUTHORITY TO OPEN FIRE BEYOND THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF WHICH THE U.S. HAD BEEN INFORMED.



PAGE 02 TEL AV 15385 261554Z

3. COMMENT: WE HAVE NO/NO INFORMATION WHICH WOULD SUPPORT THE ALLEGATION IN THE REUTER REPORT. IN OUR MANY CONVERSATIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, ISRAELI HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND PALESTINIANS, WE HAVE NEVER HEARD AN ALLEGATION OF DEATH SQUADS. TO BE

SURE, WE HAVE HEARD PLENTY ABOUT ABUSES LEADING TO SERIOUS INJURY AND DEATH (THREE CASES OF DEATH WHILE IN DETENTION ARE NOW UNDER ISRAELI INVESTIGATION). WE ALSO UNDERSTAND FROM INTERNATIONAL PRESS SOURCES THAT REUTER MAY HAVE RUN A STORY WITH INSUFFICIENT SUBSTANTIATION. HOWEVER, THERE IS A SMALL GRAY AREA OF GOI OPERATIONS WHICH MAY HAVE SPARKED THE REUTER PIECE. WE KNOW THAT THE IDF IS SETTING UP AMBUSHES AIMED, WE WERE TOLD, AT APPREHENDING PALESTINIANS CARRYING OUT ACTION AGAINST THE OCCUPATION. THE IDF APPARENTLY USES INTELLIGENCE DATA TO STAKE OUT TARGETED LOCATIONS OR ROUTES OF INGRESS/EGRESS. IT IS REASONABLE TO CONCLUDE THAT SOME OF THESE IDF OPERATIONS HAVE RESULTED IN THE USE OF LIVE FIRE AND PROBABLY PALESTINIAN CASUALTIES. WE WILL BE PURSUING THIS FURTHER. WE ALSO HAVE SEVERAL REPORTS. ESPECIALLY RE GAZA, OF IDF PROVOCATIONS LEADING TO PALESTINIAN REACTION AND A TOUGH IDF RESPONSE. THE .. GIVATI BRIGADE SEEMS PARTICULARALY TO BE INVOLVED IN THIS. END COMMENT, PICKERING

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SUBJECT= LIKUD CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR ARENS OPTIMISTIC - REGARDING NOV. 1 KNESS ELECTIONS

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

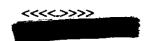
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ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= CAMPAIGN, COALITION GOVERNMENT, ELECTION FORECAST, POLITICAL PA

TAGS= KPAL, PGOV, IS, (ARENS, MISHA)



PAGE 01 TEL AV 15339 01 OF 02 261040Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /054 W

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O 261032Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1668 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

SECTION 01 OF 02 TEL AVIV 15339

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: LIKUD CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR ARENS OPTIMISTIC

REGARDING NOV. 1 KNESSET ELECTIONS



2. BEGIN SUMMARY: LIKUD CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR MISHA ARENS TOLD AMBASSADOR ON OCT. 25 HE BELIEVED LIKUD WOULD WIN "SIGNIFICANTLY" MORE SEATS THAN THE LABOR PARTY AND BE IN A POSITION TO FORM A NARROW GOVERNMENT WITHOUT LABOR AFTER THE ELECTIONS. HE ADDED THAT THIS NARROW COALITION OPTION WOULD GIVE LIKUD THE UPPER HAND IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH LABOR ON FORMATION OF ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

ARENS: LIKUD WILL TAKE ELECTION

3. AMBASSADOR MET WITH LIKUD CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR MISHA ARENS ON OCT. 25. ARENS BELIEVED LIKUD WOULD WIN "SIGNIFICANTLY" MORE SEATS THAN LABOR IN THE NOV. 1 ELECTION AND SAID THERE WOULD BE A MAJORITY FOR A

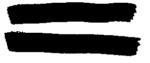


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NARROW LIKUD-LED RIGHT/RELIGIOUS GOVERNMENT. THIS WOULD ENABLE LIKUD TO NEGOTIATE FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH WITH LABOR ON THE FORMATION OF ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT, HE ADDED.

LIKUD CAMPAIGN GOING WELL

- 4. ARENS WAS SATISFIED WITH LIKUD'S CAMPAIGN AND PLEASED BY THE CROWDS ITS RALLIES HAD BEEN ATTRACTING. HE NOTED THAT SHARON WOULD BE APPEARING (FOR THE FIRST TIME) ON LIKUD'S TELEVISION ELECTION BROADCAST THIS EVENING. ARENS DID NOT EXPECT ANY SIGNIFICANT SURPRISES OVER THE NEXT WEEK. HE THOUGHT PERES HAD ALREADY PULLED ALL THE RABBITS HE HAD OUT OF HIS HAT. LIKUD, ARENS SAID, HAD FOCUSED ON FOREIGN POLICY, SECURITY AND ECONOMIC ISSUES IN THE CAMPAIGN, AND HAD SOUGHT TO TAG PERES WITH THE LABEL OF BEING UNTRUSTWORTHY AND A RISK-TAKER.
- 5. ARENS BELIEVED THE DISQUALIFICATION OF KACH WOULD WORK TO LIKUD'S ADVANTAGE. HE DID NOT SEE ANY LIKUD LOSS OF SUPPORT IN ITS CORE SEPHARDI CONSTITUENCY OR AMONG YOUNG VOTERS. HE ALSO ASSERTED LIKUD WOULD DOUBLE ITS NON-JEWISH VOTE AND GARNER THE EQUIVALENT OF A SEAT FROM THAT SECTOR. HE SPECULATED THAT THOSE LIKUD-INCLINED VOTERS WHO HAD EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE SMALL RIGHT PARTIES WOULD "COME HOME" TO LIKUD, BUT THIS WAS A GUT FEELING AND A HOPE MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE. ARENS NOTED THAT LABOR'S EZER WEIZMAN HAD MADE A MISTAKE BY PUBLICLY SAYING LABOR WOULD CONSIDER A MINORITY GOVERNMENT DEPENDENT ON THE NON-ZIONIST, PRIMARILY ARAB PARTIES. ARENS COMPLIMENTED LABOR'S TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN TO TARGET



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UNDECIDED VOTERS BUT DOUBTED LABOR HAD BEEN ABLE TO EFFECTIVELY FOLLOW-UP. LIKUD'S OWN EFFORTS HAD BEEN ON THE PRECINCT LEVEL RATHER THAN THE CENTRALLY-MOUNTED CAMPAIGN OF LABOR.

EVENTS OVER THE LAST WEEK

6. WE ASKED HOW EVENTS OVER THE LAST WEEK WOULD AFFECT THE CAMPAIGN. ARENS BELIEVED THAT TERRORISM AND INFILTRATIONS STRENGTHENED LIKUD AND REINFORCED THE FEELING THAT ISRAEL HAD TO BE STRONG AND NOT TAKE RISKS. HE THOUGHT THE HUSSEIN NIGHTLINE INTERVIEW COULD CUT BOTH WAYS. THE SHAMIR-PERES DEBATE HAD PROBABLY WORKED TO THE ADVANTAGE OF LIKUD, HE SAID, BECAUSE LABOR BUILT UP EXPECTATIONS OF A PERES "KNOCKOUT" OF SHAMIR. EVEN A SHAMIR-PERES DRAW WORKED TO LIKUD'S BENEFIT, IN HIS VIEW.



DOUBTS ISRAELI POLL RELIABILITY

7. ARENS DID NOT CONSIDER THE ISRAELI ELECTION SURVEYS DEPENDABLE AND HE DID NOT RELY ON THEM. HE POINTED TO THE DIFFICULT STATISTICAL PROBLEM CAUSED BY THE ABUNDANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES, THE LACK OF COVERAGE OF THE ARAB SECTOR AND EVEN PROBLEMS WITH GETTING AN ACCURATE JEWISH SAMPLE. ACCURACY BECAME EVEN MORE PROBLEMATIC BY THE DISTRIBUTION OF UNCERTAIN VOTERS (WHICH HE BELIEVED NUMBERED ABOUT 20 PERCENT AT THIS POINT), THE TENDENCY OF PART OF THE PUBLIC TO CONCEAL ITS PREFERENCES, AND THE QUESTIONABLE PRACTICE OF TRANSLATING RAW POLL DATA INTO KNESSET SEATS.

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PAGE 01 TEL AV 15339 02 OF 02 261040Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /054 W

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O 261032Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1669 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

SECTION 02 OF 02 TEL AVIV 15339

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, KPAL, IS

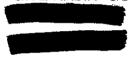
SUBJECT: LIKUD CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR ARENS OPTIMISTIC

THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES

8. ARENS WAS CONVINCED NONE OF THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES OTHER THAN MEMAD WERE CAPABLE OF ENTERING A LABOR-LED NARROW COALITION BECAUSE OF OPPOSITION FROM THEIR CONSTITUENCIES. HE THOUGHT THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY, AGUDAT ISRAEL AND SHAS WERE DEFINITELY ORIENTED TOWARD LIKUD. WE ASKED IF LIKUD HAD REACHED ANY PRE-ELECTION COALITION ARRANGEMENTS WITH ANY OF THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES. ARENS SUGGESTED THERE WERE SOME "IMPLICIT" UNDERSTANDINGS BUT DID NOT GO INTO DETAIL.

THE INTIFADA

9. LOOKING AHEAD, ARENS ASSERTED THAT THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT OF A LIKUD ELECTION VICTORY WOULD HAVE A CHILLING EFFECT ON THE UPRISING. HE DID NOT GIVE RABIN "GOOD MARKS" FOR HIS HANDLING OF THE



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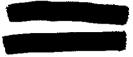
INTIFADA. RABIN HAD SAID THINGS THAT WERE UNNECESSARY AND HAD SET THE WRONG TONE. BY CONTRAST, ARENS SAID HE WOULD HAVE WORKED ON THE EXPECTATIONS OF PALESTINIANS, MAKING IT CLEAR THE UPRISING WOULD NOT SUCCEED IN PRESSURING ISRAEL. ARENS WOULD HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT ISRAEL WOULD NOT GIVE IN TO THE INTIFADA.

PEACE PROCESS

- 10. WE RAISED WITH ARENS LIKUD'S CAMPAIGN PEACE PROCESS PITCH. HE NOTED THE "SERIOUS PROBLEM" OF FINDING AN ARAB PARTNER. ARENS ARGUED THAT THE INTERIM ARRANGEMENT CONCEPT AS DETAILED IN THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS WAS AS APPLICABLE TODAY AS A DECADE AGO ("THERE IS NO OTHER WAY"). HE EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD OPPOSED THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS BECAUSE THEY REQUIRED THE "TRANSFER" OF ISRAELIS FROM THE SINAI. HE WAS JUST AS OPPOSED TO THE "TRANSFER" OF ARABS, NOTING HIS SATISFACTION THAT THE KACH PARTY OF KAHANE (WHO HE BELIEVED WAS CRAZY) HAD BEEN DISQUALIFIED FROM RUNNING IN THE ELECTION.
- 11. ARENS EXPRESSED STRONG SUPPORT FOR RENEWAL OF A VIBRANT PEACE PROCESS FOLLOWING THE ISRAELI AND U.S. ELECTIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, HE REITERATED OPPOSITION TO THE CONCEPT OF AN INTERNATIONAL



CONFERENCE IN FAMILIAR TERMS. HE ALSO EXPRESSED HIS VIEW THAT THE SECRETARY'S PROPOSAL TO ENGAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS ON AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT AND A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT ON AN INTERLOCKED BASIS WAS A MISTAKE WHICH CONFOUNDED THE PURPOSE OF AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT. IN ARENS' VIEW, AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT HAD BEEN SETTLED UPON AT CAMP DAVID BECAUSE OF THE



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INABILITY OF THE PARTIES TO AGREE IN DETAIL ABOUT FINAL STATUS QUESTIONS. THE CONCEPT WAS THAT A PERIOD OF YEARS WOULD BE NECESSARY TO PREPARE THE GROUNDWORK FOR PRODUCTIVE FINAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS. FOLLOWING THE INTIFADA, MORE -- NOT LESS -- TIME MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO FIND THE PROPER PATH.

12. THE AMBASSADOR EXPLAINED THAT SECRETARY SHULTZ'S SUGGESTION WAS DESIGNED TO PROVIDE ASSURANCE THAT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD PROCEED BEYOND THE INTERIM PHASE. THE AMBASSADOR EXPLAINED WHY LIKUD SUSPICION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE APPROACH TO DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WAS MISPLACED AND SUGGESTED THAT WE MIGHT WANT TO LOOK AT THIS ISSUE AGAIN IN THE FUTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF DISCUSSING OUR JOINT OBJECTIVES. ARENS AGREED THAT SUCH DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE USEFUL.

PICKERING



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SUBJECT= LABOR AND LIKUD PAR	RTIES' ECONOM	MIC PLATFORMS	-
REFERENCE= 88 TEL AVIV 10709			
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PAGE 01 TEL AV 15301 01 OF 03 260711Z ACTION NEA-11

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R 260701Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1661 INFO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

SECTION 01 OF 03 TEL AVIV 15301

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: ECON, ELAB, IS

SUBJECT: LABOR AND LIKUD PARTIES' ECONOMIC PLATFORMS

REF: TEL AVIV 10709

SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION

2. THE LABOR AND LIKUD ECONOMIC PLATFORMS ARE SIMILAR IN SUBSTANCE BUT DIFFER IN PERSPECTIVE AND APPROACH. LABOR IS ATTEMPTING TO DISTANCE ITSELF FROM ITS TRADITIONAL INTERVENTIONIST ORIENTATION AND TO ENCOURAGE GREATER OPERATION OF MARKET FORCES IN THE ECONOMY. THE LIKUD STRATEGY EMPHASIZES LABOR'S ECONOMIC FAILURES WHILE CHAMPIONING THE CAUSE OF THE FREE MARKET AND CLAIMING CREDIT FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT'S (NUG) STABILIZATION PROGRAM. PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR'S ECONOMIC ADVISER

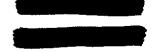
PAGE 02 TEL AV 15301 01 OF 03 260711Z

NOTES THAT, DESPITE THE CAMPAIGN RHETORIC, A BASIC CONSENSUS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES EXISTS BETWEEN THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES. OTHER ISRAELI ECONOMIC OBSERVERS, INCLUDING BANK OF ISRAEL GOVERNOR MICHAEL BRUNO, AGREE WITH THIS OBSERVATION. THUS THE POLICIES ADOPTED BY THE NEXT GOVERNMENT, WHETHER HEADED BY

LIKUD OR LABOR OR THE TWO TOGETHER IN ANOTHER NUG, WILL LIKELY NOT DIFFER SUBSTANTIALLY FROM CURRENT ECONOMIC POLICY.

THE LABOR PARTY PLATFORM

- 3. THE LABOR PARTY HAS ADOPTED THE STYLE OF A U.S. POLITICAL PARTY IN THAT IT RELIES ON CONSULTANTS, ACADEMICIANS, AND THINK TANKS FOR ECONOMIC IDEAS, PROPOSALS, AND POSITION PAPERS. THE POSITIONS PRESENTED HEREIN ARE PROVIDED BY THE SOCIAL ECONOMIC PLATFORM ADVISORS TO LABOR WHO ARE PARTICULARLY CLOSE TO SHIMON PERES.
- 4. THE CURRENT STABILIZATION PLAN RELIES ON FIXED NOMINAL EXCHANGE RATES AND RELATIVELY HIGH INTEREST RATES. THE LABOR PLAN CALLS FOR A SHIFT FROM THE SHORT TERM MEASURES OF THE STABILIZATION PROGRAM TO POLICIES THAT WOULD FOSTER FASTER EXPORT-LED GROWTH (5 PERCENT PER YEAR) AND REDUCE THE EXTERNAL DEBT COMPONENT OF THE CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT WHILE MAINTAINING PRICE STABILITY. THE MACROECONOMIC VIEW OF THE LABOR PLATFORM FEATURES:
- MAINTAINING FISCAL RESTRAINT, INCLUDING THE



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CURRENT LEVEL OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURE

- MAINTAINING THE PER CAPITA LEVEL OF TRANSFER PAYMENTS BY CONSTRAINING THEIR GROWTH RATE TO THAT OF THE POPULATION
- ADJUSTING THE EXCHANGE RATE TO ENCOURAGE EXPORTS AND DOMESTIC MANUFACTURING
- LOWERING THE LONG-TERM COST OF CAPITAL TO ENCOURAGE INVESTMENT IN INDUSTRY AND IN THE PRODUCTIVE SECTORS
- OPENING UP THE ECONOMY TO THE WORLD MARKET AND STRENGTHENING COMPETITION WITHIN THE ECONOMY
- GIVING PREFERENCE TO OUTLYING DEVELOPMENT REGIONS
- 5. LABOR SEES THE NEED FOR AN ECONOMIC-SOCIAL

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT HIS LABOUT, AND EMPLOYERS (SIMILAR TO THE ACCORD WHICH ENABLED THE RECENT ECONOMIC STABILIZATION PLAN TO SUCCEED) TO FORM THE FOUNDATION FOR THE MICROECONOMIC MEASURES AND REFORMS OF THE LABOR PLATFORM. THIS CONVENTION WOULD INCLUDE:

- REFORM OF WAGE AGREEMENTS WHEREBY FIRM AND INDUSTRY AGREEMENTS ARE PRIMARILY DETERMINED BY NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE, WITH COST OF LIVING ADJUSTMENTS BEING PAID QUARTERLY.
- REFORM OF THE CAPITAL MARKET BY REDUCING THE GOVERNMENT'S DOMINANT ROLE IN THE CAPITAL MARKET AND BY ENCOURAGING PARTICIPATION OF SAVERS AND INVESTORS

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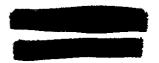
SECTION 02 OF 03 TEL AVIV 15301

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: ECON, ELAB, IS

SUBJECT: LABOR AND LIKUD PARTIES' ECONOMIC PLATFORMS



- BROADENING OF THE TAX BASE WHILE REDUCING MARGINAL RATES, AND BALANCING THE BUDGET BY INCREASING VALUE ADDED TAXES (VAT). THE TAX SYSTEM SHOULD BE PRESCRIPTIVE TO ATTAIN SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND NATIONAL GOALS.
- INCREASED INVESTMENT IN TRANSPORTATION INFRASTRUCTURE TO AVOID A SIGNIFICANT DECLINE IN THE PRODUCTIVITY GROWTH RATE.
- ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF EXISTING HEALTH CARE FUNDS; REFORMING BOTH THE FINANCING AND PROVISION OF HEALTH SERVICES TO HALT THE CHRONIC DEFICITS OF HEALTH CARE FUNDS (INSURERS) AND PROVIDERS OF SERVICES (HOSPITALS, ETC.).



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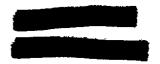
- PRIVATIZATION OF GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS WHILE PRESERVING THE PUBLIC INTEREST.
- INVESTMENT IN HUMAN CAPITAL WHICH WOULD BE TREATED FOR TAX PURPOSES AS INVESTMENTS IN PHYSICAL CAPITAL.

THE LIKUD ECONOMIC PLATFORM

5. THE LIKUD PARTY, MADE UP OF THE HERUT (DOMINANT) AND LIBERAL FACTIONS, DOES NOT POSSESS THE INTERVENTIONIST TENDENCIES OF LABOR. THE LIKUD EMPHASIZES THE NEED TO MAINTAIN CURRENT ECONOMIC STABILITY AND CLAIMS CREDIT FOR RECENT SUCCESSES BASED ON ITS CONTROL OF MANY OF THE ECONOMIC-RELATED MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS. LIKUD POINTS TO INFLATION, WHICH HAS BEEN REDUCED FROM 450 PERCENT TO 16 PERCENT IN THE PERIOD 1985-88 AND STATES IT WILL IMPLEMENT SUCH ADDITIONAL MEASURES AS ARE NECESSARY TO REDUCE THE CURRENT INFLATION RATE EVEN FURTHER. THE LIKUD'S COMMITMENT TO A FREE MARKET ECONOMY FORMS THE FOUNDATION OF ITS ECONOMIC PROGRAM. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE KEY POINTS CONTAINED IN THE LIKUD PARTY ECONOMIC PLATFORM:



- FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICIES TO CREATE AN ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT WHICH WILL ENCOURAGE FREE ENTERPRISE
- REDUCED GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF THE ECONOMY



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- REFORM OF THE CAPITAL MARKET TO ENCOURAGE GREATER PRIVATE SAVINGS AND INVESTMENT
- REDUCTION IN THE BUREAUCRACY OF THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, INCLUDING THE TAX ADMINISTRATION
- SALE OF GOVERNMENT ENTERPRISES EXCEPT WHERE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE CANNOT FUNCTION
- USE OF FUNDS FROM THE PRIVATIZATION OF GOVERNMENT OWNED COMPANIES TO REDUCE TAXES
- REFORM OF THE TAX STRUCTURE FOR A MORE EQUITABLE TAX BURDEN
- CREATION OF JOBS TO ENSURE FULL EMPLOYMENT AND THE MAINTENANCE OF REAL WAGES
- INCREASED COMPETITIVENESS AND PRODUCTIVITY IN THE ISRAELI ECONOMY
- REDUCING INFLATION, THROUGH APPROPRIATE MONETARY AND FISCAL POLICY, TO THE LEVELS OF ISRAEL'S MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS
- EXPORT PROMOTION AS THE MEANS TO ARRIVE AT ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE
- DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOURISM SECTOR AS A MAJOR EXPORT SECTOR BY DEVELOPING AN EFFECTIVE WORLD WIDE MARKETING NETWORK
- 6. ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL, THE LIKUD HAS ARTICULATED ITS VIEWS THROUGH ATTACKS ON LABOR AND HAS FOCUSED



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 EXIM-06 NSAE-00 COME-00 LAB-04 CTME-00 TRSE-00 ITC-01 OPIC-07 OMB-01 STR-17 SIL-01 INRE-00 FRB-03 OPM-01 USIE-00 JUSE-00 SP-02 C-01 E-01 T-01 /068 W

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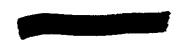
SECTION 03 OF 03 TEL AVIV 15301

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: ECON, ELAB, IS

SUBJECT: LABOR AND LIKUD PARTIES' ECONOMIC PLATFORMS

ON THE SHORTCOMINGS OF LABOR ECONOMIC POLICY.
AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF A LIKUD PORTRAIT OF A
VIBRANT AND SUCCESSFUL FREE MARKET ECONOMY, THE
LIKUD CONDEMNS TRADITIONAL LABOR POSITIONS
CONCERNING THE CUMBERSOME HISTADRUT, SUBSIDIES FOR
INEFFICIENT INDUSTRIES, EXCESSIVE REGULATION AND
TAXES, AND LABOR'S SUPPOSED GENERAL DISTASTE FOR
CONSUMERISM, PERSONAL WEALTH, AND THE MARKET
ECONOMY. LIKUD HAS CRITICIZED LABOR FOR WAGE
BREACHES AND FOR PAYMENTS TO FAILING HISTADRUT
COMPANIES. LIKUD CLAIMS THESE COMPANIES FAIL
BECAUSE OF WEAK MANAGEMENT AND INEFFICIENCY DIRECTLY
ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE SELF-SEEKING CONSIDERATIONS OF
THE LABOR PARTY.

7. LABOR, FOR ALL ITS POSITION PAPERS, IS WEAKENED BY ITS INABILITY TO PRODUCE A STRONG PERSONALITY TO TOUT AS THEIR FUTURE FINANCE MINISTER OR LEADER ON



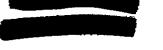
PAGE 02 TEL AV 15301 03 OF 03 260712Z

ECONOMIC ISSUES. GAD YA'ACOBI, THE CURRENT MINISTER OF ECONOMICS AND PLANNING AND A LABOR CANDIDATE FOR THE FINANCE MINISTRY, HAS HAD LIMITED IMPACT ON POLICY AND IS PERCEIVED AS A MARGINAL FIGURE IN THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT. IN THE EVENT OF THE FORMATION OF A LABOR GOVERNMENT, SHIMON PERES MAY HAVE TO GIVE CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO THE FINANCE PORTFOLIO. BY CONTRAST, CURRENT LIKUD FINANCE MINISTER MOSHE NISSIM IS EFFECTIVE AND, PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT ELECTORALLY, WIDELY RESPECTED.

8. AMOS RUBIN, ECONOMIC ADVISOR TO PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR, INDICATED IN A RECENT DISCUSSION WITH US THAT DESPITE DIFFERING TACTICAL APPROACHES TO THE ECONOMY, THERE IS IN FACT AN UNDERLYING CONSENSUS ON OBJECTIVES BETWEEN THE LIKUD AND LABOR. OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, INCLUDING BANK OF ISRAEL GOVERNOR MICHAEL BRUNO, AND BUSINESSMEN HAVE REACHED SIMILAR CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE ECONOMIC PLATFORMS OF THE TWO PARTIES. RUBIN CHARACTERIZED LABOR AS MORE PRAGMATIC THAN IDEOLOGICAL, NOTING THAT ITS TRADITIONAL INTERVENTONIST ROLE WAS A MEANS TO AN END--NATION BUILDING--NOT AN IDEOLOGY.

COMMENT

9. THE LIBERAL FACTION'S FREE MARKET IDEOLOGY AND LIKUD'S NON-INTERVENTIONIST TENDENCIES ARE FORGING A TIMELY MATCH IN TUNE WITH ISRAELI SOCIETY. THE PUBLIC HAS NOT RESPONDED ENTHUSIASTICALLY TO THE LABOR ECONOMIC PLATFORM (ASIDE FROM EXPESSIONS OF



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SUPPORT FOR PERES BY SOME INDUSTRIALISTS).

ADMITTEDLY, PEACE AND SECURITY ISSUES OVERSHADOW ECONOMIC ISSUES IN THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN. THE LABOR PARTY, HOWEVER, NEEDS TO PUBLICIZE ITS CURRENT ECONOMIC POSITIONS WHICH ARE EVOLVING IN STEP WITH THE ISRAELI PUBLIC MOOD. SHIMON PERES IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE "MAARIV" NEWSPAPER IN JULY STATED THAT "THE SITUATION OF THE ECONOMY TODAY IS DETERMINED MORE BY MARKETS THAN BY GOVERNMENTS."



THIS REMARK IS FAR FROM THE TRADITIONAL LABOR VIEW ON THE ECONOMY AND THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT, BUT IS NOT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GENERAL PERCEPTION OF LABOR AMONG THE ELECTORATE.

10. A REVIEW OF LABOR'S POLICY STATEMENTS AND LIKUD'S PRACTICES SUPPORTS RUBIN'S ASSESSMENT THAT THE PARTIES ARE BY AND LARGE IN BASIC AGREEMENT ON FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC ISSUES. LABOR HAS BEEN DISTANCING ITSELF FROM THE PROBLEM-RIDDEN HISTADRUT AND KUPAT HOLIM AND APPEARS MORE PRAGMATIC ON ECONOMIC ISSUES THAN IN THE PAST. LIKUD, IF ELECTED, MAY LIKELY ADOPT SOME OF THE REFORMS ARTICULATED IN LABOR'S ECONOMIC PLATFORM. IT THUS APPEARS LIKELY THAT CURRENT ECONOMIC POLICIES WILL NOT SUBSTANTIALLY CHANGE SHOULD EITHER LABOR OR LIKUD FORM A GOVERNMENT OR IN THE EVENT A NEW NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT EMERGES FROM THE ELECTIONS. PICKERING

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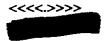
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CONCEPTS= INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENT, PALESTINIANS, LIBERATION FRONT, POPULA RESOLUTION, GOVERNMENT REACTION

TAGS= KPAL, PINR, EG, IS, PNC



PAGE 01 STATE 350126 ORIGIN INR-10

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 EUR-00 SS-00 AF-00 CIAE-00 EB-00 MMO-01 IO-19 NEA-06 ARA-00 PM-10 EAP-00 AIT-02 INRE-00 SP-02 C-01 DS-01 P-02 /054 R

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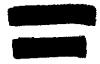
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: EG, IS, PINR, KPAL

SUBJECT: INTSUM 208, OCTOBER 26, 1988



PAGE 02

STATE 350126

USDEL MBFR VIENNA FOR AMBASSADOR LONDON FOR MILLIKEN PARIS FOR WINN

ROME ALSO FOR VATICAN AND FOR MFO CLUVERIUS DOD/ISA FOR NESA CINCEUR FOR POLAD CINCUSNAVEUR FOR INTAF NSC FOR RODMAN NSA FOR CHIEF G GROUP OTHER ADDRESSEES FOR CHIEFS OF MISSION

- -- WARNING NOTICE: SENSITIVE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED
- -- NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS
- --NOT RELEASABLE TO CONTRACTORS/CONSULTANTS

ARAB STATES: ACCEPTANCE OF A PALESTINIAN STATE

1. IF THE PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL (PNC) CONVENES IN NOVEMBER AND DECLARES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE, AS NOW APPEARS LIKELY, MOST ARAB STATES WILL ANNOUNCE THEIR SUPPORT. ALTHOUGH EGYPT, JORDAN, AND SAUDI ARABIA HAVE RESERVATIONS THAT SUCH A STATE IS WORKABLE, OR DESIRABLE, THEY CANNOT AFFORD TO APPEAR LESS THAN FULLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE.

EGYPT

2. PRESIDENT MUBARAK WOULD PREFER THAT A PALESTINIAN ENTITY BE ESTABLISHED IN CONFEDERATION WITH

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JORDAN. BUT THE SIGNALS ARE CLEAR THAT EGYPT WILL RECOGNIZE WHATEVER MANIFESTATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE THE PNC MAY ANNOUNCE--INCLUDING A PALESTINIAN STATE. FAILING TO DO SO WOULD NOT ONLY PUT MUBARAK OUT OF STEP WITH KEY ARAB ALLIES, BUT WITH HIS OWN POPULATION, WHICH IS LIKELY TO VOICE STRONG SUPPORT.

3. FOREIGN MINISTER ABDEL MEGUID SAID ON OCTOBER 17 THAT THE UN PARTITION RESOLUTION OF 1947 (RESOLUTION 181) SHOULD BE CONSIDERED THE "BIRTH CERTIFICATE" OF A PALESTINIAN STATE AS WELL AS OF ISRAEL.

4. IN THE WAKE OF JORDAN'S DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE WEST BANK, MUBARAK SAID AS EARLY AS AUGUST 30 THAT EGYPT WOULD AGREE TO AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE BASED ON "WISDOM AND ACCURATE CONSIDERATIONS." PLO CHIEF

ARAFAT APPEARS TO HAVE GONE OUT OF HIS WAY TO CONSULT MUBARAK ON PLO STRATEGY; ARAFAT PROBABLY IS COUNTING ON THE EGYPTIAN LEADER TO HELP OBTAIN MORE FAVORABLE US AND EUROPEAN REACTIONS.

5. MUBARAK HAS ARGUED THAT THE PLO MUST TAILOR ITS STATEMENTS TO US AND ISRAELI AUDIENCES AND WAIT UNTIL THE TENSE PRE-ELECTION PERIOD IN BOTH COUNTRIES HAS PASSED. PUTTING OFF THE PNC UNTIL MID-NOVEMBER AND PERHAPS MENTIONING UN RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 MIGHT REPRESENT THE PLO'S BEST EFFORT TO MEET THOSE CONDITIONS.

JORDAN

6. KING HUSSEIN HAS PLEDGED TO ACCEPT WHATEVER DECLARATION THE PLO DECIDES TO MAKE ABOUT A PALESTINIAN STATE, A POSITION FOREIGN MINISTER AL-MASRI



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REAFFIRMED IN AN OCTOBER 15 INTERVIEW. WITH A LARGE PALESTINIAN POPULATION ON THE EAST BANK, AND HAVING PUBLICLY HANDED OVER RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WEST BANK TO THE PLO, THERE IS LITTLE ELSE FOR HUSSEIN TO DO.

7. THE PRIVATE JORDANIAN REACTION IS LIKELY TO BE LESS THAN ENTHUSIASTIC. IN AN OCTOBER 11 MEETING WITH AMBASSADORS SUDDARTH AND PICKERING, PRIME MINISTER RIFA'I SAID THAT DECLARING AN INDEPENDENT STATE BASED ON RESOLUTION 181 REPRESENTED A "MIDDLE GROUND" FOR ARAFAT AND WOULD DO NOTHING TO MOVE THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE FORWARD.

SAUDI ARABIA

----,---,--

8. THE SAUDIS WILL RECOGNIZE A PALESTINIAN STATE PROMPTLY; THEY ARE ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL POLITICAL ALLIES OF ARAFAT'S MAINSTREAM PLO, AND A SO ITS MOST RELIABLE FINANCIAL SUPPORTER. AS A KEY ARAB STATE AND ISLAMIC LEADER, SAUDI ARABIA COULD NOT AFORD TO BE SEEN HOLDING BACK FROM SUPPORTING THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE AND THE UPRISING. IN ANY CASE, THE VAGUE DECLARATION THE PLO APPEARS TO HAVE IN MIND WOULD NOT COMMIT THE SAUDIS TO ANY COURSE OF ACTION OTHER THAN A PUBLIC SHOW OF SUPPORT.

SYRIA

9. LOATHING ARAFAT AND PROBABLY FEARING HE WOULD GAIN IN STATURE, PRESIDENT ASSAD DOES NOT FAVOR

PAGE 05

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CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE. ALSO, THE SYRIANS ARE CONCERNED LEST THE PLO COUPLE A DECLARATION WITH SOME FORM OF RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL; A RECENT EDITORIAL IN THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED PRESS ARGUED THIS WOULD AMOUNT TO CANCELING THE PALESTINE NATIONAL CHARTER. SHULTZ

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EO= OA

SUBJECT= PRESS REPORTS ON DEATH SQUADS: QUERY TO GOI

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

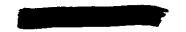
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ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= DEATH, PRESS COMMENTS, MEETING, PALESTINIANS

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, OPRC, IS, US, (WEIZMAN, STEVE)

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PAGE 01 STATE 347937 ORIGIN NEA-11

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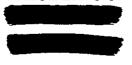
STATE 347937

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PREL, IS, US

SUBJECT: PRESS REPORTS ON DEATH SQUADS: QUERY TO GOI

1.

- 2. ON OCTOBER 24, DAS WALKER RAISED WITH ISRAELI DCM ERAN THE REUTERS REPORT DATELINED JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 23, BY STEVE WEIZMAN REGARDING PALESTINIAN ACCUATIONS THAT ISRAEL IS RUNNING UNDERCOVER DEATH SQUADS AGAINST ORGANIZERS OF THE PALESTINIAN UPRISING. THE WEIZMAN STORY REFERRED TO UNDERCOVER UNITS CODE NAMED "CHERRY" AND "SAMSON". WALKER REQUESTED ERAN TO OBTAIN OFFICIAL GOI RESPONSE AS TO WHETHER THERE IS ANY BÁSIS TO THESE REPORTS.
- 4. EMBASSY IS REQUESTED TO MAKE PARALLEL INQUIRY WITH THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AT THE APPROPRIATE LEVEL.
- 5. AS MURPHY WILL BE MEETING WITH THE COUNCIL OF PRESIDENTS OF NATIONAL ARAB-AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS ON



PAGE 02 STATE 347937

OCTOBER 27. ISSUE IS CERTAIN TO BE RAISED. REQUEST RESPONSE BY OPENING OF BUSINESS OCTOBER 27. WHITEHEAD

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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*** Current Classification *** *** Current Handling Restrictions ***

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FILM= D880946-0500

DATE= 25 OCT 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= TEL AVIV

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE **JERUSALEM**

CHANNEL= n/a

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ORIGCLASS=

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EO= OA

SUBJECT= THE ECONOMY: AN IMPORTANT BUT OVERSHADOWED ISSUE IN THE ISRAELI **ELECTION CAMPAIGN**

REFERENCE= 88 TEL AVIV 14547, 88 TEL AVIV 14672

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

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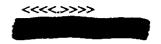
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PAGE 01 TEL AV 15211 01 OF 03 250757Z ACTION NEA-11

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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DIA WASHDC

SECTION 01 OF 03 TEL AVIV 15211

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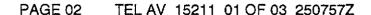
ISSUE IN THE ISRAELI ELECTION CAMPAIGN

REF: A) TEL AVIV 14547, B) TEL AVIV 14672, C) TEL AVIV 11779, D) TEL AVIV 14992

1.

SUMMARY

2. THE ISRAELI ECONOMY CURRENTLY IS EXPERIENCING A MARKED ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN. INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION HAS DECLINED. UNEMPLOYMENT HAS JUMPED SHARPLY.



ISRAEL'S LARGEST INDUSTRIAL CONCERN IS UNDER LEGAL THREAT OF LIQUIDATION. THE AGRICULTURAL, EDUCATION, AND HEALTH SECTORS ALL HAVE EXPERIENCED AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT YEAR. UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATIONS HAVE REFUSED TO BEGIN THE ACADEMIC



YEAR, CLAIMING INSUFFICIENT GOVERNMENT FUNDING. PUBLIC HOSPITAL STAFFS ARE THREATENING TO STRIKE. THE LOCAL STOCK MARKET IS DEPRESSED. WE EXPECT THE ISRAELI ECONOMY TO EXPERIENCE ONLY MINIMAL GROWTH THIS YEAR.

- 3. ALTHOUGH THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY HAS EMERGED AS A KEY ISSUE IN THE CAMPAIGN, IT HAS BEEN OVERSHADOWED BY THE PEACE AND SECURITY DEBATE. THIS IS PARTLY DUE TO A DELAY IN THE SCOPE OF THE CURRENT SLOWDOWN BEING PERCEIVED BY THE GENERAL PUBLIC. ALSO, THE EXISTENCE OF THE NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT HAS DAMPENED DEBATE ON PAST ECONOMIC POLICY SINCE BOTH LIKUD AND LABOR SHARED IN ITS FORMULATION. IN ADDITION, THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN LIKUD AND LABOR ON FUTURE ECONOMIC POLICY IN THAT BOTH PARTIES ARE EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR BUDGETARY RESTRAINT, REDUCED GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN THE ECONOMY, AND THE OPENING OF THE ISRAELI ECONOMY TO INCREASED COMPETITION.
- 4. GIVEN THIS GENERAL CONSENSUS, THE DEBATE
 BETWEEN LIKUD AND LABOR HAS FOCUSED NOT ON ECONOMIC
 ISSUES, BUT ON THE COMPETENCE OF THE ECONOMIC
 LEADERSHIP THE PARTIES WOULD PROVIDE. LIKUD ALSO
 HAS TRIED TO PIN THE PROBLEMS OF THE HISTADRUT'S
 FALTERING INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES ON THE (LABOR)

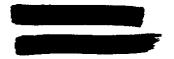
PAGE 03 TEL AV 15211 01 OF 03 250757Z

"PARTY ECONOMY," IN CONTRAST TO THE LIKUD'S ADVOCACY OF A "FREE ECONOMY." ON THESE ISSUES, LIKUD HAS THE ADVANTAGE OVER LABOR. END SUMMARY.

5. THE ISRAELI ECONOMY CURRENTLY IS IN THE MIDST OF A MARKED ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN. INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION DROPPED 3.5 PERCENT IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE YEAR, STABILIZED IN THE SECOND QUARTER, AND PROBABLY DROPPED AGAIN IN THE THIRD. UNEMPLOYMENT JUMPED SHARPLY OVER THE SUMMER AND IS NOW PROBABLY RUNNING AROUND 6.5 TO 7.0 PERCENT. THE LARGEST INDUSTRIAL CONCERN IN ISRAEL, WHICH ACCOUNTS FOR ALMOST TEN PERCENT OF GDP, IS UNDER LEGAL THREAT OF LIQUIDATION (REFTEL A). THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE LARGEST BANK IN ISRAEL RECENTLY WERE FORCED TO RESIGN EN MASSE OVER THEIR HANDLING OF A BANKING SCANDAL WHICH HAS SPANNED SEVERAL YEARS (REFTEL B). THE AGRICULTURAL, EDUCATION, AND HEALTH

SECTORS ALL HAVE EXPERIENCED AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT YEAR CAUSED IN PART BY THE GOVERNMENT'S TIGHT BUDGETARY POLICIES. REAL INTEREST RATES ARE RUNNING AT ABOUT 35 PERCENT. THE LOCAL STOCK MARKET IS DEPRESSED. WE EXPECT THE ISRAELI ECONOMY TO EXPERIENCE ONLY MINIMAL GROWTH THIS YEAR. (REFTEL C).

- 6. ECONOMIC ISSUES HAVE BEEN EMPHASIZED IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN BY LIKUD AND LABOR, AS WELL AS BY THE SMALL CENTER-SHINUI PARTY. BUT THE GENERAL STATE OF THE ECONOMY TRAILS FAR BEHIND QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SECURITY AS AN ELECTORAL ISSUE.
- 7. IN PART, THIS IS THE RESULT OF A DELAY IN THE FULL SCOPE OF THE CURRENT SLOWDOWN BEING PERCEIVED BY THE GENERAL PUBLIC. THE RISE IN UNEMPLOYMENT



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 EB-00 H-01 EXIM-06 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 LAB-04 CTME-00 TRSE-00 PM-10 ITC-01 OPIC-07 PA-01 CEA-01 OMB-01 STR-17 INRE-00 FRB-03 USIE-00 JUSE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 E-01 P-02 T-01 /094 W

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P 250750Z OCT 88
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1601
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SECTION 02 OF 03 TEL AVIV 15211

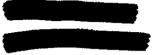
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, ECON, IS

SUBJECT: THE ECONOMY: AN IMPORTANT BUT OVERSHADOWED

STILL HAS AFFECTED ONLY A SMALL PORTION OF THE POPULACE; OFFICIALS AT THE TREASURY TELL US THEY EXPECT REALLY SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF JOB LAYOFFS WILL OCCUR ONLY AFTER THE ELECTIONS. ALSO, THE

AVERAGE ISRAELI STILL TENDS TO JUDGE THE SUCCESS OF ECONOMIC POLICY IN TERMS OF ITS ABILITY TO RESTRAIN INFLATION AND THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN HAS ACTED OVER RECENT MONTHS TO SUPPRESS THE RISE IN THE GENERAL PRICE LEVEL.

8. THE EXISTENCE OF THE NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT



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HAS TENDED TO DAMPEN DEBATE BETWEEN THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES ON PAST ECONOMIC POLICY SINCE BOTH LIKUD AND LABOR SHARED IN THE FORMULATION OF THE ECONOMIC STABILIZATION PROGRAM WHICH CONTINUES TO GUIDE GOVERNMENT ACTION ON THE ECONOMY. LABOR HAS BEEN POINTING OUT THAT THE STABILIZATION PROGRAM WAS INITIATED UNDER PERES' PREMIERSHIP AND WAS PUSHED THROUGH THE CABINET BY LABOR OVER THE OPPOSITION OF A NUMBER OF LIKUD MINISTERS. LIKUD, MEANWHILE, HAS ATTEMPTED TO CLAIM CREDIT FOR ITSELF FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE STABILIZATION PROGRAM IN BRINGING INFLATION DOWN FROM OVER 440 PERCENT TO AN ANNUAL RATE OF LESS THAN 20 PERCENT.

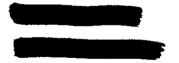
- 9. THERE IS ALSO GENERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN LIKUD AND LABOR ON FUTURE ECONOMIC POLICY. THE PLATFORMS OF BOTH PARTIES STRESS BUDGETARY RESTRAINT, REDUCED GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN THE ECONOMY AND ESPECIALLY IN THE CAPITAL MARKET, AND THE OPENING OF THE ISRAELI ECONOMY TO INCREASED COMPETITION. (THE ECONOMIC PLATFORMS OF THE MAJOR PARTIES WILL BE DISCUSSED IN SEPTEL.) GIVEN THIS CONSENSUS, THE DEBATE BETWEEN LIKUD AND LABOR HAS FOCUSED NOT ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, BUT ON THE QUALITY OF ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP THE PARTIES WOULD PROVIDE.
- 10. LIKUD HAS BEEN ABLE TO SCORE POLITICAL POINTS AMONG THE POPULACE BY EMPHASISING THE LONG-RUNNING PROBLEMS OF THE HISTADRUT'S "WORKERS ECONOMY". IT HAS ARGUED THAT MISMANAGEMENT RESULTED IN THE CLOSURES AND RESTRUCTURING OF MAJOR HISTADRUT ENTERPRISES AND THAT THIS IS A SAMPLE OF THE TYPE OF ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP A LABOR GOVERNMENT WOULD

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PROVIDE ISRAEL. THE LIKUD ALSO HAS ASSERTED THAT A NEW LABOR GOVERNMENT WOULD RAID THE PUBLIC TREASURY TO BAIL OUT FAILING HISTADRUT ENTERPRISES. LABOR HAS TRIED TO PARRY THESE THRUSTS, BUT THEY HAVE HAD THEIR EFFECT. DURING THE SUMMER, LABOR TRIED TO DEEMPHASIZE ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE HISTRADUT LABOR FEDERATION, BUT LABOR'S RELIANCE ON HISTADRUT'S ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN MACHINERY PRECLUDED LABOR FROM CONTINUING TO KEEP HISTADRUT'S ACTIVISTS IN THE BACKGROUND (REFTEL D).

- 11. THE FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE HISTADRUT HAVE MADE IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR LABOR TO CRITICIZE THE ECONOMIC POLICIES OF MOSHE NISSIM, THE LIKUD MINISTER OF FINANCE. OVER THE PAST YEAR, NISSIM HAS CONSISTENTLY BEEN ONE OF THE MOST POPULAR MINISTERS IN THE GOVERNMENT. HIS WILLINGNESS TO BATTLE POWERFUL INTEREST GROUPS IN DEFENSE OF THE INTEGRITY OF THE BUDGET HAS MADE HIM A SYMBOL IN ISRAEL OF RESPONSIBLE ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP.
- 12. NISSIM ALSO HAS BENEFITED FROM A CHANGE IN THE PUBLIC'S EXPECTATIONS REGARDING PROPER GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC ACTIONS; THE REDUCTIONS HE ORDERED THIS MONTH IN SUBSIDIES FOR BASIC COMMODITIES JUST A MONTH BEFORE ELECTIONS WAS ACCEPTED WITH LITTLE COMPLAINT BY A PUBLIC WHICH IN PRIOR YEARS HAD BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO GOVERNMENT FINANCIAL LARGESS IN THE MONTHS LEADING UP TO ELECTIONS. LIKUD HAS MADE LIMITED USE OF NISSIM IN ITS TELEVISION ELECTION BROADCASTS; LABOR HAS COUNTERED WITH GAD YACOBI, THE MINISTER OF ECONOMICS AND PLANNING. YACOBI SUFFERS, HOWEVER, FROM THE QUITE CORRECT PUBLIC PERCEPTION THAT THE ECONOMICS MINISTRY IS A MARGINAL CABINET PORTFOLIO WITH LITTLE INPUT INTO



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 EB-00 H-01 EXIM-06 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 LAB-04 CTME-00 TRSE-00 PM-10 ITC-01 OPIC-07 PA-01 CEA-01 OMB-01 STR-17 INRE-00 FRB-03 USIE-00 JUSE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 E-01 P-02 T-01 /094 W

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P 250750Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1602

INFO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM AMEMBASSY CAIRO AMEMBASSY AMMAN AMEMBASSY PARIS AMEMBASSY LONDON USDOC WASHDC DIA WASHDC

SECTION 03 OF 03 TEL AVIV 15211

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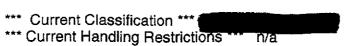
SUBJECT: THE ECONOMY: AN IMPORTANT BUT OVERSHADOWED

ECONOMIC POLICY ISSUES. LIKUD HAS IN NISSIM A REAL POLITICAL ADVANTAGE ON THE ISSUE OF COMPETENCE OF ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP. STILL, LIKUD HAS SPENT MORE OF ITS TELEVISION TIME AND PRESS ADVERTISEMENTS IN ATTACKING THE LABOR-HISTADRUT DUO THAN IN PRESENTING ITS OWN POLICIES. PICKERING

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification ***



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DOC_NBR= 88AMMAN12467

FILM= D880943-0703

DATE= 24 OCT 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= AMMAN

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE
ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS=

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= RR REVIEW A/CDC

SUBJECT= LOCAL MEDIA HIGHLIGHT PAN-ARAB SYMBOLISM . OF 'ARAFAT/MUBARAK/HUS MEETING IN AQABA

REFERENCE= 88 AMMAN 12430

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

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CONCEPTS= DISCUSSION, FOREIGN RELATIONS, MEETING, REPORT

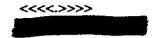
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PAGE 01 AMMAN 12467 01 OF 02 241431Z ACTION NEA-11

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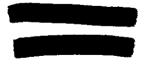
E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, KPAL, EG, JO

SUBJECT: LOCAL MEDIA HIGHLIGHT PAN-ARAB SYMBOLISM
. OF 'ARAFAT/MUBARAK/HUSSEIN MEETING IN AQABA

REF: AMMAN 12430 (NOTAL)

1. (C) SUMMARY. JORDANIAN MEDIA HAVE WARMLY PRAISED THE MUBARAK/ARAFAT/HUSSEIN MEETING IN AQABA, ALTHOUGH NO DETAILS OF THE TALKS HAVE EMERGED IN PRINT. A BRIEF PRESS STATEMENT BY HUSSEIN EXPRESSED SATISFACTION AT THE MEETING. IN THE ABSENCE OF SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS, LOCAL REPORTAGE HAS FOCUSED ON THE SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE OF THE MEETING AND ON JORDAN'S CONTINUING ROLE-- WITHIN A PAN-ARAB EFFORT--TO PROMOTE THE PEACE PROCESS AND HASTEN CONVENING OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. REPORTS AND COMMENTARIES IN THE JORDANIAN PRESS HAVE NOT DRAWN AN EXPLICIT CONNECTION BETWEEN THE AQABA TALKS AND THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS, ALTHOUGH THERE IS PRIVATE SPECULATION THAT THE VISIT MAY HELP PERES AT THE POLLS. END SUMMARY.

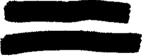


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2. (U) FEW DETAILS OF HUSSEIN'S OCTOBER 23 AQABA TALKS WITH EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT MUBARAK AND PLO CHAIRMAN 'ARAFAT HAVE BEEN REVEALED, BUT JORDANIAN MEDIA HAVE HERALDED THE OCCASION IN HYPERBOLIC TERMS AS A "HISTORIC" MOMENT IN ARAB COORDINATION ON THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE.

EDITORIALS IN ALL NEWSPAPERS HAVE WELCOMED THE VISIT,Q
AND SEVERAL CITE THE MUBARAK/ARAFAT SHUTTLE TO AQABA
AND BAGHDAD AS ONLY THE BEGINNING OF "A BROADER ARAB
EFFORT" TO BOLSTER SUPPORT FOR THE "PALESTINIAN
POLITICAL DRIVE FOR NATIONAL RIGHTS."
3. (U) LOCAL NEWSPAPERS ARE FILLED WITH REPORTS AND
COMMENTARIES ON THE AQABA MEETINGS, BUT NONE DEPART FROM
THE CAUTIOUS OFFICIAL LINE ON THE MEETINGS. WITH
STYLISTIC VARIATIONS, ALL EMPHASIZE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- -- JORDAN IPLEASED TO RENEW DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO, AND TO SEE THE PLO "SHOULDERING ITS RESPONSIBILITIES" IN THEOPEACE PROCESS:
- -- JORDAN HAS A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE WHICH GIVES HUSSEIN AND THE GOJ A ROLE TO PLAY "WITH THE OTHER ARAB STATES" IN THE PEACE PROCESS;
- -- "JORDAN'S LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE OCCUPIED WEST BANK DOES NOT MEAN THAT JORDAN HAS ALSO DISENGAGED FROM OVERALL PEACE-MAKING EFFORTS";
- -- MUBARAK DESERVES SPECIAL PERSONAL RECOGNITION FOR HIS ROLE IN FOSTERING INTER-ARAB COOPERATION IN THE PEACE PROCESS ('ARAFAT, IN CONTRAST, IS SELDOM MENTIONED BY NAME, ALTHOUGH THE RENEWAL OF HIGH LEVEL GOJ-PLO DIALOGUE IS UNIVERSALLY LAUDED);



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-- PEACE PROCESS CONSULTATION AMONG THE ARAB STATES--AIMED AT CONVENING AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MIDDLE EAST PEACE--WILL CONTINUE BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE NOVEMBER 12 ALGIERS PNC.

HUSSEIN: TALKS ENHANCED "PAN-ARAB ACTION"

4. (U) NO OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE FOLLOWED THE TRIPARTITE TALKS IN AQABA, BUT KING HUSSEIN ISSUED A BRIEF STATEMENT TO THE PETRA NEWS AGENCY. HE ANNOUNCED THAT THE TALKS HAD BOLSTERED "THE SPECIAL, DISTINGUISHED JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN RELATIONSHIP," AND MADE "A GOOD CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS ENHANCING PAN-ARAB ACTION IN SUPPORT OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE'S HEROIC STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE THEIR NATIONAL AND LEGITIMATE OR JECTIVES." THE

STATEMENT ECHOED HUSSEIN'S FAMILIAR CALL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON MIDDLE EAST PEACE (UNDER UN AUSPICES, AND INCLUDING THE FIVE PERMS AND ALL THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, INCLUDING THE PLO), AND EMPHASIZED THE PLO'S "LEADING ROLE IN ATTAINING A JUST AND DURABLE SETTLEMENT OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT BECAUSE THE PALESTINE QUESTION CONSTITUTES THE CORE OF THE CONFLICT."

MUBARAK AND AL-BAZ: HINTS OF SUBSTANCE, MESSAGE TO ISRAEL

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 PA-01 INRE-00 RP-10 USIE-00 SP-02 PRS-01 /035 W ------146615 241615Z /43

O 241423Z OCT 88 .
FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2467
INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

L SECTION 02 OF 02 AMMAN 12467

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, KPAL, EG, JO

SUBJECT: LOCAL MEDIA HIGHLIGHT PAN-ARAB SYMBOLISM

5. (U) SPEAKING AFTER HIS RETURN TO CAIRO, PRESIDENT MUBARAK CAME CLOSEST TO REVEALING DETAILS OF THE AQABA TALKS. EMPHASIZING THE "VERY GOOD ATMOSPHERE" WHICH PREVAILED BETWEEN HUSSEIN AND THE PLO CHAIRMAN, HE REPORTEDLY STATED THAT "ABU 'AMMAR SAID HE WAS IN FAVOR OF A CONFEDERATION WITH JORDAN." WHILE LOCALLY REPORTED EXCERPTS OF HIS REMARKS DO NOT SPECIFY THE KING'S RESPONSE TO THAT PROPOSAL, THE EGYPTIAN LEADER NOTED THAT "KING HUSSEIN SAID HE WILL COOPERATE...FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE LAND AND THE ATTAINMENT OF PEACE." MUBARAK IS QUOTED IN LOCAL MEDIA A9 DENYING THAT THE AQABA MEETING WAS CALCULATED EITHER TO HELP PERES OR TO HURT SHAMIR IN THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS, BUT PRESIDENTIAL COUNSELOR 'OSAMA AL-BAZ DREW AN ELECTORAL MESSAGE FROM THE VISIT: "WE WANT THE ISRAEL! VOTER, WHETHER ARAB OR JEW. TO UNDERSTAND WHERE HIS SPECIFIC INTEREST LIES. ...LET HIM KNOW WHEN HE CASTS HIS VOTE THAT THERE IS AN ARAB PARTNER READY FOR NEGOTIATIONS."

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6. COMMENT: IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY PERCEIVED SUBSTANTIVE CONSEQUENCE, THE JORDANIAN MEDIA HAVE FASTENED ON THE SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE OF THE MEETING IN AQABA. THE TONE OF LOCAL NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE MEETING ALSO UNDERSCORES THE SENSITIVITY OF RENEWED HIGH LEVEL CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN THE GOJ AND THE PLO, REGARDLESS OF WHAT THE TWO SIDES ACTUALLY SAY TO EACH OTHER. MOREOVER, JORDAN'S MEDIA ARE FULL OF REPORTS ON THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS (MANY LIFTED DIRECTLY FROM THE ISRAELI PRESS), BUT LOCAL REPORTAGE MAKES NO MENTION OF A POSSIBLE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE AQABA TALKS AND THE IMMINENT ISRAELI ELECTIONS. THERE IS SPECULATION, HOWEVER, THAT THE VISIT WAS ORCHESTRATED BY MUBARAK AT THE REQUEST OF PERES TO HELP LABOR AT THE POLLS.

7. BEIRUT MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. SUDDARTH



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Exemptions

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*** Current Classification *** *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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DOC_NBR= 88TELAV15031

FILM= D880934-0114

DATE= 20 OCT 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= TEL AVIV

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE **JERUSALEM** ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS=

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= N/A

SUBJECT= GAZA WRAP-UP; OCT 13-19

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= VIOLENCE, OCCUPIED AREA, INCIDENT

TAGS= KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PTER, IS

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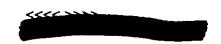
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PAGE 01 TEL AV 15031 01 OF 02 201726Z ACTION NEA-11

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O 201724Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1510 INFO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

SECTION 01 OF 02 TEL AVIV 15031

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PHUM, KPAL, PINS, PTER, IS SUBJECT: GAZA WRAP-UP; OCT 13-19

- 1. (LOU) SUMMARY. APPROXIMATELY 23 GAZANS AND THREE ISRAELI MILITARY WERE WOUNDED IN INTIFADA VIOLENCE IN THE PERIOD. NO ONE WAS KILLED. THERE WERE TWO GENERAL STRIKES, WHICH THE IDF ANTICIPATED BY IMPOSING CURFEWS ON WIDESPREAD AREAS. LIKUD-SPONSORED BUSES OF ISRAELIS ENTERED GAZA OCT 19 TO DEMONSTRATE AGAINST GIVING UP GAZA, BUT THERE WERE NO INCIDENTS. RECENT HAND GRENADE ATTACKS IN GAZA AND ASSASSINATIONS OF "COLLABORATORS," AS WELL AS PLO STATEMENTS ON USE OF ARMS, HAVE PROMPTED STRONG REACTION FROM PM SHAMIR AND DEFMIN RABIN, BUT OPINION IS THAT SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN TACTICS OF INTIFADA VIOLENCE IS NOT LIKELY. END SUMMARY
- 2. (U) APPROXIMATELY 23 WOUNDED:

-- ON OCT 13, A 10 YEAR OLD BOY (PLACE OF RESIDENCE

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NOT IDENTIFIED) WAS HIT IN THE CHEST WITH A PLASTIC BULLET; A 15 YEAR OLD FROM BAIT LAHYA WAS WOUNDED.

-- ON OCT 14 AND 15, FIVE GAZANS WERE WOUNDED: TWO FROM RAFAH WERE HIT BY PLASTIC BULLETS WHEN IDF



FORCES DISPERSED ABOUT 100 STONE-THROWING YOUTH; TWO FROM AL-NASIR NEIGHBORHOOD OF GAZA CITY AND ONF FROM NUSAIRAT REFUGEE CAMP WERE WOUNDED.

- -- ON OCT 16, A YOUTH FROM KHAN YUNIS WAS SERIOUSLY WOUNDED IN THE EYE WITH A RUBBER BULLET, AND A 16 YEAR OLD FROM SHATI CAMP AND A 14 YEAR OLD FROM RAFAH WERE WOUNDED.
- -- ON OCT 17, BETWEEN EIGHT AND ELEVEN YOUTHS WERE WOUNDED (REPORTS DIFFER): FOUR WERE WOUNDED IN RAFAH, THREE IN SHATI CAMP, AND ONE IN KHAN YUNIS.
- -- ON OCT 18, A 17 YEAR OLD, REPORTED TO HAVE INCITED STUDENTS TO LAUNCH DEMONSTRATIONS, WAS WOUNDED IN NUSAIRAT CAMP.
- -- ON OCT 19, A 16 YEAR OLD FROM GAZA CITY WAS REPORTED SERIOUSLY WOUNDED.
- 3. (U) TWO IDF SOLDIERS AND ONE BORDER POLICEMAN WOUNDED:
- -- ON OCT 15, TWO IDF SOLDIERS WERE HIT BY STONES AND SLIGHTLY WOUNDED IN AL-NASIR NEIGHBORHOOD OF GAZA CITY.
- -- ALSO ON OCT 15, A BORDER POLICEMAN SUFFERED A BROKEN HAND IN A STONE-THROWING INCIDENT IN BURALJ



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CAMP.

- 4. (U) NONE KILLED:
- -- FOR THE THIRD WEEK IN A ROW, NO ONE WAS REPORTED KILLED IN DIRECTLY INTIFADA-RELATED VIOLENCE.
- 5. (U) GENERAL STRIKES:
- -- LIKE THE WEST BANK, GAZA OBSERVED GENERAL STRIKES OCT 14 AND 19, CALLED BY THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP AND THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE (HAMAS).
- -- THERE ARE CONFLICTING REPORTS THAT A STRIKE HAS BEEN CALLED FOR OCT 24.
- -- A STRIKE IS SET FOR OCT 26.

6. (U) CURFEWS:

-- THE IDF CONTINUES ITS NEWLY-INTRODUCED PRACTICE OF ATTEMPTING TO PREEMPT VIOLENCE ON STRIKE DAYS BY IMPOSING WIDESPREAD CURFEWS. IN ANTICIPATION OF THE OCT 19 GENERAL STRIKE, THE IDF PLACED CURFEWS ON NINE GAZA CAMPS AND TOWNS.
7. LIKUD BUSES "TOUR" GAZA:

-- ON OCT 19, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, SOME 50 BUSES, SPONSORED BY THE LIKUD PARTY, CARRYING ISRAELIS, ENTERED GAZA TO BACK DEMANDS THAT ISRAEL HOLD ON TO GAZA. ALTHOUGH THE BUSES AVOIDED THE CENTER OF GAZA CITY, THEY REPORTEDLY STOPPED AT AN AREA UNDER CURFEW, ON THE SOUTHERN EDGE OF THE

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PAGE 01 TEL AV 15031 02 OF 02 201726Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 .SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /057 W ----------------346313 201730Z /43

O 201724Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1511 INFO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

SECTION 02 OF 02 TEL AVIV 15031

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PHUM, KPAL, PINS, PTER, IS SUBJECT: GAZA WRAP-UP; OCT 13-19

CITY. THERE WERE APPARENTLY NO SIGNIFICANT INCIDENTS, ALTHOUGH AT LEAST ONE OF THE BUS PASSENGERS IS SAID TO HAVE BEHAVED PROVOCATIVELY.

8. CHANGE IN INTIFADA TACTICS?

-- RECENT HAND GRENADE ATTACKS IN GAZA, THE USE OF FIREARMS IN ASSASSINATIONS OF "COLLABORATORS," AND PROVOCATIVE PLO STATEMENTS ABOUT THE USE OF ARMS IN THE CASE OF A LIKUD VICTORY, HAVE RAISED THE QUESTION WHETHER INTIFADA VIOLENCE IS HEADED INTO A NEW PHASE. ON OCT 16, PM SHAMIR SAID NO ARABS WOULD SURVIVE IF THEY RESORTED TO FIREARMS. ON THE SAME DAY, DEFENSE MINISTER RABIN SAID ARMS WOULD BE MET WITH ARMS. HOWEVER, RABIN SAID THERE HAD NOT BEEN AN INCREASE IN THE USE OF FIREARMS, A THEME ECHOED BY IDF CHIEF OF STAFF SHOMRON.

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-- IN RECENT EMBASSY DISCUSSIONS, TWO GAZA SOURCES ALSO DOUBTED THAT RECENT GAZA HAND-GRENADE ATTACKS WERE ANY MORE THAN ISOLATED INCIDENTS. PICKERING



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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<<***** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

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FILM= D880937-0667

DATE= 21 OCT 88

TYPE= TE

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TO= STATE

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS= UNCLASSIFIED

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

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SUBJECT= WEST BANK DATA PROJECT STUDY "THE PRICE OF INSURGENCY: CIVIL RIGH THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES"

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EXCISE

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ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PRESS RELEASE, REPORT, OCCUPIED AREA, WEST BANK, HUMAN RIGHTS

TAGS= KPAL, PHUM, IS, (SHALEV, CARMEL)

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03487 01 OF 02 211404Z ACTION NEA-04

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 RP-10 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /073 W

O 211402Z OCT 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3807

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 JERUSALEM 03487

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK DATA PROJECT STUDY "THE

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PRICE OF INSURGENCY: CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE

OCCUPIED TERRITORIES"

1. THE FOLLOWING PRESS RELEASE DESCRIBES THE ABOVE-TITLED STUDY OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WHICH WAS RELEASED OCTOBER 18 IN JERUSALEM. THE AUTHOR, CARMEL SHALEV, IS AN ISRAELI LAWYER WHO TEACHES AT TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY. WE ARE POUCHING COPY OF THE STUDY, WHICH IS SIXTY PAGES LONG, TO NEA/IAI AND HA.

2. BEGIN PRESS RELEASE:

THE WEST BANK DATABASE PROJECT HAS RELEASED A REPORT ON CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES DURING THE PERIOD OF THE INTIFADA. THE REPORT, WRITTEN FOR THE PROJECT BY CARMEL SHALEV, COVERS THE PERIOD DECEMBER 1987-SEPTEMBER 1988. IT IS ONE SEGMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

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MILITARY AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TERRITORIES UNDER INTIFADA NOW BEING PREPARD BY THE PROJECT FOR ITS 1988 ANNUAL REPORT. THE REPORT SHOWS A HORRIFYING INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF CIVIL RIGHTS INFRINGEMENTS AS A RESULT OF MEASURES TAKEN BY ISRAELI AUTHORITIES IN THEIR

ATTEMPT TO QUELL THE CIVILIAN UPRISING. THIS
HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY OFFICIAL ACTS OF
GOVERNMENT (LEGISLATIVE, ADMINISTRATIVE AND
JUDICIAL) THAT LEGITIMATE THESE INFRINGEMENTS
AND AMOUNT TO A QUALITATIVE CHANGE IN THE CIVIL
RIGHTS OF THE INHABITANTS.
THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE SITUATION COMPELLED US TO

THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE SITUATION COMPELLED US TO RELEASE THE FINDINGS SEPARATELY, WITHOUT WAITING FOR THE COMPLETION OF THE ENTIRE 1988 SURVEY.

THE NUMBERS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. OVER 250 PALESTINIAN DEATH CASUALTIES, COMPARED TO 8 IN 1986 AND 22 IN 1987; 2,500 ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION ORDERS, COMPARED TO 37 IN 1986 AND 62 IN 1987; OVER 5,000 INJURED; OVER 18,000 ARRESTS. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE HAVE BEEN UNDER CURFEWS AND CLOSURES AT DIFFERENT TIMES INCLUDING, FOR EXAMPLE, THE TOTAL CLOSURE OF THE ENTIRE TERRITORIES FOR 3 DAYS IN MARCH AND AGAIN FOR 4 DAYS IN APRIL.

THE QUALITATIVE CHANGE IS ILLUSTRATED BY THE IDF BEATING POLICY, INTRODUCED IN JANUARY; STRINGENT AMENDMENTS TO THE LAW OF ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION, AS WELL AS CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY OF MINORS; NEW MEASURES OF COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT, INCLUDING THE SEVERANCE OF INTERNATIONAL UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

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TELEPHONE CONNECTIONS; AND A PERVASIVE SYSTEM OF BUREAUCRATIC HARASSMENT BY THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION (WITH RESPECT TO TAX ENFORCEMENT, UTILITY PAYMENTS, LICENSE RENEWAL, ID CARDS, EMPLOYMENT IN ISRAEL, AND HEALTH COVERAGE) DESIGNED TO INCREASE THE DEPENDENCY OF THE POPULATION ON ISRAELI AUTHORITIES AND PREEMPT A BOYCOTT ON THEIR SERVICES.

IN ADDITION, THE DYNAMIC OF VIOLENCE BETWEEN ISRAELI SETTLERS AND THE LOCAL ARAB INHABITANTS HAS CONTINUED TO ESCALATE, FINDING EXPRESSION IN VANDALISM AND KILLINGS BY SETTLERS IN THE WAY OF RETALIATION. THIS HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY ALARMING EVIDENCE OF THE APPLICATION OF A DOUBLE STANDARD OF JUSTICE BY MILITARY AND CIVIL COURTS. FOR MERE COMPARISON OF EXTREMITIES, MOUNIRA DAOUD, A 22 YEAR OLD WOMAN INVOLVED IN STONE THROWING IN THE BEITA CLASH BETWEEN

ISRAELI HIKERS AND LOCAL VILLAGERS THAT RESULTED IN THE DEATH OF 2 YOUNG PALESTINIAN MEN AND A 15 YEAR OLD ISRAELI GIRL, WAS ARRESTED IMMEDIATELY, DETAINED PENDING TRIAL FOR 5 MONTHS, AND THEN SENTENCED BY THE NABLUS MILITARY COURT TO AN ADDITIONAL 4 MONTHS OF IMPRISONMENT. AT THE SAME TIME, PINHAS WALLERSTEIN, HEAD OF THE SAMARIA REGIONAL COUNCIL, WHO WAS ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE JANUARY SHOOTING TO DEATH OF A 17 YEAR OLD FLEEING FROM A ROAD BLOCK AND CHARGED WITH MANSLAUGHTER IN THE JERUSALEM DISTRICT COURT IN AUGUST, WAS RELEASED ON ONGOING BAIL THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE PERIOD.

ONE MAY ALSO NOTE A SIGNIFICANT DEGREE OF

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03487 02 OF 02 211404Z ACTION NEA-04

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 RP-10 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /073 W

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O 211402Z OCT 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3808

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 JERUSALEM 03487

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK DATA PROJECT STUDY "THE

DISCREPANCY BETWEEN OFFICIAL POLICY GUIDELINES AND THEIR ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION BY SECURITY FORCES IN THE FIELD. THE CONSTANT FLOW OF COMPLAINTS ABOUT EXCESSIVE BRUTALITY INDICATES THAT SUCH EXCESSES HAVE BECOME AN ACTUAL NORM OF BEHAVIOR.

THE SEVERE MEASURES TAKEN BY ISRAELI AUTHORITIES MUST BE EVALUATED WITH DUE CONSIDERATION FOR SECURITY REQUIREMENTS IN CIRCUMSTANCES OF EFFERVESCENT CIVIL DISTURBANCES, EVEN WHERE THERE IS A TENDENCY TO EXPAND THE DEFINITION OF "SECURITY" TO BLUR TERRORIST AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY. THE CYCLE OF THE CONTINUING VIOLENCE ON THE PART OF THE PALESTINIAN POPULATION AND THE INCREASING VIOLATIONS OF CIVIL RIGHTS CALLS CLEARLY FOR SOME KIND OF POLITICAL SOLUTION BEYOND THE SCOPE AND CAPACITY OF MERE LAW AND ORDER ENFORCEMENT. END PRESS RELEASE. UNCLASSIFIED

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FOIA Exemptions

***	Current Classification ***	
***	Current Handling Restrictions ***	n/a



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<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 88TELAV14992

FILM= D880933-0400

DATE= 20 OCT 88

TYPE= TE

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SUBJECT= HISTADRUT AND ISRAEL'S ELECTIONS

REFERENCE= 88 TEL AVIV 14546, 88 TEL AVIV 14114

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CONCEPTS= ECONOMIC RECOVERY, LABOR UNION, CAMPAIGN

TAGS= KPRP, PGOV, ELAB, IS



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 SCL-01 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 MMO-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 COME-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 AMAD-01 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 ED-04 OMB-01 STR-17 SIL-01 INM-07 HHS-04 INRE-00 OPM-01 RP-10 OES-09 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 OIG-04 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /120 W ----------------332401 201322Z /40 38

O 201248Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1489

SECTION 01 OF 03 TEL AVIV 14992

FOR S/IL, NEA/IAI AND NEA/RA PASS LABOR FOR ILAB-DAVEY

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPRP, PGOV, ELAB, IS

SUBJECT: HISTADRUT AND ISRAEL'S ELECTIONS

REF: A) TEL AVIV 14546, B) TEL AVIV 14114, C) TEL AVIV 10993, D) TEL AVIV 9572, E) TEL AVIV 11048

1.

2. SUMMARY

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF LABOR (HISTADRUT) IS BOTH ISSUE AND ACTOR IN ISRAEL'S ELECTIONS. LIKUD USES HISTADRUT PROBLEMS AGAINST LABOR, WHILE LABOR DRAWS ON HISTADRUT RESOURCES IN ITS CAMPAIGN, TO THE EXTENT PERMITTED BY LAW. HISTADRUT WANTS LABOR IN THE NEXT GOVERNMENT TO SAFEGUARD HISTADRUT'S ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES, HEALTH CARE SYSTEM, PENSION FUNDS AND OTHER SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AGAINST LIKUD ATTACK. SOME OF THESE

PAGE 02 TEL AV 14992 01 OF 03 201256Z

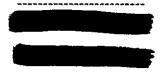
INSTITUTIONS FACED SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN 1988 (REF A, C AND D). LABOR TRIED TO DISTANCE ITSELF FROM HISTADRUT IN THE EARLY STAGES OF THE CAMPAIGN, BUT BECAUSE HISTADRUT PROVIDES MUCH OF LABOR'S (AND MAPAM'S) CAMPAIGN MANPOWER, THE TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION WAS QUICKLY RESTORED TO GRACE. DOWN IN THE MOUTH IN JULY, HISTADRUT OFFICIALS ARE NOW CONFIDENT LABOR WILL DO

ABOUT AS WELL IN THIS ELECTION AS IN THE LAST. END SUMMARY.

3. HISTADRUT AS AN ELECTORAL MACHINE

MORE THAN JUST A LABOR FEDERATION, HISTADRUT CREATED AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE TO EMPLOY AND CARE FOR WAVES OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS. IT REMAINS A MAMMOTH, FAR-FLUNG ORGANIZATION. MOST ISRAELIS BELONG TO ITS SICK FUND, UNIONS AND/OR WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION (NA'AMAT). KIBBUTZIM, MOSHAVIM, COOPERATIVES AND OTHER HISTADRUT ENTERPRISES EMPLOY 23 PERCENT OF EMPLOYED ISRAELIS. HISTADRUT INSTITUTIONS OPERATE HOSPITALS, CLINICS, DAY-CARE CENTERS, VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS, RETIREMENT AND NURSING HOMES, SPORTS AND YOUTH CLUBS THROUGHOUT ISRAEL. THE LABOR PARTY AND ITS ALLIES (MAPAM AND INDEPENDENT LIBERALS) SELECT ALL ELECTED AND MANY APPOINTED OFFICIALS OF THESE INSTITUTIONS AND OF MOST LABOR COUNCILS OVERSEEING THESE ACTIVITIES IN EACH TOWN OR REGION. PARTY MILITANTS FILL POLICY JOBS. THROUGHOUT THE SYSTEM. AT ELECTION TIME, THESE OFFICIALS AND MILITANTS BECOME CAMPAIGN ORGANIZERS AND WORKERS.

4. CAMPAIGN RESTRICTIONS



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CAMPAIGN LAWS FORBID USE OF HISTADRUT INSTITUTION FUNDS AND INSTALLATIONS IN THE CAMPAIGN, BUT NOT PERSONNEL. USE OF SOME OTHER RESOURCES, SUCH AS COMPANY VEHICLES TO GET VOTERS TO THE POLLS, MAY OCCUR. HOWEVER, OUR HISTADRUT SOURCES SAY THEY ARE BEING MUCH MORE CAUTIOUS THIS TIME IN USING RESOURCES FROM HISTADRUT FIRMS; NOT ONLY IS LIKUD WATCHING CLOSELY, BUT THESE FIRMS HAVE PROBLEMS OF THEIR OWN.

5. HISTADRUT AS AN ISSUE

ALTHOUGH PEACE AND THE UPRISING IN THE TERRITORIES ARE THE TOP ELECTORAL ISSUE, SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ALSO PLAY A ROLE. HISTADRUT IS CENTRAL TO MANY OF THEM.

LABOR PARTY PHONE SURVEYS SHOWED THAT MEDICAL CARE AND THE FATE OF HISTADRUT ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES WERE MAJOR VOTER CONCERNS. LIKUD'S CAMPAIGN ALLEGES THAT HISTADRUT CONTROLS AND MISMANAGES TOO MUCH OF ISRAEL'S ECONOMY AND SOCIAL SYSTEM. LIKUD ATTRIBUTES PROBLEMS AT KOOR, HEVRAT OVDIM AND KUPAT HOLIM TO THEIR BEING RUN BY A

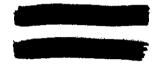




TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION CONTROLLED BY A POLITICAL PARTY. ONE LIKUD ELECTION AD IMPLIED THAT MONEY FROM THE CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' PENSION FUNDS HELPS FINANCE LABOR'S CAMPAIGN.

6. HISTADRUT'S PROBLEMS: KUPAT HOLIM

HISTADRUT'S GENERAL SICK FUND (KUPAT HOLIM CLALIT) IS A NATIONAL HEALTH MAINTENANCE ORGANIZATION. IT COVERS FOUR-FIFTHS OF ISRAEL'S POPULATION, OPERATES A THIRD OF ITS HOSPITALS AND MOST LOCAL CLINICS. IT HAS BEEN IN TURMOIL THIS YEAR (REF C). HARD HIT BY ELIMINATION OF GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES, RISING MEDICAL COSTS AND DEMAND FOR BETTER SERVICE, KUPAT HOLIM IS TRYING TO MODERNIZE AND IMPROVE SERVICE. IT HAS BEEN CAUGHT BETWEEN DEMANDS



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 SCL-01 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 MMO-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 COME-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 AMAD-01 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 ED-04 OMB-01 STR-17 SIL-01 INM-07 HHS-04 INRE-00 OPM-01 RP-10 OES-09 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 OIG-04 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /120 W

O 201248Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1490

ECTION 02 OF 03 TEL AVIV 14992

FOR S/IL, NEA/IAI AND NEA/RA PASS LABOR FOR ILAB-DAVEY

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPRP, PGOV, ELAB, IS

SUBJECT: HISTADRUT AND ISRAEL'S ELECTIONS

FOR HIGHER PAY BY DOCTORS, NURSES AND OTHER EMPLOYEES AND THE FINANCE MINISTRY'S POWER TO VETO INCREASES. FINANCE ARGUES THAT ISRAEL SPENDS ADEQUATE FUNDS ON A PER CAPITA BASIS FOR MEDICAL CARE BUT THAT WASTE, BAD PRACTICES AND BAD ORGANIZATION DIMINISH THE FULL IMPACT OF THAT FUNDING. AFTER STRIKES NEARLY ALL YEAR, AN AGREEMENT ON EXTRA COMPENSATION FOR A SECOND SHIFT TO ELIMINATE BACKLOGS WAS FINALLY APPROVED BY THE FINANCE MINISTRY IN OCTOBER.

7. HISTADRUT'S PROBLEMS: KOOR AND HEVRAT OVDIM

HISTADRUT ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES (HEVRAT OVDIM) ACCOUNT FOR ABOUT A QUARTER OF GNP. THEY INCLUDE KOOR, ISRAEL'S MAJOR INDUSTRIAL CONGLOMERATE. FACED WITH PROBLEMS

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COMMON TO MATURE INDUSTRY IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD. KOOR HAS ALSO BEEN CAUGHT IN A PROFIT SQUEEZE AND GENERAL SLOWDOWN IN ISRAEL'S INDUSTRIAL EXPORT SECTOR. EXACERBATED BY INCREASING OVERVALUATION OF THE SHEKEL AND BY HEVRAT OVDIM'S LEADERSHIP IN IMPROVING WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS AND GENEROSITY IN SEVERANCE PAY. KOOR LOST A QUARTER BILLION DOLLARS IN 1987. IN MAY AND JUNE. HISTADRUT MADE SWEEPING CHANGES IN KOOR MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION. KOOR TOUGHENED ITS APPROACH TO LABOR RELATIONS. HISTADRUT SIMILARLY RESTRUCTURED HEVRAT OVDIM AND ESTABLISHED A JOINT LABOR-MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE TO REPLACE HISTADRUT'S TRADE UNION DEPARTMENT AS FINAL ARBITER IN LABOR-MANAGEMENT IMPASSES. NEVERTHELESS, IN OCTOBER, BANKERS' TRUST THREATENED TO SUE TO DISSOLVE KOOR (REF A), AND DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER RESTRUCTURING ARE STILL UNDER WAY.

8. NEW OPTIMISM THAT HISTADRUT WON'T SINK LABOR

IN JULY, THE LABOR PARTY TRIED TO SIDESTEP THE HISTADRUT ISSUE AND GIVE SECRETARY GENERAL ISRAEL KESSAR A LOW PROFILE IN THE CAMPAIGN. HISTADRUT OFFICIALS WERE THEN WORRIED THAT LIKUD WOULD WIN THE ELECTION. THE MOOD CHANGED BY SEPTEMBER. KESSAR'S BLASTS AT PARTY EFFORTS TO KEEP HIM IN THE BACKGROUND (ALTHOUGH NUMBER 4 ON THE LABOR KNESSET ELECTION LIST) HAD EFFECT AND HE WAS BACK IN THE CAMPAIGN. HISTADRUT ACTIVISTS SENSED THAT VOTERS, THOUGH FEARFUL OF JOB LOSS IN HISTADRUT AND OTHER INDUSTRIES AND UPSET AT THE HEALTH CRISIS, SAW HISTADRUT ACTING. TO REMEDY ITS PROBLEMS AND GAVE OTHER ISSUES TOP BILLING. IN OCTOBER, THE KUPAT HOLIM IMPASSE WAS RESOLVED, ALTHOUGH PUBLIC DISSATISFACTION REMAINS. BANKERS' TRUST REVIVED THE KOOR ISSUE, BUT THE THREAT TO

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THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND TO THE MANY LIKUD VOTERS WORKING IN KOOR WAS SO GREAT THAT PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR

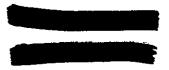
(OF LIKUD) QUICKLY RALLIED THE GOVERNMENT BEHIND KOOR. HOW WILL KOOR AFFECT THE ELECTION? ONE HISTADRUT SOURCE SAID IT MIGHT COST LABOR ONE KNESSET SEAT, BUT NOT GIVE LIKUD AN EDGE. IN ANOTHER LAST MINUTE DEVELOPMENT, HISTADRUT SIGNED AN INTERIM COST-OF-LIVING AGREEMENT WITH THE MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION GIVING ALL EMPLOYED ISRAELIS A 4.5 PERCENT INCREASE, OR ABOUT 50 PERCENT COMPENSATION FOR THE CPI INCREASE SINCE APRIL, RATHER THAN 70 PERCENT AS UNDER THE EXPIRED AGREEMENT. THIS REMOVED THE THREAT OF ANOTHER POTENTIAL PRE-ELECTORAL CRISIS.

9. DISGRUNTLEMENT AT LABOR PARTY CAMPAIGN TACTICS

ASIDE FROM THE TEMPORARY DECISION TO PUT KESSAR IN THE CLOSET, OTHER LABOR PARTY CAMPAIGN ELEMENTS UPSET MANY IN THE HISTADRUT-LABOR PARTY CAMPAIGN MACHINERY. RATHER THAN TRADITIONAL MASS RALLIES AND DOOR-TO-DOOR CAMPAIGNING, THE LABOR PARTY, ADVISED BY PROFESSIONAL CONSULTANTS, EMPHASIZED THE PERSONALITY OF PARTY LEADER PERES AND USED TELEPHONE SURVEYS TO PINPOINT UNDECIDED VOTERS. DOOR-TO-DOOR CAMPAIGNING WITH THE UNDECIDED IS NOW TAKING PLACE, AND HISTADRUT ACTIVISTS ARE HAPPY TO BE BACK IN THE ACT.

10. PROBLEMS AND MOOD IN THE KEY TEL AVIV AREA

IN BAT YAM, NEAR TEL AVIV, THE LABOR PARTY MAYOR, DUMPED FOR REELECTION, WILL RUN AS AN INDEPENDENT IN THE FEBRUARY MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. HE IS STOPPING MUNICIPAL HISTADRUT AND PARTY ACTIVISTS FROM TAKING TIME OFF TO CAMPAIGN NOW. HISTADRUT ACTIVISTS ARE HAVING DIFFICULTY RECRUITING ENOUGH RANK-AND-FILE MEMBERS TO CANVASS THE



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 SCL-01 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 MMO-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 COME-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 AMAD-01 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 ED-04 OMB-01 STR-17 SIL-01 INM-07 HHS-04 INRE-00 OPM-01 RP-10 OES-09 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 OIG-04 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /120 W

O 201248Z OCT 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1491

SECTION QUADATE STEEL POPE

FOR S/IL, NEA/IAI AND NEA/RA PASS LABOR FOR ILAB-DAVEY

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPRP, PGOV, ELAB, IS

SUBJECT: HISTADRUT AND ISRAEL'S ELECTIONS

UNDECIDED. IN TEL AVIV, PARTY LEADER SPEISER LOST IN HIS BID FOR THE KNESSET LIST LAST SPRING AND IS SITTING OUT THE CAMPAIGN. NEVERTHELESS, OUR MAJOR TEL AVIV HISTADRUT CONTACT TELLS US, THE TEL AVIV PARTY BRANCH IS FULLY ACTIVE IN THE CAMPAIGN AND RECRUITING ENOUGH ACTIVISTS TO CANVASS THE UNCOMMITTED NOW AND WORK THE POLLS ON ELECTION DAY. HE SAYS BOTH LABOR AND LIKUD ARE DISCONCERTED BY THE GENERAL APATHY. HE ADDS THAT THE TEL AVIV LABOR PARTY SEES MORE CHANCE OF A NARROW LABOR VICTORY ENABLING LABOR AT LEAST TO MAKE PERES PRIME MINISTER IN ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT, THAN OF A LIKUD VICTORY ALLOWING IT TO CHOOSE THE PRIME MINISTER OR FORM A NARROW COALITION.

11. HISTADRUT'S ARABS AND THE ARAB VOTE

PAGE 02

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HISTADRUT'S LEADING ARAB, NAWAF MASSALHA (REF E) HAS A SAFE SLOT ON LABOR'S KNESSET LIST. HE HEADS THE PARTY'S CAMPAIGN IN THE ARAB SECTOR, THE FIRST ARAB TO DO SO. HE LEADS ABOUT 200 ARAB EMPLOYEES IN HISTADRUT INSTITUTIONS IN ARAB VILLAGES AND CAN DRAW ON HISTADRUT'S JEWISH OFFICIALS. THEY HOPE HE WILL PARTIALLY OFFSET DEFENSE MINISTER RABIN'S ROUGH HANDLING OF THE UPRISING AND THE DEPARTURE OF PRESENT LABOR ARAB KNESSET MEMBER (DAROUSHE) TO FORM A SEPARATE ARAB PARTY. THEY ARE BETTING THAT MASSALHA AND HIS HISTADRUT ARAB STAFF WILL REDUCE LABOR'S LOSS OF ARAB VOTES, VITAL IN A CLOSE ELECTION.

12. HISTADRUT NEEDS THE LABOR PARTY IN GOVERNMENT

LABOR PARTICIPATION IN THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT IS VERY IMPORTANT TO HISTADRUT. ALTHOUGH A LIKUD-LED COALITION WITH LABOR IN OPPOSITION WOULD GIVE HISTADRUT'S TRADE UNIONS MORE FREEDOM OF MANEUVER, IT WOULD AGGRAVATE HISTADRUT'S OTHER PROBLEMS. HISTADRUT'S ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES, HEALTH CARE SYSTEM AND PENSION FUNDS WOULD ALL BE VULNERABLE WITH NO LABOR PARTY MINISTERS TO PARRY

BUDGETARY AND OTHER GOVERNMENTAL MOVES WHICH WOULD WEAKEN THEM FINANCIALLY.

13. BUT NOT EVERYONE IN THE LABOR PARTY AGREES

ALTHOUGH HISTRADUT OFFICIALS FEEL LABOR PARTY
PARTICIPATION IN THE NEXT GOVERNMENT IS VITAL FOR
HISTADRUT, THERE ARE THOSE IN THE PARTY WHO OPPOSE
PARTICIPATION IN A NEW NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT, ON THE
GROUNDS THAT SUCH A GOVERNMENT MIGHT BLOCK MOV8MENT
TOWARD PEACE. THEY HOPE TO BRING ABOUT NEW ELECTIONS IF

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LABOR IS UNABLE TO FORM A GOVERNMENT WITHOUT LIKUD.
MANY IN HISTADRUT FEAR A FIERCE CLASH IN THE PARTY IF
THE ELECTION RESULTS MAKE A NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT
THE ONLY OPTION FOR LABOR PARTICIPATION. PICKERING

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FILM= D880933-0544			
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SUBJECT= ISRAELI AUTHORITIES TALK TOUGH AGAINST USE OF FIREARMS BY PALESTIN.

REFERENCE= 88 BEIRUT 1510

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

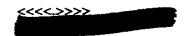
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CONCEPTS= AUTHORITIES, PALESTINIANS, DISCUSSION, CLAIM, POLICY, LIBERATION FRONT, ARMS CONTROL

TAGS= KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS, PLO



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /090 W

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O 201441Z OCT 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3796
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

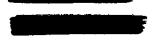
SUBJECT: ISRAELI AUTHORITIES TALK TOUGH AGAINST

USE OF FIREARMS BY PALESTINIANS

REF: BEIRUT FBIS NC1510-083588

1.

2. SUMMARY: ISRAELI AUTHORITIES HAVE ISSUED STRONG WARNINGS AGAINST THE USE OF FIREARMS BY PALESTINIANS, RESPONDING TO RECENT GRENADE ATTACKS ON IDF FORCES AND SHOOTINGS OF PALESTINIANS BY OTHER PALESTINIANS. SOME ISRAELI OFFICIALS CLAIM THAT THE PALESTINIANS ARE ABANDONNG THE POLICY FOLLOWED THUS FAR IN THE INTIFADA OF REFRAINING FROM THE USE OF FIREARMS. WE DOUBT THIS. END SUMMARY.



3. PALESTINIANS HAVE LARGELY AVOIDED USING FIREARMS AGAINST THE ISRAELIS IN THE INTIFADA, IN THE REALIZATION THAT "ARMED STRUGGLE" WITH

GUNS HAS BEEN A FUTILE POLICY IN THE PAST AND THAT BY REFRAINING FROM THIS, THEY HAVE HELPED BUILD THE "DAVID VS GOLIATH" IMAGE THEY SEEK TO CULTIVATE. ONLY ONE SOLDIER HAS BEEN KILLED BY GUNFIRE, AND WE KNOW OF NO OTHER USE OF GUNS BY PALESTINIANS AGAINST ISRAELIS IN THE INTIFADA.

- 4. HOWEVER, THERE HAVE BEEN FIVE HAND GRENADE ATTACKS--THREE IN THE LAST TEN DAYS--AGAINST IDF FORCES IN GAZA. THE GRENADE ATTACKS, A RECENT GANGLAND-STYLE KILLING OF A PALESTINIAN MUKHTAR FROM QALQILYA WHO WAS REGARDED AS A COLLABORATOR AND LAND SCAM OPERATOR, AND A STATEMENT ATTRIBUTED TO THE PLO'S HANI AL-HASSAN THAT IF SHAMIR WINS THE ELECTIONS PALESTINIANS WILL USE BULLETS INSTEAD OF STONES, HAVE PROVOKED A FLURRY OF WARNINGS FROM ISRAEL OFFICIALS.
- 5. ISRAELI MILITARY SOURCES WERE QUOTED IN THE PRESS LAST WEEKEND SAYING, "THE USE OF FIREARMS BY PALESTINIANS WILL MEAN A WHOLE NEW BALLGAME. IT WILL, IN FACT, MAKE IT EASIER FOR SOLDIERS TO RESPOND: THEY WILL BE ABLE TO SHOOT BACK."
- 6. PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR SAID OCT 16 THAT "NOT ONE ARAB WOULD SURVIVE" IF THE RESIDENTS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES BEGAN TO USE LIVE WEAPONS. AFTER CRITICISM IN THE ISRAELI PRESS (AL

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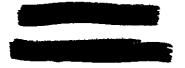
HAMISHMAR COLUMNIST ARIE PALGI WROTE OCT 17 THAT SHAMIR'S COMMENTS "SMACKED OF GENOCIDE), SHAMIR'S OFFICE EXPLAINED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WAS TALKING ABOUT RESPONDING IN KIND ONLY AGAINST PALESTINIANS WHO WERE USING FIREARMS.

7. IDF CHIEF OF STAFF DAN SHOMRON SAID OCT 16
THAT WHILE HE COULD NOT DETECT A DEFINITE SHIFT
TO THE USE OF FIREARMS BY PALESTINIANS, THE
POSSIBILITY NEED NOT BE RULED OUT. REPLYING IN
THE CABINET TO A QUESTION ABOUT HANI AL-HASSAN'S
REPORTED REMARKS, SHOMRON SAID THE RESPONSE OF
THE IDF WOULD BE MUCH SIMPLER THAN THE PRESENT
ONE; THE IDF WAS WELL-TRAINED TO DEAL WITH ARMED
ATTACKS. HE ADDED THAT FIREARMS MIGHT BE VIEWED
AS THE ONLY WAY TO KEEP THE INTIFADA GOING AND
THAT ARMS ARE USED BY SOME FACTIONS WHICH FEAR



THAT THE PLO MIGHT SOON PROPOSE A POLITICAL INITIATIVE.

- 8. AL-QUDS REPORTED OCT 16 THAT DEFMIN RABIN SAID THAT THE USE OF FIREARMS SHOWS THAT THE INTIFADA HAS STARTED TO WAIN AND THAT ITS ORGANIZERS ARE LOSING CONTROL.
- 9. A PROMINENT PALESTINIAN JOURNALIST TOLD US OCT 18 THAT THE HAD HEARD BOTH FROM ARAFAT AND THE LATE ABU JIHAD "THROUGH HIS OWN EARS" THAT IT WAS PLO POLICY TO REFRAIN FROM USING FIREARMS AGAINST ISRAELIS IN THE INTIFADA, AND THAT THIS POLICY WILL REMAIN FIRM WHOEVER WINS THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS. HE DOUBTED THE RELIABILITY OF THE REMARK ATTRIBUTED TO HANI AL-HASSAN AND PREDICTED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGE IN THIS



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /090 W

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FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3797
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

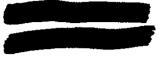
TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: ISRAELI AUTHORITIES TALK TOUGH AGAINST

POLICY. (NOTE: THE AL-HASSAN QUOTE, ACCORDING TO REF FBIS REPORT, CAME FROM THE NEWSPAPER AL ITTIHAD, AS REPORTED IN A CLANDESTINE BROADCAST FROM THE "VOICE OF PALESTINE" OCT 15, 1988.) THERE HAVE PRESS REPORTS THAT THE GRENADE ATTACKS IN GAZA WERE BY THE EXTREMIST ISLAMIC JIHAD AND WERE NOT THE WORK OF THE INTIFADA

LEADERSHIP. THE BRITISH CG TOLD US THAT ISRAELI OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD THE UK EMBASSY PRIVATELY THAT THEY BELIEVE ISLAMIC ELEMENTS ARE BEHIND THE GRENADE ATTACKS.

10. COMMENT: WE DOUBT THAT THE UNDERGROUND LEADERSHIP OF THE INTIFADA OR THE PLO HAVE



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DECIDED TO REVERSE THEIR POLICY AND TO ENCOURAGE THE USE OF FIREARMS. SUCH A SHIFT IN STRATEGY WOULD DO GREAT DAMAGE TO THE UNDERDOG IMAGE THEY HAVE SOUGHT TO CULTIVATE FOR THE INTIFADA, AS AN UNARMED PEOPLES' PROTEST AGAINST A HEAVILY ARMED IDF.
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*** Current Handling Restrictions ***	n/a

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FILM= D881012-0551

DATE= 16 NOV 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= JERUSALEM

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

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ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE
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CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

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EO= OA

SUBJECT= INDEPENDENCE DAY PASSES QUIETLY IN EAST JERUSALEM; WEST BANK SEA OFF

REFERENCE= 88 JERUSALEM 3745, 88 JERUSALEM 3621

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

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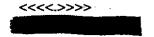
CONCEPTS= INDEPENDENCE, WEST BANK, PALESTINIANS, COMMEMORATIVE CELEBRAT KREME

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, PHUM, ASEC, PNAT, IS

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SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03778

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, ASEC, KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENCE DAY PASSES QUIETLY IN EAST

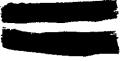
JERUSALEM; WEST BANK SEALED OFF

REF: A) JERUSALEM 3745, B) JERUSALEM 3621

1.

SUMMARY

2. THE MASSIVE SECURITY PRESENCE IN EAST
JERUSALEM AND THE WEST BANK DISCOURAGED
PALESTINIANS FROM TAKING TO THE STREETS IN
CELEBRATION OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.
NEVERTHELESS, PALESTINIANS CONGRATULATED EACH
OTHER ON THE STREET AND CELEBRATED QUIETLY IN
HOMES AND OFFICES. IN REMOTE VILLAGES,
CELEBRATIONS APPARENTLY WERE MORE OPEN AND



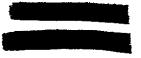
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DEMONSTRATIVE. RESIDENTS OF NABLUS REPORTEDLY SET OFF FIREWORKS AND RAISED FLAGS. WHILE FEW EXPECT THE STATUS QUO ON THE GROUND TO CHANGE

SOON, MOST BELIEVE A CHALLENGE HAS BEEN ISSUED TO THE U.S. AND ISRAEL TO RESPOND TO THE OVERTURES MADE IN ALGIERS. IN THE SHORT RUN, THE REJUVENATION OF THE INTIFADA COMBINED WITH ISRAEL'S INCREASED CONFIDENCE IN ITS ABILITY TO DAMP DOWN THE VIOLENCE MAY LEAD TO A PERIOD OF HEIGHTENED CONFRONTATION.

SHOPS OPEN, MASSIVE POLICE PRESENCE

- 3. NOVEMBER 15, THE DAY PALESTINIAN INDEPENDENCE WAS PROCLAIMED IN ALGIERS, PASSED QUIETLY IN EAST JERUSALEM. POLICE, BORDER POLICE, AND IDF TROOPS WERE OUT IN FORCE, IN SOME AREAS OUTNUMBERING RESIDENTS AND TOURISTS. UNITS WERE POSITIONED IN THE VICINITY OF MOSQUES, AND PATROLS BLANKETED THE OLD CITY (WHERE THE RED BERETS OF PARATROOPERS WERE IN EVIDENCE) AND EAST JERUSALEM. CONGENOFFS NOTED PATROLS OF 15 POLICEMEN IN BLUE SWEATSHIRTS CARRYING BILLY CLUBS AND TEAR GAS CANNISTERS, ACCOMPANIED BY THREE PADDY WAGONS, SLOWLY WALKING THE STREETS OF THE SALAHEDDIN COMMERCIAL DISTRICT.
- 4. MOST EAST JERUSALEM SHOPS OPENED, DESPITE RUMORS THE PREVIOUS DAY OF A STRIKE. AN INFORMAL TOUR OF EAST JERUSALEM NEIGHBORHOODS INDICATED THAT APPROXIMATELY NINE OUT OF TEN



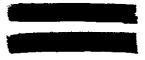
PAGE 03 JERUSA 03778 01 OF 03 161109Z

SHOPS OUTSIDE THE OLD CITY WERE OPEN; ABOUT THREE-QUARTERS INSIDE THE OLD CITY WERE OPEN. THERE WERE FEW CUSTOMERS AND FEW PEOPLE ON THE STREETS, BUT THE CITY WAS NOT DESERTED. THE NORMAL CRUSH OF PEOPLE AT THE DAMASCUS GATE WAS GONE, AND A NUMBER OF STREET VENDORS OF VEGETABLES USUALLY CLUSTERED NEAR THE EAST JERUSALEM BUS STATION WERE ABSENT. IN ADDITION, THE WEST BANK WAS SEALED OFF UNTIL MIDNIGHT, PREVENTING MANY FROM COMING TO EAST JERUSALEM.

QUIET CELEBRATIONS

5. DURING THE EARLY MORNING HOURS FOLLOWING THE DECLARATION FROM ALGIERS (WHICH PALESTINIANS

COULD HEAR ON VARIOUS ARABIC RADIO STATIONS), PALESTINIAN FLAGS WERE RAISED IN SCATTERED AREAS OF THE CITY. ACCORDING TO A CONGEN FSN, AT 3:00 AM A LARGE FLAG WAS RAISED IN THE SAWAHIEH NEIGHBORHOOD. POLICE SOON REMOVED THE FLAG AND ARRESTED THE OWNER OF THE HOUSE WHERE IT WAS DISPLAYED. MOST FLAGS HAD BEEN REMOVED BY DAYBREAK. REACTION BY PALESTINIAN JERUSALEMITES WAS GENERALLY LIMITED TO HANDSHAKES AND SMILES ON THE STREET AND QUIET GATHERINGS IN HOMES AND OFFICES. AT LEAST ONE AREA GROCERY HANDED OUT FREE SWEETS TO MARK THE OCCASION, INCIPIENT OR POTENTIAL GATHERINGS AND MARCHES WERE QUICKLY BROKEN UP BY SECURITY FORCES. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, POLICE DISPERSED THREE ATTEMPTED PARADES IN THE A-TUR NEIGHBORHOOD ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES. BRIEF CURFEWS WERE REPORTEDLY IMPOSED THERE AND IN BETHANY, JUST BEYOND THE EASTERN LIMIT OF THE MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY. OTHER REPORTS INDICATE THAT BALLOONS BEARING THE



COLORS OF THE PALESTINIAN FLAG WERE RELEASED AT

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PA-01 STR-17 SIL-01 INRE-00 RP-10 USIE-00 SP-02 SR-06 PRS-01 DS-01 /098 W

-----152703 161129Z /12

O 161044Z NOV 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4031 ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE

SECTION 02 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03778

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, ASEC, KPAL, IS

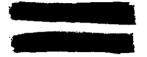
SUBJECT: INDEPENDENCE DAY PASSES QUIETLY IN EAST

JERUSALEM; WEST BANK SEALED OFF

5:00 PM IN THE BEIT HAINA NEIGHBORHOOD OF NORTHERN JERUSALEM.

6. THE MASSIVE DEMONSTRATION OF JOY, INCLUDING SONGS AND FLAGS, CALLED FOR IN LEAFLET NO. 28 OF THE INTIFADA LEADERSHIP (REF B) DID NOT OCCUR,

NO DOUBT DISCOURAGED BY THE MASSIVE SECURITY PRESENCE IN THE CITY. ALTHOUGH CONGEN OBSERVERS THROUGHOUT THE CITY DID NOT DETECT ANY ACTIVITY ON THE HARAM ESH-SHARIF OR IN THE AL-AQSA MOSQUE, THE ANNOUNCED CENTER OF ACTIVITIES, THE NOVEMBER 16 JERUSALEM POST REPORTED THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONALIST INSTITUTIONS, UNIONS, AND CHARITABLE ASSOCIATIONS MET AT AL-AQSA TO READ AND SIGN A COPY OF THE



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DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. ISLAMIC WAQF OFFICIALS CONFIRMED THAT, ALTHOUGH SECURITY FORCES TURNED AWAY MANY PALESTINIANS WISHING TO ENTER THE HARAM, THEY ALLOWED HANNA SINIORA, SARI NUSSEIBEH, AND OTHER NOTABLES TO ENTER UNMOLESTED AT AROUND 4:30 PM. THE POST ALSO REPORTED PEOPLE DANCING AND SINGING IN THE SQUARE IN FRONT OF THE MOSQUE, BUT OUR OBSERVERS DID NOT OBSERVE SUCH ACTIVITY. RUMORS ARE CIRCULATING NOVEMBER 16 THAT "WHAT WAS SUPPOSED TO HAPPEN TUESDAY WILL HAPPEN WEDNESDAY" BUT, GIVEN THE CONTINUING MASSIVE SHOW OF FORCE IN THE CITY, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT EAST JERUSALEMITES WILL TAKE TO THE STREETS.

"WE ARE HAPPY INSIDE"

- 7. THE MUTED EXTERNAL REACTION MASKED A GENUINE SENSE OF HAPPINESS AND ACCOMPLISHMENT ON THE PART OF MOST EAST JERUSALEMITES. A LOCAL BUSINESSMAN COMMENTED SIMPLY, "WE ARE HAPPY INSIDE." MOST PEOPLE WE TALKED TO BELIEVE THE DECLARATION HAS MAINLY SYMBOLIC VALUE. NONE EXPECTED AN IMMEDIATE CHANGE IN THE SITUATION. THEY BELIEVE THE PLO HAS ISSUED A CHALLENGE TO ISRAEL AND THE U.S. TO PROVE THEY ARE PREPARED FOR PEACE. MORE THAN ONE SHOPKEEPER SAID THAT, WHILE THE DECLARATION WAS FOR PALESTINIANS, ACCEPTANCE OF 242 AND 338 "IS FOR THE AMERICANS."
- 8. THE EAST JERUSALEM ARABIC PRESS GREETED THE DECLARATION WITH BANNER HEADLINES NOVEMBER 15



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AND 16 (SEPTELS). HANNA SINIORA'S OFFICE IN THE AL-FAJR NEWSPAPER WAS A REVOLVING DOOR FOR INTERNATIONAL JOURNALISTS COMING TO VIDEOTAPE, RECORD, AND WRITE DOWN HIS COMMENTS. HE STATED THAT THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WAS EVERTYTHING HE HAD HOPED FOR AND EXPECTED, AND CALLED THE DOCUMENT "A STEP TOWARD PEACE." HE SAID A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE HAD TAKEN PLACE, A CHANGE MARKED BY THE ACCEPTANCE OF MODERATION BY SUCH OBSTRUCTIONISTS AS GEORGE HABASH AND NAYEF HAWATMEH. IBRAHIM KARAEEN AND RAYMONDA TAWIL OF THE (CLOSED) PALESTINE PRESS SERVICE EXPRESSED THEIR BELIEF THAT THE BALL IS NOW BACK IN THE U.S. COURT AND HOPED FOR A POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM WASHINGTON.

WEST BANK SEALED--SOME DEMONSTRATIONS REPORTED

THE WEST BANK WAS SEALED OFF NOVEMBER 15. ALL REFUGEE CAMPS AND ALL TOWNS EXCEPT RAMALLAH, QALQILYA, AND HEBRON WERE UNDER CURFEW. REPORTS ON THE PALESTINIAN RESPONSE IN THE WEST BANK TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE ARE SKETCHY. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, DEMONSTRATORS IN NABLUS DEFIED THE CURFEW AFTER SUNDOWN TO SET OFF FIREWORKS, LIGHT BONFIRES, AND SING NATIONALIST SONGS. THE AUTHORITIES RESPONDED BY CUTTING OFF ELECTRICITY TO THE TOWN. (ELECTRICITY REPORTEDLY WAS ALSO CUT OFF IN HEBRON, BUT WE HAVE NO REPORTS OF DEMONSTRATIONS THERE.) AN AMERICAN REPORTER TOLD US HE HAD OBSERVED NUMEROUS DEMONSTRATIONS AND EVEN PARADES IN SMALL VILLAGES, BUT THAT LARGER TOWNS AND CITIES WERE WELL-CONTROLLED BY THE HEAVY IDF PRESENCE. THIS SOURCE DESCRIBED A JOYFUL PARADE

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IN BIR ZEIT VILLAGE, WITH BANNERS PROCLAIMING
"YES TO THE ALGIERS DECLARATION" AND HAPPY
CROWDS ON THE STREETS AND BALCONIES. THERE ARE

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PA-01 STR-17 SIL-01 INRE-00 RP-10 USIE-00 SP-02 SR-06 PRS-01 DS-01 /098 W

-----153003 161129Z/12

O 161044Z NOV 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 40320 ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE

SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03778

E.O. 12356; DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, ASEC, KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: INDEPENDENCE DAY PASSES QUIETLY IN EAST

JERUSALEM; WEST BANK SEALED OFF

AS YET NO REPORTS OF CASUALTIES FROM THE WEST BANK.

COMMENT

10. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IS LIKELY TO GIVE THE INTIFADA--AND THE PLO--A MUCH NEEDED SHOT IN THE ARM. IT HAS VISIBLY RAISED MORALE AMONG ALL SECTORS OF THE POPULATION. MANY PALESTINIANS, NOT EXPECTING A POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM ISRAEL, PREDICT AN ESCALATION OF THE INTIFADA. FATAH IN PARTICULAR WILL PROBABLY EMERGE WITH ENHANCED PRESTIGE, AND THE ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISTS HAVE LIKELY SUFFERED AT LEAST A TEMPORARY SETBACK. WE WILL BE WATCHING THEIR

RESPONSE CAREFULLY.

11. THE SUCCESS OF ITS SHOW OF FORCE IN EAST JERUSALEM AND THE WEST BANK IS ALSO LIKELY TO ENCOURAGE ISRAEL'S BELIEVE IN ITS ABILITY TO CONTAIN THE INTIFADA BY FORCE. THE STAGE HAS THUS BEEN SET FOR AN INCREASE IN VIOLENCE OVER THE SHORT RUN AS RECHARGED PALESTINIANS MEET INCREASINGLY CONFIDENT ISRAELI SECURITY FORCES.

12. BEIRUT MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CUBBISON



Date:

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DOC_NBR= 88JERUSA03745	5 -
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DATE= 16 NOV 88	
TYPE= TE	
FROM= JERUSALEM	1.
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EO= N/A	
SUBJECT= TERRITORIES Q	UIET DURING PNC
REFERENCE= n/a	
CONTROL_NBR= n/a	
ENCLOSURE= n/a	
LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE.	ON MICROFILM

CONCEPTS= PALESTINIANS, MARTIAL LAW, MEETING

TAGS= KPAL, KPRP, PREL, PHUM, ASEC, IS, PLO



ERRORS= N/A

PAGE 01 JERUSA 03745 161223Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 P-02 T-01 /086 W

O 161215Z NOV 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4033

JERUSALEM 03745

FOL TEL DTD 14 NOV 88 SENT ACTION ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE REPEATED FOR YOUR ACTION QUOTE:

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, KPAL, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: TERRITORIES QUIET DURING PNC

REFS: A) FBIS AMMAN/JO 102052Z NOV 88,

B) JERUSALEM 3708 ✓

1. THE WEST BANK AND EAST JERUSALEM HAVE WITNESSED RELATIVE QUIET DURING THE FIRST THREE DAYS OF THE PNC AS A RESULT OF THE IDF'S SHOW OF FORCE. FOOT AND JEEP PATROLS, BACKED IN SOME AREAS BY ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS AND GRAVEL THROWERS, ARE OUT IN FORCE IN NABLUS, RAMALLAH, HEBRON, EAST JERUSALEM, AND OTHER WEST BANK POPULATION AREAS. EAST JERUSALEM SCHOOLS WERE CLOSED BY THE AUTHORITIES NOVEMBER 12 - 19 AS A PRECAUTIONARY MEASURE. THE AUTHORITIES ALSO SEALED OFF THE WEST BANK NOVEMBER 11 - 13 (TRAVEL WAS PERMITTED NOVEMBER 14), CUT TELEPHONE LINES, BANNED DISTRIBUTION OF EAST

JERUSALEM ARABIC NEWSPAPERS, AND IMPOSED PREEMPTIVE CURFEWS ON SUSPECTED TROUBLE SPOTS. IDF LEAFLETS AND ISRAELI ARABIC TELEVISION WARNED AGAINST VIOLENCE, THREATENING PRISON AND FINES FOR VIOLATORS.

2. PRESS REPORTS--SKETCHY BECAUSE OF THE

SEALING OF THE TERRITORIES--INDICATE ONLY ONE KILLED (IN JENIN) AND A SMALL NUMBER INJURED IN WEEKEND CLASHES, AS THE WEEKEND OF VIOLENCE FEARED BY SOME WEST BANKERS (REF B) AND CALLED FOR BY A HAMAS LEAFLET ISSUED THROUGH THE MOSQUES NOVEMBER 11 (REF A) DID NOT MATERIALIZE. THE HAMAS LEAFLET ALSO WARNED THE PNC AGAINST RECOGNIZING OR TALKING PEACE WITH ISRAEL. IN A MILITANT CALL TO JIHAD, THE LEAFLET REJECTED "A TRUNCATED STATE" AND TERMED DECLARATION OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE "A STAB IN THE BACK OF THE 'CHILDREN OF THE STONES."

3. OLD CITY MERCHANTS ARE UNCERTAIN WHAT TO EXPECT ON NOVEMBER 15, THE DAY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. MANY BELIEVE A STRIKE WILL BE CALLED IN SOLIDARITY WITH ISRAELI ARABS WHO HAVE CALLED A NOVEMBER 15 STRIKE TO PROTEST HOUSE DEMOLITIONS. SOME BELIEVE A LEAFLET WITH INSTRUCTIONS FOR "INDEPENDENCE DAY" WILL BE ISSUED BY THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING THIS AFTERNOON (NOVEMBER 14). IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH INSTRUCTIONS, MERCHANTS ARE GENERALLY PLANNING TO OPEN THEIR SHOPS FROM 9:00 AM UNTIL NOON AS USUAL. THE AL-AQSA MOSQUE WILL LIKELY BE THE FOCUS OF THE CELEBRATIONS/

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CONFRONTATIONS EXPECTED IN THE LATE AFTERNOON TO COINCIDE WITH THE DECLARATION FROM ALGIERS. CUBBISON UNQUOTE CUBBISON

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SUBJECT= THE U.S. AND THE PNC		

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a .

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

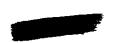
ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PALESTINIANS, RESOLUTION, APPROVAL, PEACE PLAN, RECOGNITION

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, IS, XF, PLO

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03733 01 OF 03 101431Z ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 /000 W -----232232 101433Z /38

O 101427Z NOV 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4003 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03733

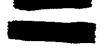
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL, PLO, IS, XF

SUBJECT: THE U.S. AND THE PNC

1.

2. SUMMARY: IT NOW APPEARS THAT THE PNC WILL ADOPT A DECLARATION OF PALESTINIAN INDEPENDENCE BASED ON UNGA RESOLUTION 181 OF 1947 THAT WILL FALL FAR SHORT OF CHALLENGING ISRAEL AND WILL NOT EVEN APPROACH OUR CONDITIONS FOR A DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO. IF THIS LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR IS THE RESULT, IT WILL BE ANOTHER, ALTHOUGH NOT UNEXPECTED, DISAPPOINTMENT WHICH, COMING AFTER THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS, WILL FURTHER CLOUD THE ENVIRONMENT FOR MOVEMENT IN THE PEACE PROCESS. IT NEED NOT, HOWEVER, BE A DEAD LOSS, SINCE IT REPRESENTS A SLIGHT, BUT SIGNIFICANT INCHING FORWARD IN PLO DOCTRINE TOWARD RECOGNIZING ISRAEL. WE SHOULD THEREFORE AVOID UNDUE CRITICISM OR CONDEMNATION OF THE PNC'S DECISIONS, SINCE THIS WOULD LIKELY HURT THE MODERATE PALESTINIANS ELEMENTS WHO SEEK FURTHER POLITICAL STEPS AND NEED OUR ENCOURAGEMENT.



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ESPECIALLY NOW, END SUMMARY

3. ALL OUR PALEYTINIAN CONTACTS HERE BELIEVE THE PNC, WHICH OPENS NOVEMBER 12, WILL ADOPT A RESOLUTION ALONG THE LINES OF THE DRAFT TEXT WHICH RECENTLY APPEARED IN THE LOCAL PRESS. THE



OPERATIVE PORTION OF THIS READS:
-- "WE, THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, REPRESENTED
BY THE PNC, DECLARE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
PALESTINIAN STATE ON THE SOIL OF PALESTINE, WITH
JERUSALEM AS ITS CAPITAL, BASED ON THE
PALESTINIAN PEOPLE'S NATURAL RIGHT TO A HOMELAND
AND ON UN RESOLUTION 181 FROM 1947." (SEE PARA
13 FOR FULL DRAFT TEXT.)

4. IF, INDEED, THE PNC CAN DO NO BETTER THAN THIS, IT WILL MEAN THAT, NOTWITHSTANDING THE UPHEAVAL OF THE INTIFADA, JORDAN'S DISENGAGEMENT AND CHALLENGE TO THE PLO, STRONG PRESSURE AND EXPECTATIONS FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD AND PALESTINIANS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, THE PLO HAS FAILED TO RISE TO THESE CHALLENGES. THE PROPOSED DRAFT IS THE LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR, AND THE PLO WILL HAVE CONFIRMED THE INABILITY OF ITS MODERATE CENTER AND ARAFAT TO OVERCOME THE HARDLINERS ON ITS PERIPHERY AND THE INABILITY OF THE MODERATE PRAGMATISTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, WHO ARE IN THE MAJORITY HERE, TO MOVE THE PLO DECISIVELY.

5. THE ABSENCE OF ANY EXPRESS RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL, ACCEPTING 242 OR THE 1967 BORDER MAKES



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SUCH A RESOLUTION USELESS, IF NOT COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, AS A WAY OF GALVANIZING ISRAEL, AND MOVING THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD NOW. PALESTINIANS WILL ARGUE THAT ACCEPTANCE OF 181 IS A HISTORIC STEP, SINCE BY EMBRACING IT THEY ACCEPT THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL WHILE ALSO USING IT TO JUSTIFY THE LEGAL EXISTENCE OF A PALESTINIAN STATE. THEY WILL ARGUE, FURTHER, THAT CITING 181 IS NOT INTENDED TO DEFINE THE BOUNDARIES OF THE TWO STATES AND THAT, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, EVERYONE KNOWS NEGOTIATIONS MUST START WITH THE 1967 BORDERS.

6. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE MAJORITY OF ISRAELIS, WHO FEAR A PALESTINIAN STATE OF ANY KIND, WILL ANGRILY DISMISS ANY RESOLUTION BASED ON 181 AS AN EFFORT TO TURN BACK THE CLOCK AND AN APPARENT CONFIRMATION THAT PALESTINIANS WANT TO RECLAIM, IF NOT ALL, A LARGE HATT OF ISRAELL THEY WILL

SEE IT AS EVIDENCE THAT THE PLO, WHATEVER EXPLANATIONS ARE GIVEN, IS NO LESS UNACCEPTABLE THAN BEFORE AS A CREDIBLE NEGOTIATING PARTNER.

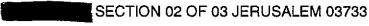
7. AS AN AMBIGUOUS, LEFT-HANDED SUBSTITUTE FOR CLEAR RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL AND AS A WAY OF SIDESTEPPING 242, A RESOLUTION BASED ON 181 WILL BE ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF PLO WAFFLING IN ORDER TO AACCOMMODATE ITS INTERNAL RIVALRIES. IT WILL ROB A PALESTINIAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE POSITIVE IMPACT IT MIGHT HAVE IF IT CAME WITHA

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 /000 W -----232304 101435Z/38

O 101427Z NOV 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4004 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE





E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL, PLO, IS, XF

SUBJECT: THE U.S. AND THE PNC

FORTHRIGHT ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL AND 242 AND

MOVEMENT ON ENDING VIOLENCE, BEYOND THE CAIRO DECLARATION.

8. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THERE WILL BE LAST-MINUTE CHANGES IN THE PNC DRAFT, CONFIRMING EARLIER OPTIMISTIC PREDICTIONS THAT THE PNC WOULD TAKE BOLD ACTION; BUT THE SIGNS NOW ARE DISCOURAGING. ONE CLEAR SIGNAL THAT THE MODERATES HAVE ALREADY LOST THE BATTLE FOR A BREAKTHROUGH IS A MESSAGE TO THE PNC SIGNED BY A COMPOSITE GROUP OF PROMINENT NATIONALISTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. THE MESSAGE CALLS ON THE PNC TO DO NO MORE THAN DECLARE INDEPENDENCE BASED ON 181, ALONG THE LINES OF THE PROPOSED DRAFT, AND IT EXPLICITLY REJECTS 242 (SEE SEPTEL FOR TEXT). UNTIL RECENTLY, MANY PRO-FATAH NATIONALISTS HERE HAD HIGH HOPES THAT THE PNC WOULD GO FURTHER. ONE INTIFADA LEAFLET POINTEDLY COUNSELLED THE PNC TO MAKE A CLEAR



PAGE 02

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DECISION, AND SPOKE OF A TWO-STATE SOLUTION BASED ON THE 1967 BOUNDARIES. NOW, THE MODERATES HERE SEEM TO HAVE SUCCUMBED TO THE EMERGING PLO/PNC CONSENSUS. THEY CLAIM THAT A MORE FORTHCOMING PNC STATEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF GENEROUS PUBLIC COMMENTS IN RECENT MONTHS BY BASSAM ABU SHARIF AND OTHERS IS IMPOSSIBLE, GIVEN THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS RESULTS, WHICH THEY INTERPRET AS THE DISAPPEARANCE OF AN "ISRAELI OPTION" FOR NEGOTIATIONS. THE MODERATES HERE ALSO SEEM LESS ABLE THAN BEFORE TO PERSUADE THE PFLP AND OTHER RADICAL MINORITY ELEMENTS IN THE TERRITORIES TO BE MORE ACCOMMODATING.

9. NEVERTHELESS, A PNC RESOLUTION LIKE THE PROPOSED DRAFT NEED NOT BE A DEAD LOSS AS AN INGREDIENT IN THE PEACE PROCESS OVER THE LONG RUN. IT WILL BE A PSYCHOLOGICAL STEP OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO PALESTINIANS, AND IT MIGHT MOVE THEM IN THE FUTURE TO MORE REALISTIC BEHAVIOR. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE DOES NOT ORDAIN AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE; AND SOPHISTICATED PALESTINIANS KNOW THAT REAL PROGRESS FOR THEM WILL DEPEND ON POLITICAL FORMULAS THAT WILL DRAW THE ISRAELIS INTO NEGOTIATIONS AND MAKE THE PLO MORE ACCEPTABLE IN THE EYES OF THE U.S. AND EUROPE. INDEED, HAVING

DECLARED INDEPENDENCE, THE PLO LEADERSHIP MAY BE EXPOSED TO INCREASING PRESSURE TO DELIVER.

10. ALSO, A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE COULD BE USEFUL IF THE PALESTINIANS CAN USE IT TO PUT ASIDE THEIR PREOCCUPATION WITH SELF



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DETERMINATION. BY DECLARING INDEPENDENCE AS A UNILATERAL ACT OF SELF DETERMINATION, THE PLO COULD, IF IT CHOSE IT, MORE EASILY DROP ITS DEMAND TO ISRAEL AND THE U.S. THAT WE ACCEPT SELF DETERMINATION AS A CONDITION TO FURTHER PALESTINIAN CONCESSIONS.

- 11. THE REFERENCE TO 181 IN A PNC DECLARATION WOULD BE IN FACT A STEP FORWARD IN THE TORTURED DOCTRINE OF THE PLO. IT SUPERSEDES, DE FACTO, THE PALESTINIAN CHARTER BY ACCEPTING THE UN PARTITION RESOLUTION THAT LEGITIMIZED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAEL AS WELL AS THE CONCEPT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE. ALTHOUGH ANY POSITIVE IMPACT OF THIS ON ISRAEL NOW WILL BE OVERWHELMED BY THE GEOGRAPHIC IMPLICATIONS OF 181, IT CREATES A NEW FOUNDATION ON WHICH PALESTINIAN PRAGMATISTS COULD BUILD IN THE FUTURE FOR A CLEAR ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL AND NEGOTIATIONS BASED ON 242.
- 12. HOW SHOULD THE U.S. REACT TO A PNC DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THIS KIND? WHILE WE SHOULD NOT STRAIN TO FIND VIRTUE IN THE RESULTS OF THE PNC, WHICH FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW WILL BE MOST UNSATISFACTORY, WE SHOULD, ON THE OTHER HAND, AVOID UNDUE CRITICISM OR



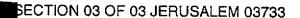
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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03733 03 OF 03 101433Z ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 /000 W

O 101427Z NOV 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4005 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE





E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: KPAL, PLO, IS, XF

SUBJECT: THE U.S. AND THE PNC

CONDEMNATION. JUST AS ISRAELIS ARE FACING NEW POLITICAL CONVULSIONS AS THEY TRY TO SORT OUT THEIR FUTURE, SO ARE THE PALESTINIANS. THE MODERATE, PRAGMATIC ELEMENTS, WHO ARE A SIGNIFICANT FORCE IN THE PLO AND WHO REPRESENT THE MAJORITY IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, NEED OUR ENCOURAGEMENT. THEY LOOK FOR AND REACT POSITIVELY TO ANY SIGNAL OF U.S. ENCOURAGEMENT. THEREFORE, IN REACTING TO THE PNC, WHILE RESTATING OUR VIEWS, WE SHOULD LOOK FOR WAYS TO SUSTAIN THOSE WHO ARE STILL TRYING TO MOVE THE PLO AND THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD OR AT LEAST TO HOLD THE LINE AGAINST THE RADICALS. OUR SUPPORT FOR THE MODERATES IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT NOW, AS ISRAELJ-PALESTINIAN RELATIONS SEEM TO BE ENTERING AN EVEN MORE TROUBLED CHAPTER.

13. FULL TEXT OF PROPOSED PNC DRAFT, WHICH WAS PRINTED IN LOCAL HEBREW AND ARAB-LANGUAGE PAPERS FOLLOWS:





BEGIN TEXT: WE THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, REPRESENTED BY THE PNC, DECLARE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PALESTINIAN STATE ON THE SOIL OF PALESTINE WITH JERUSALEM AS ITS CAPITAL AND THAT BASED ON THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE'S NATURAL RIGHT TO A HOMELAND AND ON U.N. RESOLUTION 181 FROM 1947.

THE PLO IS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, IN COMPLIANCE WITH ARAB AND ISLAMIC SUMMITS, ESPECIALLY THE FEZ SUMMIT.

THE PLO DEMANDS FROM SISTER AND FRIENDLY ARAB COUNTRIES AND EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY FROM THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, TO WORK FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF U.N. RESOLUTIONS, RELEVANT TO THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, AND THE GENEVA AGREEMENT.

THE PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL (PNC) ANNOUNCES THE ESTABISHMENT OF THE INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE AND STRESSES THAT THE CONFLICT CAN BE SOLVED BY INTERNATIONAL RESOLUTIONS AND THROUGH AN ACTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, IN WHICH THE PLO PARTICIPATES ON EQUAL GROUNDS. END TEXT. WILCOX

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*** Current Classification *** *** Current Handling Restrictions ***

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>>

DOC_NBR= 88TELAV16165

FILM= D880994-0593

DATE= 09 NOV 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= TEL AVIV

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS=

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= OA

SUBJECT= FORMATION MANEUVERING - NOV. 8

PARTMENT OF STATE

REFERENCE= 88 TEL AVIV 16009

CONTROL NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a .

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PRESIDENT, CONSULTATION, SCHEDULE, POLICY, ELECTION, NEGOTIATION

TAGS= PGOV, IS, (HERZOG, CHAIM)

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PAGE 01 TEL AV 16165 01 OF 03 091035Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /075 W

P 091031Z NOV 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2025 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

SECTION 01 OF 03 TEL AVIV 16165

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, IS

SUBJECT: FORMATIQN MANEUVERING - NOV. 8

REF: TEL AVIV 16009

1.

2. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT HERZOG STARTED CONSULTATIONS WITH PARTY REPRESENTATIVES ON NOV. 7. MEANWHILE, LIKUD IS SEEKING THE BACKING OF A RIGHT/RELIGIOUS KNESSET MAJORITY TO SUPPORT THE NAMING OF SHAMIR TO FORM THE NEXT GOVERNMENT. LABOR, FOR ITS PART, IS TRYING TO DEVELOP A BLOCKING MAJORITY AGAINST LIKUD BY RECRUITING ONE OF THE LARGER RELIGIOUS PARTIES (MOST LIKELY SHAS). THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX PARTIES HAVE SO FAR REFUSED TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO EITHER LIKUD OR LABOR. IN ADDITION, SHAMIR AND HIS CONFIDANTS ARE ACTIVELY PUSHING THE MESSAGE SHAMIR WOULD PREFER A BROAD GOVERNMENT (ON HIS TERMS) WITH LABOR RATHER THAN DEPEND ON THE EXTREME RIGHT AND RELIGIOUS PARTIES. BUT THIS MAY BE A PLOY TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE

PAGE 02 TEL AV 16165 01 OF 03 091035Z

UNDECLARED RELIGIOUS PARTIES TO COMMIT TO SHAMIR RATHER THAN HAVE TO MAKE THE BEST DEAL THEY CAN LATER AS PARTNERS IN A BROAD GOVERNMENT. FOR NOW, SHAMIR IS FOCUSED ON GAINING THE OPTION OF A RIGHT/RELIGIOUS MAJORITY COALITION, WHICH WOULD ALSO GIVE HIM THE UPPER HAND SHOULD HE DECIDE LATER TO INVITE LABOR TO

JOIN A BROADER GOVERNMENT UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP. END. SUMMARY.

PRESIDENT'S CONSULTATIONS

- 3. PRESIDENT HERZOG BEGAN "INFORMAL" CONSULTATIONS WITH LIKUD, LABOR AND TEHIYA ON NOV. 7. HERZOG NOTED DURING THE MEETINGS THE CONSIDERABLE PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR A "BROAD GOVERNMENT," I.E., LIKUD AND LABOR, AND RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING A BROAD GOVERNMENT WHOSE MANDATE WOULD BE TO CHANGE THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM. LIKUD REPLIED THAT SHAMIR, IF NAMED AS FORMATEUR, WOULD ACT TO ESTABLISH A STABLE AND BROAD GOVERNMENT. TEHIYA ALSO ADVOCATED THE APPOINTMENT OF SHAMIR. LABOR PROPOSED THAT PERES BE GIVEN THE NOD.
- 4. HERZOG WILL MEET WITH THE CITIZENS RIGHTS
 MOVEMENT AND THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY ON NOV. 8;
 WITH HADASH, MOLEDET, AND AGUDAT ISRAEL ON NOV. 9;
 AND WITH DEGEL HATORAH, CENTER-SHINUI, DAROUSHA'S
 DEMOCRATIC ARAB PARTY, MAPAM, TZOMET, AND THE
 PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE ON NOV. 10. SHAS HAS
 DELAYED MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT IN ORDER TO
 CONSULT WITH ITS COUNCIL OF TORAH SAGES FIRST.

LIKUD PARTY CONTACTS

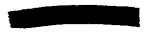
PAGE 03 TEL AV 16165 01 OF 03 091035Z

LIKUD'S NEGOTIATING TEAM MET WITH AGUDAT ISRAEL. WHICH EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR A WRITTEN LIKUD COMMITMENT TO PASS "WHO IS A JEW" LEGISLATION PLUS 2 DEPUTY MINISTER POISITIONS FOR THE PARTY. SHAMIR AND SHARON ALSO WERE SAID TO HAVE MADE TELEPHONE CONTACT WITH RABBI SHACH, THE PATRON OF SHAS AND DEGEL HATORAH, TO SEEK HIS INFLUENCE IN BRINGING THE TWO PARTIES OVER TO LIKUD. SHAMIR IS ALSO BELIEVED TO BE SEEKING A MEETING WITH SHAS' OTHER PATRON, RABBI OVADIA YOSEF. (LIKUD INFIGHTING ALSO CONTINUED WITH DAVID LEVY SHARPLY ATTACKING SHARON FOR CONDUCTING "PRIVATE NEGOTIATIONS" WITH THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES BEHIND THE BACK OF LEVY'S NEGOTIATING TEAM. SHARON ARGUED THAT HE ACTED WITH SHAMIR'S KNOWLEDGE AFTER LEVY'S TEAM FAILED TO ACHIEVE RESULTS.) THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY ANNOUNCED IT WOULD PROPOSE SHAMIR AS PRIME MINISTER BUT WOULD ASK HIM TO INVITE LABOR TO JOIN ON THR BASIS OF "DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS" WITH THE

ARABS AND CONTINUATION OF SETTLEMENTS (I.E., TERMS LABOR ASSERTS ARE UNACCEPTABLE).

6. RAFUL EYTAN OF TZOMET ANNOUNCED HE WOULD BACK SHAMIR AS FORMATEUR, BUT ALSO SUGGESTED BRINGING IN LABOR AS A JUNIOR PARTNER IN A LIKUD-LED GOVERNMENT. LIKUD AND TEHIYA ALSO DISCUSSED PORTFOLIOS, WITH TEHIYA SEEKING TWO MINISTRIES AND CHAIRMANSHIPS OF THE MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE ON SETTLEMENTS (FOR YUVAL NEEMAN) AND ON IMMIGRATION (FOR GEULA COHEN). MOLEDET'S REHAVAM ZE'EVI TOLD ASSOCIATES LIKUD WAS PREPARED TO GIVE HIM THE POST OF DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER. LIKUD DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER RONI MILO TOLD US LIKUD WOULD HAVE NO PROBLEM GIVING ZE'EVI THE POSITION.

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P 091031Z NOV 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2026 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

SECTION 02 OF 03 TEL AVIV 16165

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

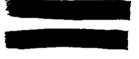
TAGS: PGOV, IS

SUBJECT: FORMATION MANEUVERING - NOV. 8



LABOR PARTY CONTACTS

- 7. PERES, RABIN AND KNESSET FACTION LEADER RAFI EDRI MET LATE NOV. 7 WITH RABBI OVADIA YOSEF AND SHAS' LEADERSHIP TO CONVINCE THEM TO BACK PERES' FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT. IN EARLIER MEETINGS, LABOR REPORTEDLY SOUGHT TO GAIN SHAS SUPPORT BY OFFERING 4 PORTFOLIOS (INTERIOR, HOUSING, RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS, AND LABOR/SOCIAL WELFARE) PLUS A SHARP INCREASE IN FUNDING FOR PARTY-RELATED INSTITUTIONS. LABOR HAS ALSO BEEN IN TOUCH WITH DEGEL HATORAH, WHICH APPEARS TO BE SUPPORTING ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT (WITH SHAMIR AS PRIME MINISTER, PERES AS FOREIGN MINISTER AND RABIN AS DEFENSE MINISTER).
- 8. INCOMING LABOR MKS YOSSI BEILIN AND MICHA GOLDMAN BOTH TOLD US LABOR'S PROSPECTS FOR WINNING OVER ONE



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OF THE LARGE RELIGIOUS PARTIES AND THUS FORMING A BLOCKING MAJORITY AGAINST A NARROW LIKUD GOVERNMENT WERE NOT VERY GOOD. BEILIN SAID LIKUD'S CHANCES WERE "MUCH BETTER."

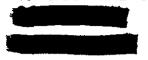
INTERNAL TENSIONS IN LABOR

9. A RABIN NOV. 4 COMMUNIQUE REJECTING A LINK BETWEEN THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS AND THE JERICHO TERRORIST INCIDENT WAS SEEN AS AIMED AT PERES, WHO HAD MADE THE ASSOCIATION. THIS WAS THE FIRST RECENT PUBLIC DISPUTE BETWEEN THE TWO. RABIN ALSO MADE THE POINT THAT LABOR SHOULD LOOK AT THE "REAL REASONS" FOR THE ELECTION OUTCOME. STILL, RABIN'S BLAST DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE THE START OF A CAMPAIGN AGAINST PERES. (PERES AND RABIN, FOR EXAMPLE, MADE A POINT OF MEETING TOGETHER WITH SHAS LEADERS ON NOV. 7.) MEANWHILE, LABOR'S "SHILUV" CIRCLE, HEADED BY MK MICHA HARISH AND INCLUDING MANY MID-LEVEL PARTY ACTIVISTS, CALLED ON THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PARTY'S FAILURE IN THE ELECTION TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY. SHILUV ALSO ADVOCATED LABOR'S GOING INTO THE OPPOSITION. LABOR'S EXECUTIVE IS SCHEDULED TO MEET NOV. 10. THE CRITICISM PERES FACES AT THE MEETING WILL BE AN IMPORTANT INDICATOR OF WHETHER SENIOR PARTY PERSONALITIES ARE PREPARED TO ACT AGAINST HIM. IN BEILIN'S VIEW, THE FRUSTRATION IN THE FRUST

AS A RESULT OF THE ELECTION OUTCOME WAS UNLIKELY TO LEAD TO PERES' OUSTER.

DOES SHAMIR WANT A GOVERNMENT WITH LABOR?

10. SHAMIR REPORTEDLY SAID DURING TALKS WITH OTHER



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PARTY LEADERS THAT HE PREFERRED AS BROAD A GOVERNMENT AS POSSIBLE AND THAT HE HAD NOT GIVEN UP HOPE ON BRINGING LABOR IN (ON HIS TERMS, I.E., NO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, ETC.). DEPUTY MINISTER RONI MILO ALSO TOLD US NOV. 7 THAT SHAMIR PREFERRED TO LEAD A BROAD GOVERNMENT (WITH NO ROTATION) INCLUDING LABOR MINISTERS RATHER THAN BE DEPENDENT ON A NARROW COALITION BASED ON THE EXTREME RIGHT AND RELIGIOUS PARTIES. TODAY'S HAARETZ NEWSPAPER ALSO CARRIED A FRONT-PAGE ARTICLE QUOTING A "SHAMIR CONFIDANT" (MOST PROBABLY MILO) MAKING THE SAME POINTS. MINISTER OF LABOR KATZAV ALSO PUBLICLY HINTED LIKUD WOULD PREFER TO BRING LABOR INTO A NEW GOVERNMENT.

11. THE MESSAGE THAT SHAMIR AND CO. ARE SENDING, THAT SHAMIR WOULD LIKE TO BRING LABOR INTO A GOVERNMENT (ON HIS TERMS), CAN SERVE SHORT AND LONGER-TERM OBJECTIVES. IN THE SHORT-TERM, THE MESSAGE COULD RESTRAIN RELIGIOUS AND RIGHTWING PARTY DEMANDS BY SUGGESTING SHAMIR HAS AN ALTERNATIVE TO A NARROW GOVERNMENT. IN ADDITION, OFFERING TO BRING IN LABOR MIGHT MAKE IT EASIER FOR SOME OF THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX PARTIES TO SUPPORT LIKUD FORMATION OF A BROAD GOVERNMENT. OVER THE LONGER TERM, IF SHAMIR IS IN A POSITION TO FORM A NARROW GOVERNMENT, HE WOULD ALSO BE WELL-POSITIONED TO BRING IN LABOR ON HIS TERMS.

WHICH WAY WILL SHAS GO? WHICH WAY AGUDA?

12. INTERNAL DECISION MAKING IN SHAS AND AGUDA IS MURKY. SHAS LEADERS LIKE INTERIOR MINISTRY DIRGEN RABBI DERI, DEPUTY SOCIAL WELFARE MINISTER RAPHAEL



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /075 W

P 091031Z NOV 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2027 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

SECTION 03 OF 03 TEL AVIV 16165

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV. IS

SUBJECT: FORMATION MANEUVERING - NOV. 8

PINHASI AND INCOMING MK RABBI YAIR LEVY PREFER AN ALLIANCE WITH LABOR. BUT OTHER SHAS INFLUENTIALS ARE SWAYED BY THE PARTY'S VOTERS PREFERENCE FOR LIKUD. MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO YITZHAK PERETZ AND INCOMING MKS RABBIS ARYE GAMLIEL AND YOSEF AZRAN REPORTEDLY ARE INCLINED TO LIKUD. RIVALRY BETWEEN DERI AND PERETZ ADDS ANOTHER TWIST TO THE PROCESS OF SHAS' DETERMINATION OF ITS POLITICAL PREFERENCE. SHAS' DECISION WILL BE FINALLY ORCHESTRATED IN ITS COUNCIL OF TORAH SAGES, LED BY RABBI OVADIA YOSEF. FOR ITS PART, AGUDA'S DECISION-MAKING IS COMPLICATED BY THE INFLUENCE OF THE U.S.-RESIDENT LUBAVITCHER RABBI, WHOSE PERSONAL SUPPORT CONTRIBUTED ENORMOUSLY TO AGUDA'S RISE FROM 2 TO 5 SEATS IN THE ELECTION. WHILE SOME AGUDA LEADERS LIKE MK MENACHEM PORUSH PREFER LABOR, THE LUBAVITCHER RABBI HOLDS HAWKISH VIEWS STRONGLY AT VARIANCE WITH THOSE OF LABOR. AGUDA SEEMS A LIKELY RECRUIT FOR LIKUD.



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*** Current Classification *** *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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DOC_NBR= 88JERUSA03711

FILM= D880995-0046

DATE= 09 NOV 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= JERUSALEM

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE TEL AVIV

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

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EO= OA

SUBJECT= PALESTINIAN ACADEMICIAN ANALYZES THE - "AQABA SUMMIT"

DEPARTMENT OF SIA

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RELEASE

FOIA Exemptions

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a .

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= PALESTINIANS, SUMMIT MEETING, DISPUTE SETTLEMENT, DEMONSTRATION POLITICAL SETTLEMENT

TAGS= KPAL, PBTS, IS, JO, (ABDUL-HADI, MAHDI)

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MR Cases Only: EO Citations

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03711 01 OF 03 091318Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /087 W

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R 091316Z NOV 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3987
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03711

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PBTS, KPAL, IS, JO

SUBJECT: PALESTINIAN ACADEMICIAN ANALYZES THE

"AQABA SUMMIT"

1. SUMMARY: FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF AN ARTICLE BY DR. MAHDI ABDUL-HADI, PRESIDENT OF THE PALESTINIAN ACADEMIC SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (PASSIA), A JERUSALEM THINK-TANK. ABDUL-HADI SPENT A YEAR AT HARVARD AND FORMERLY WORKED FOR CROWN PRINCE HASSAN IN AMMAN, BUT HAS SINCE BROKEN WITH JORDAN AND CONSIDERS HIMSELF A MAINSTREAM PRO-FATAH NATIONALIST. IN HIS ARTICLE, HE PRESENTS THE AQABA SUMMIT AS A HOPEFUL "NEW CHAPTER" IN PALESTINIAN-JORDANIAN RELATIONS WHICH MEANS THAT JORDAN AND THE PALESTINIANS WILL COOPERATE, FOLLOWING THE JULY DISENGAGEMENT DECISIONS FROM WHICH THERE WILL BE NO RETREAT, ON A POLITICAL

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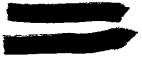
SOLUTION VIA A PALESTINIAN STATE THAT WOULD LEAD TO CONFEDERATION. HE CLAIMS THE COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLE SET AT THE SUMMIT MEANS THAT PALESTINIANS IN JORDAN WILL NOT BE "JORDANIZED" AND THAT PALESTINIANS WILL NOT USE FINANCIAL

LEVERAGE TO DAMAGE JORDAN'S ECONOMY. FINALLY, HE DESCRIBES THE SUMMIT AS A MESSAGE TO ISRAEL THAT THERE IS A PALESTINIAN PARTNER IN THE PEACE PROCESS AND A CLEAR PALESTINIAN OPTION PUT FORTH BY THE PLO THAT COULD FREE ISRAELIS FROM THEIR "NIGHTMARE OF INSECURITY." ABDUL-HADI'S ARTICLE IS A SYNTHESIS OF THE MODERATE, PRO-FATAH PEACE POSITION WHICH IS SUPPORTED BY THE MAINSTREAM LEADERSHIP HERE. IT WAS WRITTEN BEFORE THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS WHEN PALESTINIANS STILL HOPED FOR A LABOR PARTY VICTORY. A GLOOMY ABDUL-HADI TOLD US THE OTHER DAY THAT THE OPTIMISM EXPRESSED IN HIS ARTICLE IN NOW LESS JUSTIFIED IN VIEW OF THE ISRAELI ELECTION RESULTS. END SUMMARY

2. (U) BEGIN TEXT:

AQABA: AN ARAB FORUM FOR BUILDING CONFIDENCES BY MAHDI ABDUL-HADI EAST JERUSALEM

IN PREPARATION FOR CONVENING THE HISTORIC PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING IN ALGIERS ON NOVEMBER 12, PLO CHAIRMAN YASSERE ARAFAT WENT HIMSELF OR SENT EMISSARIES TO ALMOST EVERY MAJOR WORLD CAPITAL FOR CONSULTATIONS, LEAVING THE MOST SENSITIVE AND CRITICAL ONE, AMMAN, FOR LAST.



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ON SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22 CHAIRMAN ARAFAT AND PRESIDENT MUBARAK OF EGYPT HELD THE LONG-EXPECTED MEETING WITH KING HUSSEIN AT THE ROYAL PALACE IN AQABA. WHAT DID THE THREE LEADERS HOPE TO ACHIEVE IN THAT MEETING, AND WHAT IS ITS MESSAGE FOR THE INTIFADA, THE PNC, AND ISRAEL?

FOR THE PALESTINIANS, THE AQABA FORUM SIGNALED ANOPEN TRUCE WITH THE JORDANIAN DISENGAGEMENT'S POLICIES AND PRACTICES, A PALESTINIAN TRUCE NOT TO CONFRONT OR CONTRADICT THE PHILOSOPHY BEHIND THE DISENGAGEMENT, BUT ACCEPTING, WELCOMING, AND PROMOTING IT AND STRESSING THAT THERE IS NO RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE. ARAFAT WANTED THE AQABA MEETING IN ORDR TO ENCOURAGE AMMAN TO SUPPORT THE HISTORIC RESOLUTIONS THAT WILL COME

OUT OF THE PNC: THE DECLARATION OF PALESTINIAN INDEPENDENCE, THE FORMATION OF A NATIONAL PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, THE DRAFTING OF A POLITICAL PROGRAM, AND FINALLY, ENDORSEMENT OF THE CONFEDERATION THESIS BETWEEN PALESTINE AND JORDAN. THIS MEANS, FROM A PALESTINIAN PERSPECTIVE, THAT JORDAN HAS REAFFIRMED THAT THE PLO IS THE SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE. IT MEANS ALSO THAT THE DISENGAGEMENT MUST REMAIN JORDAN'S OVERALL STRATEGY AND SHOULD NOT BE MISREAD AS IN INTERIM POLITICAL TACTIC. AND FINALLY, AQABA SIGNALS THE JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN MUTUAL INTEREST IN PROMOTING THE INTIFADA'S GOAL OF A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT.

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 .SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /087 W

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R 091316Z NOV 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3988 INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV AMEMBASSY AMMAN AMEMBASSY CAIRO AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

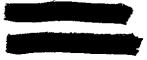


E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PBTS, KPAL, IS, JO

SUBJECT: PALESTINIAN ACADEMICIAN ANALYZES THE

"AQABA SUMMIT"

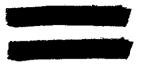
TO THE PALESTINIANS LIVING IN THE KINGDOM OF JORDAN, THE AQABA FORUM FILLED AN URGENT NEED FOR REASSURANCE, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE MIDDLE CLASS BUSINESSMEN AND THOSE WHO OPPOSED THE DISENGAGEMENT, THAT A NEW CHAPTER IN PALESTINIAN-JORDANIAN RELATIONS IS BEING DRAFTED, AND THAT THEIR AGGREGATE RIGHTS IN THE LAND WHERE THEY RESIDE WILL NOT BE JEOPARDIZED AS A RESULT OF THE JULY 31 DISENGAGEMENT. NEITHER SHOULD THEY HAVE ANY FEAR OF ATTENDING THE PNC MEETING IN ALGIERS. THE PRESENCE OF PNC MEMBERS FROM JORDAN, WHO ACCOUNT FOR ALMOST A THIRD OF THE TOTAL SEATS IN THE PNC, IS ESSENTIAL. JUDGING BY PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE, THEY



ARE EXPECTED TO ENDORSE ARAFAT'S POLITICAL PROGRAM. IT WAS DUE TO THEIR PRESENCE THAT THE PNC IN 1984 MEETING IN AMMAN WAS ABLE TO CONVENE A QUORUM DESPITE THE BOYCOTT OF THE OPPOSITION CAMP, THEN LED BY HABASH, HAWATMEH AND JIBRIL. IT WAS DUE ALSO TO THEIR SUPPORT THAT THE PLO LEADERSHIP SUCCEEDED IN 1985 IN ENDORSING THE FEBRUARY 11 ACCORDS WITH JORDAN. AND FINALLY, THE AQABA FORUM SENDS A MESSAGE TO ALL THE PALESTINIANS IN REFUGEE CAMPS IN JORDAN, WHO HAVE TRADITIONALLY RESISTED ASSIMILATION, THAT THERE IS A HALT TO THE "JORDANIZATION" POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF THE AMMAN GOVERNMENT WHICH CAME AS A RESULT OF THE DISENGAGEMENT.

FOR JORDANIANS, THE AQABA FORUM MEANT THAT AMMAN IS NOT ISOLATED AS A RESULT OF THE DISENGAGEMENT BUT IS BACK IN A LEADING ROLE INA NEW GEOPOLITICAL PACT WITH CAIRO AND BAGHDAD, A PACT THAT EMBRACES THE PLO AND WHICH WILL NOT BE TORPEDOED BY SYRIA. JORDAN, FURTHERMORE, STRENGTHENS ITS POSITION THAT THERE WILL BE NO RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE, THAT THE INTIFADA WILL REMAIN CONFINED TO ITS PRESENT TERRITORY, AND THAT A NEW CHAPTER IN THE PALESTINAIN-JORDANIAN RELATIONSHIP WILL OPEN BASED ON

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND RESPECT, AND ON AN EQUAL FOOTING, TO REACH THE STAGE OF CONFEDERATION. IN THIS, WE CAN SENSE THE INFLUENCE OF MRS. THATCHER, WHO MET WITH KING HUSSEIN LAST MONTH AND WHO IS KNOWN TO SUPPORT ONFEDERATION.



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THERE IS ANOTHER URGENT NEED, AND THAT IS TO RESTORE CONFIDENCE IN JORDANIANS THAT BY HAVING PALESTINIANS AND THE PLO BACK ACTIVE ON THE JORDANIAN POLITICAL SCENE, AN IMMEDIATE SOLUTION IS AT HAND TO THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE SUDDEN DEVALUATION OF THE JORDANIAN DINAR. IF THE DINAR DROPS FURTHER, JORDAN WILL FACE A DISASTER. MONEY TRANSFERS THROUGH JORDANIAN BANKS FROM PALESTINIANS ABROAD TO THEIR RELATIVES, WHICH ACCOUNT FOR A FULL THIRD OF JORDAN'S LIQUIDITY, STOPPED IN THE WAKE OF THE DISENGAGEMENT. BUT IF THE PALESTINIANS COME BACK POLITICALLY, SO WILL THEY ECONOMICALLY.

FOR THE EGYPTIANS, THE AQABA FORUM SHOWED THAT EGYPT IS GENUINELY SUPPORTIVE OF PALESTINIAN NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS. EGYPT HAS RETURNED TO THE ARAB FAMILY IN A LEADING ROLE, AND CAIRO IS RETURNING A FAVOR TO JORDAN, WHO INITIATED THE WELCOME BACK TO THE ARAB HEARTH, EGYPT UNDERSCORED A STRONG BACKING FOR THE PALESTINIANS CAUSE WHILE ENCOURAGING ARAFAT PERSONALLY TO GO ON WITH HIS PLANS AND NOT GIVE UNDUE WEIGHT TO THE PALESTINIAN OPPOSITION CAMPS. FINALLY, EGYPT RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO WASHINGTON'S URGING TO WORK FOR NORMALIZING RELATIONS BETWEEN ARAB RIVALS (SUCH AS CHAIRMAN ARAFAT AND KING HUSSEIN) AND TO MAINTAIN ITS POTENTIAL AS A INTERMEDIARY FOR PLO-AMERICAN NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS.

THERE IS A MESSAGE TO BE READ FROM AQABA BY ALL ISRAELIS: THERE IS INDEED AN ARAB PARTNER FOR A PEACE SETTLEMENT AT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. AMMAN, CAIRO, AND THE PLO CALL ON ISRAELI VOTERS TO CAST THEIR BALLOTS FOR REASON.

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03711 03 OF 03 091320Z ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 P-02 T-01 /087 W

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R 091316Z NOV 88 FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3989 INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV AMEMBASSY AMMAN AMEMBASSY CAIRO AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03711

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PBTS, KPAL, IS, JO

SUBJECT: PALESTINIAN ACADÉMICIAN ANALYZES THE

"AQABA SUMMIT"

AND FREE THEMSELVES FROM THE NIGHTMARE OF INSECURITY. STABILITY AND SECURITY FOR THE JEWISH STATE IS IN EMBRACING THE PALESTINAIN PEACE OPTION. THIS OPTION WAS OUTLINED CLEARLY IN ABC TV'S NIGHTLINE INTERVIEW WITH KING HUSSEIN ON OCTOBER 21. IT WAS OUTLINED ALSO IN THE STATEMENT OCTOBER 23, IN AQABA, BY MUBARAK'S CHIEF POLITICAL ADVISER, OSAMA AL BAZ. A THIRD DEMONSTRATION OF A HAND EXTENDED IN PEACE IS THE LATEST STATEMENTS OF CHAIRMAN ARAFAT FROM BAGHDAD: "WE WILL CONTINUE NOT TO USE ARMS, NOT OUT OF WEAKNESS BUT TO SHOW THE ISRAELI CITIZENS THAT THE WAY OF PEACE AND NOT OF WAR AND BLOODSHED IS BEST FOR OUR CHILDREN."



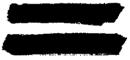
THE PEACE OPTION WAS PUT FORTH ALSO OCTOBER 25 IN THE UNPRECEDENTED DIRECT PLO APPEAL FROM TUNIS TO ISRAELI JEWISH AND ARAB VOTERS: "THE ISRAELI VOTER HAS A HISTORIC CHANCE TO HELP DEFINE THE SHAPE OF HIS DESTINY...ON NOVEMBER 1 HE IS NOT GOING TO AN ORDINARY POLL, HE IS GOING TO A POLL ON THE SHAPE OF THE FUTURE. EITHER HE

ELECTS WAR OR HE ELECTS PEACE."

THE AQABA ARAB FORUM IS A MAJOR, DIRECT RESPONSE TO MOSCOW'S REQUEST TO THE PLO AND JORDAN THAT THE KEY TO A POLITICAL SOLUTION IS BASED ON THE CONFEDERATION THESIS AND O ACCEPTING ISRAEL AS A REALITY. IT IS ALSO A MESSAGE TO WASHINGTON THAT ARABS, ALONG WITH THE PLO, ARE WILLING TO PURSUE THE CONFEDERATION THESIS, AND PARTICIPATE IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. IT IS AN ANSWER ALSO TO THE WASHINGTON-MOSCOW UNDERSTANDING. WHAT IS NEEDED NOW, AFTER AQABA, IS AN ISRAELI LEADERSHIP TO ACCEPT THE ARAB-PALESTINIAN PEACE OPTION: THE INTIFADA PEACE MESSAGE, AN UNARMED RESISTANCE MOVEMENT TO CHANGE THE STATUS QUO AND BUILD A NEW PALESTINIAN SOCIETY, A MESSAGE FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE BASED ON COEXISTENCE BETWEEN TWO STATES.

MAHDI ABDUL-HADI OCTOBER 25, 1988

DR. MAHDI ABDUL-HADI, A PALESTINIAN ACADEMICIAN, IS THE PRESIDENT OF PASSIA, THE PALESTINIAN ACADEMIC SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL



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AFFAIRS, BASED IN EAST JERUSALEM.

END TEXT. WILCOX



*** Current Classification *** *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a <<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>> DOC_NBR= 88TELAV16009 FILM= D880984-0701 **DATE= 05 NOV 88** TYPE= TE FROM= TEL AVIV DRAFTER= n/a OFFICE= ACTION NEA TO= STATE FEL 10 ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE CHANNEL= n/a) DECLASSIFY MR^N Cases Only:) DECLASSIFY EO Citations) DENY IN PART ORIGHAND= n/a) DELETE Non-Responsive Info FOIA Exemptions ORIGPHAND= n/a DOWNGRADE TS to () & or Exemptions ORIGCLASS= ORIGPCLASS= n/a EO= N/A SUBJECT= GOVERNMENT FORMATION UPDATE - NOV. 4 REFERENCE= 88 TEL AVIV 15904 CONTROL_NBR= n/a ENCLOSURE= n/a . LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= ELECTION RESULTS, POLITICAL PARTY, MINISTER, COALITION GOVERNMEN

TAGS= PGOV, IS

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PAGE 01 TEL AV 16009 051104Z ACTION NEA-11

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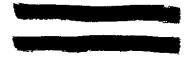
E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: PGOV, IS

SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT FORMATION UPDATE - NOV. 4

REF: TEL AVIV 15904

FINAL ELECTION RESULTS; NO CHANGES

1. AFTER COMPLETING THE COUNT OF THE SOLDIERS VOTE, THE KNESSET CENTRAL ELECTIONS COMMITTEE RELEASED THE FINAL ELECTION RESULTS ON NOV. 4: LIKUD - 40 SEATS; LABOR - 39 SEATS; SHAS - 6 SEATS; NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY - 5 SEATS; AGUDAT YISRAEL - 5 SEATS; CITIZENS RIGHTS MOVEMENT - 5 SEATS; HADASH - 4 SEATS; TEHIYA - 3 SEATS; MAPAM - 3 SEATS; TZOMET - 2 SEATS; MOLEDET - 2 SEATS; CENTER/SHINUI - 2 SEATS; DEGEL HATORAH - 2 SEATS; PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE - 1 SEAT; AND DEMOCRATIC ARAB PARTY (DAROUSHA) - 1 SEAT. CONTRARY TO EXPECTATIONS, THE SOLDIERS VOTE DID NOT SHIFT A SEAT OR TWO TO THE RIGHT.



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PRESIDENT TO START FORMATION TALKS ON MONDAY

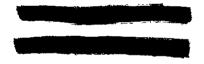
2. ISRAEL RADIO REPORTED THAT PRESIDENT HERZOG WILL BEGIN HIS CONSULTATIONS WITH KNESSET FACTION REPRESENTATIVES ON NOV. 7.

FORMATION CONTACTS BETWEEN PARTIES

3. THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY AND MOLEDET REPORTEDLY TOLD LIKUD NOV. 3 THEY WILL RECOMMEND TO THE PRESIDENT THAT HE ASK SHAMIR TO FORM A GOVERNMENT. LIKUD'S NEGOTIATING TEAM PLANS TO MEET AGAIN WITH SHAS ON NOV. 4, AGUDA AND DEGEL HATORAH ON NOV. 6, AND TEHIYA AND TZOMET ON NOV. 7. FOR ITS PART, LABOR WILL MEET AGAIN WITH THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES AND ITS ZIONIST LEFT SMALL PARTY ALLIES EARLY IN THE WEEK.

SIGNS OF UPRISING IN LABOR

4. DIRECT PUBLIC CRITICISM OF PERES IS BEING HEARD FROM SECOND-ECHELON PARTY ACTIVISTS, AS WELL AS GENERAL CRITICISM IN THE PARTY FOR LABOR'S FAILED CAMPAIGN AND ITS CURRENT FORMATION STANCE. AT A NOV. 3 MEETING OF THE PARTY'S "YOUNG GENERATION" CIRCLE, WHICH INCLUDES SEVERAL INCOMING MKS, MAYORS AND HISTADRUT OFFICIALS, CALLS WERE MADE FOR PERES TO RESIGN FROM THE PARTY CHAIRMANSHIP. INCOMING MK RAANAN COHEN (ANTI-PERES INDEPENDENT) AND UNSUCCESSFUL KNESSET CANDIDATE YITZHAK ELIASHIV (RABIN SUPPORTER) CALLED FOR PERES' DEPARTURE AND FORMATION OF A NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT WITH RABIN AS DEFENSE MINISTER.



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- 5. IN CONTRAST, PARTY DOVES (INCLUDING SEVERAL EXISTING AND INCOMING MKS) ARE SAID TO BE SEEKING ASSURANCES FROM PERES THAT HE WILL NOT JOIN LIKUD IN A NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT. MEANWHILE, MK ORA NAMIR (A DOVISH RABIN SUPPORTER WHO HAD DISPUTED PERES' WATERING-DOWN OF THE LABOR PLATFORM PLANK ON RELIGIOUS ISSUES) CALLED ON PERES TO CEASE THE "POINTLESS AND DAMAGING" MEETINGS WITH THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX PARTIES. SHE REPORTEDLY IS WORKING TO CONVENE THE PARTY EXECUTIVE TO DISCUSS "A COMPLETE OVERHAUL" OF THE PARTY. SOME MEMBERS OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ARE ALSO SEEKING A MEETING OF THAT BODY TO DISCUSS THE ELECTION OUTCOME.
- 6. RESPONDING IN A NOV. 4 PRESS INTERVIEW TO HIS CRITICS, PERES STATED HE WILL CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS TO WIN OVER THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX PARTIES. IF HE DOES NOT SUCCEED, LABOR WILL GO INTO THE OPPOSITION. PERES ALSO MADE THE POINT THAT HE PLANS TO CONTINUE HIS

LEADERSHIP OF LABOR.

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7. COMMENT: SENIOR PARTY CRITICS OF PERES CONTINUE TO AVOID DIRECT CRITICISM OF HIM ALTHOUGH THEY CRITICIZE LABOR'S FAILED CAMPAIGN (WHICH WAS RUN BY PERES). RABIN HAS KEPT HIS SILENCE, ALTHOUGH SEVERAL KNOWN RABIN SUPPORTERS HAVE ATTACKED PERES. THOSE IN THE SECOND-ECHELON OF THE PARTY ARE LESS WILLING TO HOLD THEIR FIRE. MANY BARELY RESTRAINED THEIR CRITICISM OF PERES DURING THE CAMPAIGN AND NOW ARE GOING PUBLIC WITH RELISH. PICKERING

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*** Current Handling Restrictions.*** n/a

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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED
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FILM= D880990-0929

DATE= 08 NOV 88

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ORIGCLASS= UNCLASSIFIED

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EO= N/A

SUBJECT= WEST BANK WRAP UP, NOVEMBER 1 - 7, 1988

REFERENCE= 88 JERUSALEM 3692

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a .

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= HOLIDAY, ARREST, MEETING, MURDER

TAGS= KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 RP-10 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /094 W

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AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03701

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, NOVEMBER 1 - 7, 1988

REF: JERUSALEM 3692

1. SUMMARY: THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WERE SEALED OFF NOVEMBER 1, ISRAELI ELECTION DAY, AND NOVEMBER 2, THE ANNIVERSARY OF BALFOUR DECLARATION.
SOLDIERS RAIDED SEVERAL WEST BANK VILLAGES AND ARRESTED RESIDENTS TO PREEMPT PROTESTS IN ADVANCE OF THE NOVEMBER 12 PNC MEETING. FOUR PALESTINIANS WERE REPORTED SHOT AND KILLED AND AN IDF SOLDIER WAS STABBED TO DEATH. 55 PALESTINIANS WERE WOUNDED. ONE ISRAELI CIVILIAN WAS INJURED BY A STONE, THREE OTHERS SUFFERED BURNS FROM MOLOTOV COCKTAILS, AND A SOLDIER WAS INJURED BY A BRICK. FOUR HOMES WERE DEMOLISHED AND ANOTHER WAS SEALED UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

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FOR SECURITY REASONS. MORE THAN 100 OLIVE TREES WERE UPROOTED. EXTENDED CURFEW WAS IMPOSED ON SEVEN LOCATIONS. A GENERAL STRIKE WAS OBSERVED IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES NOVEMBER 2. END SUMMARY. 2. FIVE KILLED, 60 WOUNDED

NOVEMBER 1

THREE ISRAELI PASSENGERS SUFFERED BURNS AFTER A MOLOTOV COCKTAIL HIT THEIR CAR IN EAST JERUSALEM. SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED A PALESTINIAN YOUTH AT THINNABEH, NEAR TULKAREM. TWO OTHERS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED IN CLASHES IN NABLUS AND ANOTHER WAS WOUNDED IN KUFR MALIK, NEAR RAMALLAH.

NOVEMBER 2

ON A GENERAL STRIKE DAY MARKING THE 71ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION, SOLDIERS FATALLY SHOT A PALESTINIAN YOUTH FOLLOWING CLASHES IN QALQILYA, AND LATER WOUNDED HIS MOTHER. ANOTHER PALESTINIAN WAS ALSO SHOT AND WOUNDED. PALESTINIANS SOURCES SAID THAT SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED 10 PALESTINIANS IN CLASHES IN NABLUS AND TULKAREM. ONE ISRAELI SOLDIER WAS WOUNDED AND HOSPITALIZED AFTER BEING HIT BY A BRICK DROPPED ON HIM DURING CLASHES IN NABLUS.

NOVEMBER 3

SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED A PALESTINIAN YOUTH DURING CLASHES IN NABLUS' CASBAH AND TWO OTHERS AT NEARBY BALATA REFUGEE CAMP. AT IDNA, NEAR HEBRON, SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED TWO PALESTINIANS. ISRAELI POLICEMEN FIRED RUBBER BULLETS AND WOUNDED UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

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TWO PALESTINIANS AFTER A POLICE BULLDOZER DEMOLISHED A MEMORIAL ERECTED FOR A LOCAL YOUTH KILLED SEVERAL WEEKS AGO AT JABAL MUKABBER IN SOUTH JERUSALEM.

NOVEMBER 4

SETTLERS FROM QARNEI SHOMRON ERECTED ROADBLOCKS ON THE NABLUS-QALQILYA ROAD, STONED ARAB CARS AND INJURED ONE PALESTINIAN YOUTH. SETTLERS FROM GINAT SHOMRON AND QARNEI SHOMRON WENT TO QALQILYA AND TRIED TO TAKE REVENGE AGAINST ARABS WHO HAD STONED AN ISRAELI CAR EARLIER AND LIGHTLY INJURED AN ISRAELI WOMAN.

NOVEMBER 5

SOLDIERS OPENED FIRE AT STONE THROWERS IN RAMALLAH AND WOUNDED TWO PALESTINIANS. ANOTHER PALESTINIAN WAS WOUNDED IN BETHLEHEM, TWO IN TULKAREM, THREE IN SILWAD AND TWO IN BALATA REFUGEE CAMP, NEAR

NABLUS.

NOVEMBER 6
SOLDIERS SHOT AND KILLED ONE PALESTINIAN AND
WOUNDED FOUR OTHERS DURING A RAID ON KUFR YASID
VILLAGE, NEAR NABLUS. IN THE CLASHES THAT ERUPTED
DURING THE YOUTH'S FUNERAL, TWO MORE PALESTINIANS
WERE WOUNDED. ANOTHER PALESTINIAN WAS SHOT AND
WOUNDED AT ASSIRA SHAMALIYA, NEAR NABLUS.

NOVEMBER 7 DURING AN IDF RAID AT KUFR SALEM, NEAR NABLUS.

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 RP-10 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /094 W

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03701

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, NOVEMBER 1 - 7, 1988

WHILE ALL THE MEN HAD GONE OUT TO PICK OLIVES, SOLDIERS SHOT AND KILLED A PALESTINIAN WOMAN AND WOUNDED NINE OTHERS. IN THE OLD CITY OF NABLUS, SOLDIERS SHOT AT STUDENTS DEMANDING THE OPENING OF WEST BANK SCHOOLS AND WOUNDED FOUR OF THEM. AT MOSHAV MESU'A, IN THE JORDAN VALLEY, ABOUT 30 KMS. NORTH OF JERICHO, AN ARAB YOUTH FROM TAMMUN VILLAGE, NORTH EAST OF NABLUS, FATALLY STABBED AN IDF SOLDIER. (THIS BRINGS THE NUMBER OF ISRAELI DEATHS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE INTIFADA TO 8.) THE ASSAILANT WAS SUBSEQUENTLY SHOT AND KILLED BY AN ISRAELI RESERVIST. (REFTEL)

3. BEEFED UP FORCES ANTICIPATE DISTURBANCES UNCLASSIFIED

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AUTHORITIES SEALED OFF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES NOVEMBER 1, ELECTION DAY, AND NOVEMBER 2, THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION. SOLDIERS BLOCKED PASSAGE TO AND FROM ISRAEL AND PREVENTED MOVEMENT BETWEEN DISTRICTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. THE BRIDGES WITH JORDAN WERE ALSO CLOSED. JOURNALISTS WERE ONLY ALLOWED IN WITH AN ARMY ESCORT.

THE IDF HAS CONVERTED SCHOOLS IN SEVERAL TOWNS AND VILLAGES INTO TEMPORARY BARRACKS AS PART OF ITS INCREASED DEPLOYMENT INTENDED TO CURB UNREST IN ADVANCE OF NEXT WEEK'S MEETING OF THE PNC. ON NOVEMBER 6, SOLDIERS RAIDED SEVERAL WEST BANK VILLAGES TO PREEMPT PLANNED PROTESTS, SETTING UP ROADBLOCKS AND DESPATCHING INCREASED PATROLS IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS. THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES ARE EXPECTED TO BE CLOSED AND JOURNALISTS BARRED ENTRY DURING ALL OR PART OF THE PNC SESSION. (SEPTEL)

4. PALESTINIAN HOMES AND ORCHARDS RAZED

AUTHORITIES ARRESTED, NOVEMBER 3, FOUR PALESTINIANS SUSPECTED OF KILLING A SUSPECTED COLLABORATOR OCTOBER 6 AT BURQA, NEAR NABLUS, AND DISCOVERED AN ARMS CACHE IN THEIR POSSESSION.

LATER, SOLDIERS DESTROYED THE HOMES OF THREE OF THE SUSPECTS AND SEALED OFF THE HOME OF THE FOURTH. KARNEI SHOMRON SETTLERS UPROOTED 30 OLIVE TREES AT NEIGHBORING KUFR LAQIF NOVEMBER 4, AFTER TELEPHONE LINES TO THEIR COMMUNITY WERE CUT. AT BIDYA, WEST OF NABLUS, NOVEMBER 7, SOLDIERS UNCLASSIFIED

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UPROOTED ABOUT 100 OLIVE TREES FOLLOWING TWO MOLOTOV COCKTAIL ATTACKS IN THE AREA. ON THE EVENING OF NOVEMBER 7, IDF BULLDOZERS IN TAMMUN DEMOLISHED THE HOME OF THE PALESTINIAN WHO HAD EARLIER STABBED TO DEATH AN ISRAELI SOLDIER AT MASU'A.

5. CURFEWS

THE CURFEW IMPOSED ON JERICHO AND THE SURROUNDING REFUGEE CAMPS OCTOBER 30 AFTER MOLOTOV COCKTAILS WERE THROWN AT AN ISRAELI BUS WAS LIFTED ON NOVEMBER 3, AFTER 5 DAYS.

ON NOVEMBER 4, AUTHORITIES LIFTED THE CURFEW IMPOSED ON BEIT SAHOUR. AFTER 5 DAYS.

THE CURFEW ON QALQILYA, IMPOSED AFTER DISTURBANCES ON NOVEMBER 1, WAS LIFTED ON NOVEMBER 6, AFTER 5 DAYS.

A NUMBER OF CURFEWS WERE STILL IN EFFECT ON NOVEMBER 7: RUJAYB, NEAR NABLUS - 9 DAYS; AZZEH REFUGEE CAMP IN BETHLEHEM - 22 DAYS; BURQIN VILLAGE, NEAR JENIN - 18 DAYS (THE RESIDENTS HAVE BEEN ASKED TO SURRENDER A NUMBER OF VILLAGE YOUTHS WANTED BY THE ARMY, AND VILLAGERS WERE ALLOWED TO HARVEST THEIR OLIVES); KUFR MALIK - ABOUT 50 DAYS OF COMPLETE CLOSURE.

6. OTHER PUNITIVE MEASURES

THE IDF HAS HELD ABOUT 85 ARAB OWNED VEHICLES AT

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 RP-10 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /094 W

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03701

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, NOVEMBER 1 - 7, 1988

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN RUJAYB VILLAGE SINCE DISTURBANCES OCTOBER 30. ELECTRICITY TO THE VILLAGE HAS BEEN CUT SINCE THAT DATE.

7. GENERAL STRIKE

A GENERAL STRIKE WAS OBSERVED THROUGHOUT THE WEST BANK AND GAZA NOVEMBER 2. WILCOX



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DOC_NBR= 88TELAV15904	·		
FILM= D880977-0228			
DATE= 03 NOV 88			
TYPE= TE			
FROM= TEL AVIV			
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SUBJECT= GOVERNMENT FORMATION MANEUVERING BEGINS

REFERENCE= 88 TEL AVIV 15763

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

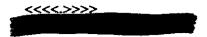
ENCLOSURE= n/a .

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= RELIGIOUS GROUP, REQUEST, LEGISLATION, POLITICAL PARTY, ELECTION, COALITION GOVERNMENT, INTERIM GOVERNMENT

TAGS= PGOV, IS



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 SCL-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /079 W

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O 031626Z NOV 88 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1893 INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

SECTION 01 OF 02 TEL AVIV 15904

E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: PGOV, IS

SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT FORMATION MANEUVERING BEGINS

REF: TEL AVIV 15763 (

1. SUMMARY: LIKUD AND LABOR ARE COURTING THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES, THE KEY BUILDING BLOCK FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NARROW COALITION. THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES HAVE MADE A SHOW OF KEEPING THEIR OPTIONS OPEN BUT LIKUD CLEARLY HAS THE INSIDE TRACK. DESPITE SUBSTANTIAL RELIGIOUS PARTY REQUESTS FOR PORTFOLIOS AND RELIGIOUS LEGISLATION, THERE IS LITTLE SUGGESTION LIKUD AND THE RELIGIOUS CANNOT WORK THESE ISSUES OUT. LIKEWISE, LIKUD AND THE SMALL RIGHTWING PARTIES APPEAR ABLE TO AGREE ON ENOUGH TO FORM A BASIS FOR COOPERATION. SHAMIR AND PERES ARE NOT INCLINED TO CONSIDER ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT (NUG) AT THIS TIME. THE SOLDIERS VOTE WILL BE COUNTED BY NOV. 4 AND OFFICIAL ELECTION RESULTS WILL BE PUBLISHED AFTERWARDS. PRESIDENT HERZOG MAY BEGIN FORMATION

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CONSULTATIONS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF KNESSET FACTIONS EARLY NEXT WEEK. INTERNAL LABOR PARTY CRITICISM OF ITS FAILED ELECTION CAMPAIGN IS RISING BUT SO FAR WITHOUT PUBLIC ATTACKS ON PERES. END SUMMARY.



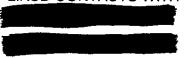
FINAL ELECTION RESULTS NOT YET READY

2. THE KNESSET CENTRAL ELECTIONS COMMITTEE INFORMED US THE COUNTING OF THE SOLDIERS VOTE WILL BE COMPLETED NOV. 4. WE ANTICIPATE THAT ANY CHANGES WILL BENEFIT THE RIGHT AT THE EXPENSE OF THE LEFT AND FURTHER IMPROVE SHAMIR'S CHANCES TO FORM A RIGHT/RELIGIOUS COALITION. MEANWHILE, OVERALL ELECTIONS RESULTS REMAIN AS REPORTED IN REFTEL. ALTHOUGH THERE IS AN OUTSIDE CHANCE THE OFFICIAL RESULTS MAY BE PUBLISHED AS EARLY AS NOV. 4, IT IS MORE LIKELY THEY WILL APPEAR NEXT WEEK.

FORMATION: THE PRESIDENT

3. PRESIDENT HERZOG SPOKE "INFORMALLY" TO SHAMIR AND PERES ON NOV. 2. THE PRESIDENT'S LEGAL ADVISER EXPLAINED TO US THERE IS NO LEGAL BAR TO THE PRESIDENT'S HOLDING "INFORMAL" CONTACTS WITH PARTY LEADERS ON THE FORMATION EVEN BEFORE THE ELECTION RESULTS ARE OFFICIALLY PUBLISHED. (THE LAW STATES THE PRESIDENT MAY BEGIN CONSULTATIONS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF KNESSET FACTIONS AFTER THE OFFICIAL ELECTION RESULTS ARE PUBLISHED.) HERZOG MAY CONDUCT MORE "INFORMAL" CONTACTS BEFORE LAUNCHING HIS FORMAL CONSULTATIONS EARLY-MID NEXT WEEK.

LIKUD CONTACTS WITH RELIGIOUS AND RIGHTWING PARTIES



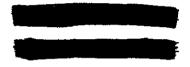
PAGE 03

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- 4. SHAMIR IS SEEKING TO ESTABLISH THE BASIS FOR A LIKUD-LED NARROW RIGHT/RELIGIOUS COALITION BEFORE HERZOG STARTS HIS FORMAL CONSULTATIONS. LIKUD SOURCES EXPECT TO REACH A MEETING OF THE MINDS WITH THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES, DESPITE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ON PORTFOLIOS AND RELIGIOUS LEGISLATION.
- 5. SHAMIR MET WITH THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES AND TEHIYA ON NOV. 2. LIKUD'S NEGOTIATING TEAM (NISSIM, ARENS, LEVY, SHARON AND KATZAV) PLANS A SECOND ROUND OF MEETINGS WITH THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES NOV. 3. SHAMIR ALSO MET WITH TZOMET AND MOLEDET LEADERS NOV. 3.
- 6. SHAMIR TOLD TEHIYA AND NRP REPRESENTATIVES NOV. 2
 HE WOULD NOT BACK DOWN ON HIS COMMITMENT TO THE CAMP
 DAVID ACCORDS BUT REPORTEDLY WAS AGREEABLE TO DEMANDS
 FOR MORE SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

TEHIYA IS PUSHING A GUSH EMUNIM PLAN FOR ESTABLISHING 11 SETTLEMENTS IN THE TERRITORIES. TEHIYA IS ALSO INTERESTED IN EITHER YUVAL NEEMAN FOR THE HOUSING PORTFOLIO (TO PUSH SETTLEMENTS) OR GEULA COHEN AS MINISTER OF IMMIGRATION AND ABSORPTION AND NEEMAN AS DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER.

7. THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES ALSO STATED THEIR PORTFOLIO PREFERENCES. SHAS ASKED FOR 3 MINISTRIES FROM AMONG INTERIOR, EDUCATION, RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS OR HOUSING. THE NRP ASKED FOR EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS, AT A MINIMUM. AGUDA REPORTEDLY WANTED SEVERAL MINISTRY DIRECTOR-GENERALSHIPS. DEGEL HATORAH WAS ALSO ANGLING FOR AN UNSPECIFIED PORTFOLIO. OTHER RELIGIOUS PARTIES' DEMANDS INCLUDED: RESOLVING THE "WHO IS A JEW" ISSUE BY CHANGING THE LAW OF RETURN (NRP, AGUDA) OR VIA THE RABBINICAL COURTS OR CONVERSION LAWS (SHAS); EXCLUDING RABBINICAL COURTS



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 SCL-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /079 W

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O 031626Z NOV 88
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1894
INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE



E.O. 12356: N/A TAGS: PGOV, IS

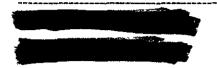
SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT FORMATION MANEUVERING BEGINS

FROM THE JURISDICTION OF THE STATE'S HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE (SHAS, AGUDA); STRICTER SABBATH LAWS TO LIMIT ENTERTAINMENT AND WORKING HOURS; EQUALIZING THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX SCHOOL SYSTEMS WITH THAT OF THE STATE-RELIGIOUS AND STATE SYSTEMS; AND INCREASING FUNDS FOR RELIGIOUS AND RELATED INSTITUTIONS.

8. MOLEDET'S REHEVAM ZE'EVI PROPOSED THE HOLDING OF A NATIONAL REFERENDUM ON THE TRANSFER OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA ARABS. IN A RADIO INTERCEMENT MORNING,

HOWEVER, HE DID NOT SUGGEST HIS PARTICIPATION IN A LIKUD-LED GOVERNMENT WAS DEPENDENT ON GETTING HIS REFERENDUM. ZE'EVI ALSO TOLD ISRAEL RADIO HE WAS NOT DEMANDING A CABINET PORTFOLIO.

LABOR'S CONTACTS WITH THE RELIGIOUS AND LEFT PARTIES



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9. PERES ALSO MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES ON NOV. 2. BUT NRP POLITICAL SECRETARY YAHALOM LATER SUGGESTED THERE WAS LITTLE BASIS FOR HIS PARTY'S COOPERATION WITH LABOR. LABOR'S SECGEN BARAM PUBLICLY SAID LABOR'S TALKS WITH THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES WOULD SOON COLLAPSE. NONETHELESS, RELIGIOUS PARTY LEADERS LIKE FORMER CHIEF RABBI OVADIA YOSEF (SHAS) AND MK MENACHEM PORUSH (AGUDA) CONTINUED TO STATE PUBLICLY THAT ALL OPTIONS WERE OPEN.

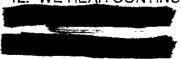
10. PERES WILL BE MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CITIZENS RIGHTS MOVEMENT (CRM), MAPAM AND CENTERSHINUI NOV. 3. CRM LEADER ALONI REPORTEDLY URGED PERES TO END HIS "HUMILIATING" EFFORTS WITH THE RELIGIOUS AND JOIN CRM IN OPPOSITION. CRM MK SARID ASSERTED PERES HAD NO CHANCE TO ESTABLISH A GOVERNMENT. MAPAM CONTINUED TO GIVE ITS SUPPORT TO PERES TO FORM A GOVERNMENT BUT ALSO URGED LABOR TO REJECT A NUG WITH LIKUD.

SHAMIR, PERES: NO MOVES ON NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT

11. BOTH SHAMIR AND PERES SAID PUBLICLY THEY WOULD NOT INITIATE APPROACHES TO THE OTHER ON THE FORMATION OF A NUG AT THIS TIME. SHAMIR SAID HE WAS PREPARED TO TALK TO PERES ON THE ISSUE IF PERES MADE A REQUEST, WHILE PERES SAID SHAMIR'S POLITICAL STATEMENTS INDICATED THERE WAS NOTHING TO TALK ABOUT.

RUMBLING IN LABOR AGAINST PERES

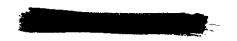
12. WE HEAR CONTINUING BUT MUTED CRITICISM OF PERES



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IN THE PARTY FOR LABOR'S FAILURE IN THE ELECTION. PERES' CRITICS COMPLAIN THAT HE ERRED IN BUILDING THE PARTY'S CAMPAIGN AROUND HIS PERSONAL LEADERSHIP (EXCLUDING THE OTHER LABOR MINISTERS) AND ON ONE-ISSUE (PEACE). THIS WAS PERES' FOURTH FAILURE TO LEAD LABOR TO VICTORY, IT IS ALSO NOTED. SOME PRIVATELY SUGGEST HE SHOULD PAY THE PRICE FOR LABOR'S FAILURE BY RESIGNING AS PARTY CHAIRMAN. PUBLICLY, MINISTER OF ABSORPTION TZUR CALLED FOR A RADICAL REFORM AS A RESULT OF THE FAILED ELECTION STRATEGY. MINISTER OF ENERGY SHAHAL URGED A DEEP AND SERIOUS STOCK-TAKING. KNESSET FACTION LEADER EDRI NOTED THAT CRITICISM WITHIN THE PARTY COULD NOT BE SWEPT UNDER THE CARPET AND THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR LABOR'S FAILURE WOULD HAVE TO PAY. SO FAR, SENIOR LABOR PERSONALITIES HAVE HELD BACK FROM PUBLICLY CALLING FOR PERES TO GO. NEITHER HAVE WE HEARD OF ANY RANK AND FILE GROUPS ORGANIZING AGAINST PERES.

PICKERING



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FOIA Exemptions

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*** Current Classification *** *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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DOC_NBR= 88JERUSA03640

FILM= D880977-0101

DATE= 03 NOV 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= JERUSALEM

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE
TEL AVIV

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS=

ORIGPCLASS= n/a

EO= OA

SUBJECT= WHITHER HAMAS?

REFERENCE= 88 JERUSALEM 3168, 88 JERUSALEM 3004

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a .

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= WEST BANK, RECONCILIATION, PEACE PLAN, PALESTINIANS, RELIGIOUS GF

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, PTER, PINS, PHUM, ASEC, IS, JO

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 03640 01 OF 03 031532Z ACTION NEA-11

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3932
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

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LONDON FOR MILLIKEN, PARIS FOR WINN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PINS, PHUM, KPAL, ASEC, IS, JO

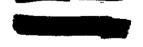
SUBJECT: WHITHER, HAMAS?

REFS: A) JERUSALEM 3168, B) JERUSALEM 3004

1.

SUMMARY

2. THE CURRENT LULL IN THE OVERT HAMAS-PLO COMPETITION ON THE WEST BANK IS BASED ON A SHARED TACTICAL INTEREST IN ENDING ISRAELI



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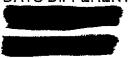
OCCUPATION. UNDERNEATH THE CURRENT CONCORD, HOWEVER, DIVERGENT VISIONS OF POST-OCCUPATION PALESTINE ENSURE THE CONTINUATION OF A LONG-TERM RIVALRY. ALTHOUGH WELL ORGANIZED, HAMAS REMAINS TOO WEAK TO TAKE ON EITHER THE PLO OR ISRAELI FORCES IN FRONTAL CONFRONTATIONS. NEVERTHELESS.

IF THE UPCOMING PNC EMBARKS ON A POLITICAL PROCESS, HAMAS-PLO COMPETITION WILL LIKELY INTENSIFY.

TACTICAL RECONCILIATION

3. OCTOBER WAS A MONTH OF RELATIVE PEACE BETWEEN HAMAS AND THE PLO/UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING (UNLU), AS PALESTINIANS CLOSED RANKS IN THE FACE OF ISRAELI ATTEMPTS TO DIVIDE AND RULE. REPORTS ARE CIRCULATING OF HIGH-LEVEL FATAH-HAMAS MEETINGS ABROAD TO WORK OUT A MODUS VIVENDI BETWEEN THE GROUPS. (THUS FAR, HAMAS HAS DEALT ONLY WITH FATAH. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT HAMAS WOULD COUNTENANCE SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT WITH THE PLO'S LEFTIST GROUPS SUCH AS THE PFLP, DFLP, AND COMMUNISTS.) RECENT LEAFLETS BY BOTH HAMAS (E.G. NUMBERS 30 AND 31) AND UNLU (27 AND 28) HAVE PLACED UNITY AT THE TOP OF THE AGENDA AND DENOUNCED FORGED LEAFLETS MEANT TO DIVIDE THE RESISTANCE, THEY HAVE ALSO DEALT WITH SIMILAR TOPICS OF PRACTICAL INTEREST TO PALESTINIANS, SUCH AS EDUCATION, TAXES, AND THE OLIVE HARVEST.

4. EARLIER IN THE INTIFADA, HAMAS CALLED STRIKE DAYS DIFFERENT FROM THOSE ORDERED BY UNLU.



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THESE WERE WIDELY INTERPRETED AS SHOWS OF INDEPENDENCE AND TESTS OF STRENGTH. HOWEVER, RECENT LEAFLETS HAVE CALLED FOR IDENTICAL STRIKE DAYS. UNLU EVEN TOOK THE UNPRECEDENTED STEP OF CHANGING ONE OF ITS STRIKE DAYS TO MATCH THE PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED HAMAS DATE, ALTHOUGH THE CHANGE IS PROBABLY MORE INDICATIVE OF DISARRAY IN THE UNLU (GETTING THE ORIGINAL DATE WRONG) THAN PERCEIVED WEAKNESS VIS-A-VIS HAMAS.

5. HAMAS AND FATAH SHARE A COMMON NATIONALIST GROUND AT THE TACTICAL LEVEL. AS THE HAMAS COVENANT (REF B) STATES, "NATIONALISM IS PART OF THE RELIGIOUS DOCTRINE." THIS SHARED INTEREST MAKES THE FATAH-DOMINATED PLO "THE NEAREST OF THE DEAR TO THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT," AND PERMITS HAMAS TO COOPERATE WITH FATAH ON A TACTICAL BASIS WITHOUT ABANDONING ITS LONG TERM GOALS. THE COVENANT ASSERTS THAT HAMAS

"SUPPORTS HIM (THE PLO) WHEN THE ENEMY ATTACKS, AND HOPES FOR HIM HEAVENLY GUIDANCE AND COUNSEL."

6. IN ADDITION, THE WEST BANK HAMAS LEADERSHIP REMAINS COMPOSED LARGELY OF CONSERVATIVE, TRADITIONAL MUSLIM CLERGY. THESE NOTABLES HAVE TRADITIONALLY OPTED FOR EDUCATION AND. PROSELYTIZING, AND CAME LATE TO THE INTIFADA. THEY ARE IKELY TO PURSUE TACTICAL COMPROMISE TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO CONTINUE THEIR PROGRAMS AMONG MUSLIMS.

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES REMAIN





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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /090 W

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FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3933
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
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AMEMBASSY PARIS

SECTION 02 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03640

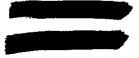
LONDON FOR MILLIKEN, PARIS FOR WINN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PINS, PHUM, KPAL, ASEC, IS, JO

SUBJECT: WHITHER HAMAS?

7. DESPITE THE CURRENT LULL, HAMAS AND THE UNLU CONTINUE TO OFFER FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT VISIONS OF POST-OCCUPATION PALESTINE. IN THE HAMAS STRATEGY, ISLAM IS PARAMOUNT. AS THE COVENANT STATES, "WE CANNOT REPLACE THE PRESENT AND FUTURE ISLAMIC PALESTINE WITH SECULAR THINKING." DESPITE OCCASIONAL RUMORS TO THE CONTRARY, USUALLY CIRCULATED BY FATAH SUPPORTERS, IT IS APPARENT THAT THE HAMAS LEADERSHIP WILL NOT COUNTENANCE A TWO-STATE



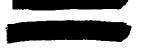
SOLUTION TO THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN QUESTION.

- 8. THIS UNDERLYING TENSION SURFACES WHENEVER THE POLITICAL PROCESS IS REVIVED. UNLU LEAFLETS 25 AND 26 CONTAINED A FAIRLY SOPHISTICATED POLITICAL PROGRAM TIED TO THE PNC MEETING. THE HAMAS RESPONSE, CONTAINED IN LEAFLET 30, WAS TO REAFFIRM ITS UNYIELDING REFUSAL TO "GIVE UP AN ATOM OF OUR BELOVED HOMELAND."
- 9. THE HAMAS-UNLU SPLIT IS ALSO APPARENT IN THE CONTEXT OF DEALINGS WITH ISRAEL. HAMAS CATEGORICALLY REJECTS THE IDEA OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE LEADING TO A TWO-STATE SOLUTION. THE COVENANT DISMISSES "THE SO-CALLED PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES." CONSEQUENTLY, HAMAS DID NOT JOIN UNLU OR THE PLO IN APPEALS TO THE ISRAELI ELECTORATE TO SUPPORT "PEACE-LOVING" PARTIES. INSTEAD, ITS ELECTION EVE LEAFLET (NO. 31) WAS FILLED WITH BITTER ANTI-JEWISH INVECTIVE.

JOCKEYING FOR POSITION

10. THE CURRENT HAMAS-UNLU PEACE CONCEALS A CONTINUING BATTLE FOR THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF PALESTINIANS. WHILE PRAISING UNITY, THE

LEAFLETS COMPETE WITH EACH OTHER IN ADDRESSING ISSUES OF CONCERN TO PALESTINIANS SUCH AS EDUCATION AND THE OLIVE HARVEST. IN SOME AREAS, UNLU HAS BECOME MORE AGGRESSIVE IN COMBATTING HAMAS' INFLUENCE. WE HAVE REPORTS OF UNLU SUPPORTERS ENGAGING IN UNPROVOKED ATTACKS



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AGAINST HAMAS SUPPORTERS IN THE NORTHERN TOWNS OF TULKAREM AND JENIN.

- 11. HAMAS IS CONTINUING TO RELY ON THE MOSQUES TO PREACH, PROSELYTIZE, AND EDUCATE--THE TRADITIONAL MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD STRATEGY. JERUSALEM WAQF OFFICIAL ADNAN HUSSEINI RECENTLY COMPLAINED THAT IMAMS IN MANY MOSQUES WERE PREACHING PRO-HAMAS MESSAGES IN VIOLATION OF WAQF INSTRUCTIONS. THE HAMAS LEADERSHIP IN THE WEST BANK HAS RESISTED INCLUSION IN UNLU COMMITTEES, AND HAMAS GRAFFITI IS WIDESPREAD IN STRONGHOLDS SUCH AS THE NABLUS CASBAH.
- 12. THE OCTOBER 30 JERUSALEM POST, CITING "WELL-INFORMED ISRAELI SOURCES," REPORTED THAT HAMAS AND THE PFLP-GC HAD AGREED ON POLITICAL (BUT NOT MILITARY OR TERRORIST) COOPERATION TO OPPOSE FATAH IN THE TERRITORIES. WE DO NOT HAVE ANY EVIDENCE OF SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT AND BELIEVE ONE UNLIKELY GIVEN THE DIVERGENT IDEOLOGIES OF HAMAS AND THE PFLP-GC. NEVERTHELESS HAMAS, RELYING ON ITS SOLID ORGANIZATION, BELIEVES THAT IT IS MAKING INROADS AND GAINING STRENGTH AT FATAH'S EXPENSE.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

13. IF THE PLO USES THE OCCASION OF THE PNC TO EMBARK ON A POLITICAL PROCESS, IT WILL CROSS A HAMAS "RED LINE" AND SPUR INTENSIFIED HAMAS-UNLU COMPETITION. AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AND/OR



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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 EUR-00 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /090 W

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FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
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SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03640

LONDON FOR MILLIKEN, PARIS FOR WINN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PTER, PINS, PHUM, KPAL, ASEC, IS, JO

SUBJECT: WHITHER HAMAS?

UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WOULD MORE CLEARLY REVEAL THE HAMAS-UNLU IDEOLOGICAL SPLIT AND MAKE FURTHER TACTICAL COOPERATION DIFFICULT.

14. IT IS UNLIKELY, GIVEN FATAH'S SUPERIOR STRENGTH IN THE WEST BANK, THAT SUCH A SPLIT WOULD MANIFEST ITSELF IN MAJOR ISLAMIC VIOLENCE AGAINST THE FATAH SECULAR NATIONALISTS, ALTHOUGH THIS POSSIBILITY CANNOT BE RULED OUT ENTIRELY.





GIVEN THE VULNERABILITY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD LEADERSHIP TO ISRAELI RETALIATION, IT IS ALSO UNLIKELY THAT HAMAS WOULD ESCALATE THE VIOLENCE AGAINST ISRAELI FORCES IN THE WEST BANK. (ALTHOUGH AN INCREASING NUMBER OF HAMAS "FOOT SOLDIERS" HAVE BEEN DETAINED RECENTLY, THE LEADERSHIP HAS REMAINED ESSENTIALLY UNSCATHED DESPITE BOLD PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS BY CERTAIN KEY FIGURES WHICH WOULD HAVE LANDED SECULARIST LEADERS IN PRISON.) INSTEAD, HAMAS WOULD PROBABLY STEP UP ITS PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGNS--THROUGH LEAFLETS, GRAFFITI, SERMONS, SOCIAL ACTIVITIES ORGANIZED THROUGH THE MOSQUES, AND THE CALLING OF SEPARATE STRIKE DAYS.

15. HAMAS WILL NOT SOON REPLACE FATAH AS THE DOMINANT POLITICAL FORCE IN THE WEST BANK AND IS UNLIKELY TO FORCE AN OVERT TEST OF STRENGTH. BUT, AS NOTED REF A, IF FATAH IS UNABLE TO TRANSLATE THE INTIFADA INTO POLITICAL GAINS, THE INFLUENCE OF HAMAS COULD GROW, ERODING FATAH'S LEADERSHIP AND THE COHESION OF THE UPRISING.

16. BEIRUT MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. WILCOX





*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED *** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a <<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ***>>> DOC_NBR= 88JERUSA03631 FILM= D880976-0018 **DATE= 03 NOV 88** TYPE= TE FROM= JERUSALEM DRAFTER≃ n/a OFFICE= ACTION NEA TO= STATE USUN NEW YORK CHANNEL= n/a DEPARTMENT OF STATE () DECLASSIFY MR Cases Only: ORIGHAND= n/a **EO** Citations) DECLASSIFY IN PART) DEHY ORIGPHAND= n/a 1 DuratE Non-Responsive liito CLASSIFY = FOIA Exemptions DOWNGRADE TE ORIGCLASS= UNCLASSIFIED Exemptions ORIGPCLASS= n/a EO= N/A SUBJECT= WEST BANK WRAP UP, OCTOBER 25 - 31, 1988 REFERENCE= 88 JERUSALEM 3591 CONTROL_NBR= n/a ENCLOSURE= n/a . LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM ERRORS= N/A CONCEPTS= OCCUPIED AREA, PALESTINIANS, BOMBING, CASUALTY

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TAGS= KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 LAB-04 TRSE-00 PA-02 STR-17 SIL-01 INRE-00 RP-10 USIE-00 SP-02 SR-06 PRS-01 DS-01 /092 W

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AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03631

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, OCTOBER 25 - 31, 1988

REF: JERUSALEM 3591

1. SUMMARY: THE IDF BEEFED UP ITS FORCES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND AUTHORITIES ARRESTED SEVERAL PALESTINIANS AS A PRE-EMPTIVE MEASURE IN ANTICIPATION OF DEMONSTRATIONS IN CONJUNCTION WITH ISRAELI ELECTIONS AND THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION. FOUR PALESTINIANS WERE REPORTED KILLED IN THE WEST BANK AND FOUR ISRAELIS WERE KILLED IN THE FIRE-BOMBING OF A BUS IN JERICHO. 56 PALESTINIANS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED, WHILE FIVE ISRAELI CIVILIANS AND AN ARAB WERE INJURED BY STONES. SEVEN HOMES WERE DEMOLISHED UNCLASSIFIED

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FOR SECURITY REASONS. CURFEWS CONTINUED AT A NUMBER OF LOCATIONS. AUTHORITIES ORDERED CLOSURE OF SEVERAL SCHOOLS IN EAST JERUSALEM. PM SHAMIR INAUGURATED A NEW SETTLEMENT. A GENERAL STRIKE WAS OBSERVED IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OCTOBER 26 AND 29. THIS REPORT WAS COMPILED MAINLY FROM

PRESS ACCOUNTS. END SUMMARY. 2. 4 ISRAELIS KILLED IN FIREBOMBING OF BUS

OCTOBER 30:

IN THE FIRST FATAL ATTACK ON AN ISRAELI VEHICLE SINCE THE START OF THE INTIFADA (REF), THREE MOLOTOV COCKTAILS WERE THROWN AT AN ISRAELI BUS IN JERICHO, KILLING FOUR ISRAELI PASSENGERS AND WOUNDING FIVE OTHERS. THIS RAISES THE TOLL OF ISRAELI DEATHS TO SEVEN SINCE THE START OF THE INTIFADA.

3. THREE KILLED, 62 WOUNDED

OCTOBER 25:

SOLDIERS, WHO ARRIVED IN CIVILIAN VEHICLES AT BEIT FURIK, NEAR NABLUS, SHOT AND WOUNDED FOUR PALESTINIANS.

SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED ONE PALESTINIAN DURING CLASHES IN TAMMUN, NORTH OF NABLUS, DURING AN IDF RAID. TWO OTHER PALESTINIANS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED IN NABLUS AND RAMALLAH.

FOUR ISRAELI BUSES WERE STONED IN EAST JERUSALEM AND TWO PASSENGERS WERE SLIGHTLY INJURED. UNCLASSIFIED

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OCTOBER 26:

THREE PALESTINIANS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED DURING CLASHES IN NABLUS, TWO IN JENIN, ONE AT TULKAREM REFUGEE CAMP, ONE IN TOUBAS AND ONE IN BIR ZEIT.

A PASSENGER ON AN ISRAELI BUS WAS SLIGHTLY INJURED AFTER A STONE SHATTERED THE BUS WINDOW NEAR BEIT SAFAFA IN WEST JERUSALEM.

OCTOBER 27:

SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED SIX PALESTINIANS DURING CLASHES AT NABLUS'S CASBAH. IN ANOTHER INCIDENT IN THE CITY, AN ARMY BUS WAS STONED AND SOLDIERS OPENED FIRE, WOUNDING A TEENAGER.

SIX OTHER PALESTINIANS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED IN CLASHES IN JENIN, TULKAREM, RAMALLAH AND IDNA, NEAR HEBRON.

OCTOBER 28:

A FOUR-MONTH-OLD BOY DIED IN TULKAREM DISTRICT, AFTER INHALING TEARGAS.

IDF SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED TWO PALESTINIANS DURING DEMONSTRATION AT NABLUS'S CASBAH.

OCTOBER 29:

THE IDF REPORTED SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED FIVE PALESTINIANS DURING CLASHES AT RUJAYB, NEAR NABLUS. HOSPITAL OFFICIALS SAID SEVEN WERE WOUNDED. IN OTHER CLASHES NEAR NABLUS. TWO

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03631

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP. OCTOBER 25 - 31, 1988

PALESTINIANS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED AT BALATA AND EIN BEIT ILMA REFUGEE CAMPS. ONE OTHER WAS SHOT AND WOUNDED IN NABLUS.

THE ARAB DRIVER OF A TAXI WITH ISRAELI LICENSE PLATES WAS LIGHTLY INJURED IN THE EYE. AFTER HIS CAR WAS STONED NEAR SHUFAT, IN NORTHERN JERUSALEM.

SOLDIERS SHOT AND WOUNDED THREE PALESTINIANS DURING CLASHES IN JENIN AND ANOTHER AT NEARBY EL FALAMEH VILLAGE. THREE PALESTINIANS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED IN AIDA REFUGEE CAMP, NEAR BETHLEHEM, AND FOUR OTHERS AT EL-JEEB, NEAR RAMALLAH. **UNCLASSIFIED**

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OCTOBER 30:

SOLDIERS SHOT AND KILLED A PALESTINIAN YOUTH DURING CLASHES IN BEIT SAHOUR, NEAR BETHLEHEM. AFTER SUNDAY CHURCH SERVICES. A CURFEW WAS CLAMPED ON THE CITY.

AT RUJAYB, NEAR NABLUS, THE BODY OF A PALESTINIAN YOUTH WAS FOUND SHOT IN THE HEAD AFTER CLASHES IN THE VILLAGE. TWO PALESTINIANS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED AT KUFR SALEM, NEAR NABLUS AND ANOTHER AT QALANDIA REFUGEE CAMP, NORTH OF JERUSALEM.

4. HOMES DEMOLISHED

OCTOBER 31

IDF DEMOLITION EXPERTS BLEW UP TWO ARAB HOMES IN JERICHO AND BULLDOZED A THIRD, BELONGING TO FAMILIES OF THREE PALESTINIANS SAID TO HAVE CONFESSED TO THE MOLOTOV COCKTAIL ATTACK ON THE ISRAELI BUS IN WHICH AN ISRAELI WOMAN AND HER THREE CHILDREN WERE KILLED. THE SOLDIERS DEMOLISHED FOUR OTHER HOMES IN JERICHO AND THE NEIGHBORING VILLAGE OF AUJA WHICH BELONGED TO PALESTINIANS WHO HAD REPORTEDLY CONFESSED TO OTHER MOLOTOV COCKTAIL ATTACKS ON ISRAELI VEHICLES.

5. GENERAL STRIKES

THE UNIFIED LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING CALLED A GENERAL STRIKE DAY IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES TO MARK THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE KUFR QASEM MASSACRE IN UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

1956. THERE WAS CONFUSION OVER STRIKE DAYS, AS UNLU CHANGED ITS OCTOBER 26 STRIKE CALL TO CONINCIDE WITH THE OCTOBER 29 HAMAS STRIKE. AS A RESULT, A PARTIAL STRIKE WAS OBSERVED ON OCTOBER 26, WITH A BROADER OBSERVANCE ON OCTOBER 29; SHOPS WERE SHUTTERED, STREETS WERE DESERTED AND PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION CAME TO A HALT.

6. CURFEWS

AS OF OCTOBER 31, A CURFEW REMAINED IMPOSED ON AZZEH REFUGEE CAMP FOR THE 15TH DAY. AUTHORITIES CUT OFF THE WATER SUPPLY TO THE CAMP. OTHER CONTINUING CURFEWS WERE AT KAFR MALIK (40 DAYS), BEIT SAHUR (2 DAYS), AND JERICHO (2 DAYS).

7. SCHOOL CONFLICTS IN JERUSALEM

ON OCTOBER 25, EDUCATION OFFICIALS SUSPENDED 58 STUDENTS OF EAST JERUSALEM'S LARGEST PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL FOR BOYS FOR TWO DAYS AND CLOSED THE SCHOOL FOR SIX DAYS AS A RESULT OF THE STUDENTS' INSISTENCE ON LEAVING THE SCHOOL AT NOON IN COMPLIANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS IN AN UNLU LEAFLET, WHILE THE PUBLIC SCHOOL CURRICULUM CALLS FOR THEM TO REMAIN UNTIL 1:15 P.M.

ISRAELI AUTHORITIES ORDERED CLOSURE OF THE NIZAMIYEH GIRL'S SCHOOL IN BEIT HANINA AND THE YOUNG MOSLEM WOMENS SOCIETY SCHOOL AT WADI JOZ IN EAST JERUSALEM FOR 20 DAYS, EFFECTIVE OCTOBER 31, AFTER THE GIRLS DEMONSTRATED AND THREW STONES.

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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03631

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: KPAL, PHUM, PINS, PBTS, ASEC, IS

SUBJECT: WEST BANK WRAP UP, OCTOBER 25 - 31, 1988

8. SHAMIR DEDICATES A NEW WEST BANK SETTLEMENT

PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR DEDICATED, OCTOBER 26, A NEW WEST BANK SETTLEMENT, NORTH EAST OF DEIR QADDIS, RAMALLAH DISTRICT. NA'ALE, ("WE SHALL GO UP") IS EXPECTED TO RECEIVE ITS FIRST RESIDENTS, 27 FAMILIES OF ISRAEL AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY EMPLOYEES, NEXT MONTH.

9. BEIRUT MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

WILCOX



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*** Current Classification ***

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

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DOC_NBR= 88TELAV15763

FILM= D880971-0765

DATE= 02 NOV 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= TEL AVIV

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= SECSTATE WASHDC ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE

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SUBJECT= ISRAELI KNESSET ELECTIONS: INITIAL EMBASSY - ASSESSMENT BASED ON UNOFFICIAL RETURNS

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CONCEPTS= EMBASSY, ELECTION, POLITICAL PARTY, RELIGION, MEETING, VOTING, DAT

TAGS= KPRP, PGOV, IS

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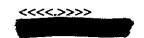
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SECTION 01 OF 03 TEL AVIV 15763

CAIRO FOR SECDEF'S PARTY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, KPRP, IS

SUBJECT: ISRAELI KNESSET ELECTIONS: INITIAL EMBASSY
- ASSESSMENT BASED ON UNOFFICIAL RETURNS

1.

2. SUMMARY: UNOFFICIAL RESULTS INDICATE LIKUD HAS EDGED OUT LABOR AS THE LARGEST PARTY (39-38) AND WILL BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO GET THE NOD FROM PRESIDENT HERZOG TO FORM THE NEXT GOVERNMENT. ALREADY LAST NIGHT (NOV. 1), LABOR AND LIKUD WERE COURTING THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES, THE BIG WINNNERS IN THE ELECTION. PERES AND SHAMIR WILL BE MEETING WITH EACH OTHER EARLY NOV. 2 AND LATER IN THE DAY MEETING SEPARATELY WITH RELIGIOUS PARTY REPRESENTATIVES TO DISCUSS FORMATION OPTIONS. PERES' HOPE IS TO ENTICE ONE OF THE LARGER ULTRA-ORTHODOX PARTIES TO HIS SIDE TO GAIN A BLOCKING MAJORITY AGAINST A LIKUD-LED NARROW GOVERNMENT. SHAMIR, MEANWHILE, IS TALKING UP MOVING

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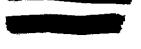
TOWARD FORMATION OF A NARROW LIKUD-LED COALITION. END SUMMARY.

3. ISRAEL RADIO AT 0700L ON NOV. 2 REPORTED THE FOLLOWING RESULTS OF YESTERDAY'S KNESSET ELECTION



BASED ON 99 PERCENT OF THE VOTE (FIGURES IN PARENTHESES SHOW SEATS WON IN THE 1984 ELECTION):

PARTY	1988	1984	•	-
LIKUD TEHIYA TZOMET MOLEDET KACH OTHER (OMETZ; TA	3 2 2 - (41) (5) (-) (-) 1)	(2)	
SUBTOTAL RIGHT		46	(49)	
NATIONAL RELIGIO SHAS AGUDA DEGEL HATORAH OTHER (MORASHA	6 (5	TY (4) (2) 2	5 (-) (2)	(4)
SUBTOTAL RELIGIO	วบร	18	(12	2)
LABOR ALIGNMENT CITIZENS RIGHTS MAPAM CENTER-SHINUI OTHER (YAHAD)	-	(-) 2 (i	(44) 5 3) 3)	(3)



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SUBTOTAL LEFT 48 (53)

HADASH 5 (4)
PROGRESSIVE LIST FOR PEACE 2 (2)
DEMOCRATIC ARAB PARTY 1 (-)

SUBTOTAL NON-ZIONIST LEFT 8 (6)

(WE HAVE HEARD A PROJECTION WHICH SUGGESTS THAT WHEN THE SOLDIERS VOTE IS IN, LIKUD AND TEHIYA COULD EACH GO UP ONE SEAT AND DEGEL HATORAH AND ONE OF THE NON-ZIONIST LEFT LISTS COULD EACH LOSE ONE SEAT.)

4. LIKUD APPEARS TO HAVE EDGED OUT LABOR (39-38) AND SHAMIR IS IN THE LEADING POSITION TO GET THE FIRST SHOT AT FORMING THE NEXT GOVERNMENT. THE ZIONIST LEFT HAS 48 SEATS AND THE RIGHT HAS 46 SEATS. BUT THE LEFT (ZIONIST AND NON-ZIONIST) DOES NOT HAVE A

61-SEAT BLOCKING MAJORITY AGAINST A LIKUD-LED NARROW RIGHT/RELIGIOUS COALITION. LIKUD, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS A REASONABLE CHANCE TO BRING THE SMALL RIGHT AND RELIGIOUS PARTIES INTO A NARROW MAJORITY COALITION. LABOR HAS A THEORETICAL CHANCE FOR A LEFT/RELIGIOUS MAJORITY IF IT CAN GET ALL THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES ON BOARD.

5. ACCORDING TO THE ELECTION RESULTS:
--LIKUD AND LABOR DROPPED FROM THEIR 1984 RESULTS,
WITH LABOR SUFFERING A MORE SIGNIFICANT SETBACK.
LABOR'S LOSSES COULD BE ATTRIBUTED TO DEMOGRAPHIC
CHANGES SINCE 1984 AND THE DROP IN LABOR'S ARAB VOTE.
LIKUD APPEARS TO HAVE LOST VOTES MOSTLY TO THE
RELIGIOUS PARTIES. THE SIZES OF THE ZIONIST RIGHT
AND LEFT BLOCS REMAINED ABOUT THE SAME AS IN 1984.



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CAIRO FOR SECDEF'S PARTY

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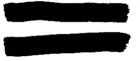
TAGS: PGOV, KPRP, IS

SUBJECT: ISRAELI KNESSET ELECTIONS: INITIAL EMBASSY

--THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX NON-ZIONIST RELIGIOUS PARTIES WERE THE BIG WINNERS IN THE ELECTION, INCREASING FROM 6 TO 13 SEATS -- A RECORD FOR THESE PARTIES, ALMOST DOUBLING THE PREVIOUS HIGH OF 7 NON-ZIONIST RELIGIOUS MKS ELECTED IN 1984. THE NRP HELD ITS OWN, WHILE MODERATE OFFSHOOT MEMAD FAILED TO PASS THE THRESHOLD FOR A SEAT. OVERALL, RELIGIOUS PARTIES HAVE ACHIEVED THEIR HIGHEST VOTE TOTAL IN ISRAELI HISTORY.

--ON THE ZIONIST LEFT, THE CITIZENS RIGHTS MOVEMENT INCREASED FROM THE 3 SEATS IT WON IN 1984 TO 5 SEATS. MAPAM, RUNNING INDEPENDENTLY FOR THE FIRST TIME IN TWO DECADES, WON 3 SEATS.

--REHEVEM ZE'EVI'S MOLEDET PARTY, WHICH ADVOCATES TRANSFER OF WEST BANK/GAZA ARABS, WON TWO SEATS.



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--THE ISRAELI ARAB VOTE GAVE THE SMALL NON-ZIONIST LEFT PARTIES EIGHT SEATS, TWO MORE THAN THEY RECEIVED IN 1984. THE ZIONIST PARTIES SHARE OF THE ISRAELI ARAB VOTE DROPPED FROM ONE HALF TO A THIRD. THERE DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN THE ARAB TURNOUT. THE LACK OF SURPLUS VOTE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE NON-ZIONIST LEFT PARTIES SEEMS TO HAVE LOST THEM VOTES EQUAL TO 1-2 SEATS. MANY ISLAMICS APPEAR NOT TO HAVE VOTED OR TO HAVE TURNED IN BLANK BALLOTS. DAROUSHA'S DEMOCRATIC ARAB PARTY APPEARS TO HAVE PASSED THE THRESHOLD FOR A SEAT.

--THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY LIKUD AND LABOR ON SECURITY, PEACE AND THE ECONOMY DID NOT HELP THE TWO PARTIES RETAIN THEIR SHARE OF THE ELECTORATE. LIKUD APPARENTLY LOST VOTES TO ULTRA-ORTHODOX RELIGIOUS PARTIES LACKING CLEAR POSITIONS WITH RESPECT TO SECURITY OR THE ECONOMY. THIS SHIFT TO THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX PARTIES APPARENTLY HAD MORE TO DO WITH THEIR HARD SELL TO RELIGIOUS AND TRADITIONAL VOTERS AND THE VIGOROUS CAMPAIGNS THEY WAGED. BY AND LARGE, THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX PARTIES ARE COMFORTABLE WITH LIKUD POSITIONS ON THE KEY ISSUES. INITIAL PUBLIC STATEMENTS

6. SHAMIR NOTED EARLY NOV. 2 THAT THE ELECTION RESULTS WERE AS YET INCOMPLETE, BUT HE BELIEVED LIKUD WOULD BE ABLE TO FORM A GOVERNMENT BASED ON THE RIGHT (AND RELIGIOUS). LATER, SHAMIR STATED PLAINLY THAT THERE WAS NO WAY TO CONTINUE THE NUG IN ITS CURRENT FORMAT. HOWEVER, HE DID NOT TOTALLY RULE OUT ANOTHER COALITION WITH LABOR (ON HIS TERMS). FOR HIS PART,

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PERES SAID LABOR WOULD LAUNCH NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES "TONIGHT" (NOV. 1). SHAS LIST LEADER RABBI PERETZ AND NRP SPOKESMEN EXPRESSED INCLINATIONS TO LIKUD BUT SAID THEY REMAINED UNCOMMITTED. SHAS, AGUDA AND THE NRP HAVE ALREADY STATED THEIR HEAVY AND COMPETING DEMANDS FOR 2-3 PORTFOLIOS EACH.

7. SHAMIR AND PERES ALSO PLAN TO MEET EARLY NOV. 2
TO DISCUSS THE ELECTION RESULTS, PERHAPS BUILDING
EACH'S BARGAINING LEVERAGE WITH THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES
BUT POSSIBLY ALSO EXPLORING A NEW NATIONAL UNITY
GOVERNMENT.

PRIVATE REACTIONS

8. LABOR: KNESSET SPEAKER HILLEL CONFIDED TO US HE DID NOT SEE HOW LABOR COULD COMPETE WITH LIKUD IN GAINING THE SUPPORT OF THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES. MK HARISH EXPECTED SHAMIR TO GET THE NOD TO FORM A GOVERNMENT FIRST. ONLY IF SHAMIR FAILED, HE CONTINUED, WOULD LABOR HAVE A CHANCE. HE ALSO EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO LABOR GOING INTO A NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT--IF SHAMIR GAVE LABOR THE OPPORTUNITY. INCOMING MK ELIAV EXPECTED LIKUD TO ESTABLISH A NARROW RIGHT/RELIGIOUS COALITION. EVEN IF SHAMIR OFFERED LABOR THE CHANCE TO PARTICIPATE IN A NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT, HE ARGUED THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR LABOR TO GO INTO THE OPPOSITION. MK RAMON LIKEWISE SIMPLY SAID LABOR WOULD HAVE TO GO INTO OPPOSITION. INCOMING MK BURG ADMITTED LABOR HAD NO PRIVATE UNDERSTANDINGS WITH ANY OF THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES. INCOMING MK BEILIN ADMITTED THAT ANY PERES

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CAIRO FOR SECDEF'S PARTY

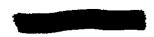
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, KPRP, IS

SUBJECT: ISRAELI KNESSET ELECTIONS: INITIAL EMBASSY

EFFORT TO COMPOSE A GOVERMENT WOULD FACE EXTREME DIFFICULTIES. (PERES PR CONSULTANT TEOMIM TOLD US THAT A LABOR TELEPHONE SURVEY INDICATED THAT THE JERICHO FIRE-BOMBING DEATHS MAY HAVE LOST LABOR 3-4 SEATS.)

- 9. NRP. PARTY SECGEN YAHALOM TOLD US HE EXPECTED SHAMIR WOULD BE CALLED UPON TO FORM A GOVERNMENT AND SEEK TO BRING THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES ON BOARD. (HE NOTED THAT THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX GAIN WAS "A SEVERE BLOW.") MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO SHAPIRA ALSO SAID HE EXPECTED LIKUD TO START NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE NRP.
- 10. CRM. NOT SURPRISINGLY, LIST LEADER ALONI EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN OVER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A RIGHT/RELIGIOUS COALITION. IN CONTRAST, MK ZUCKER BELIEVED THE ELECTION RESULTS WOULD ULTIMATELY RESULT IN LIKUD AND LABOR ESTABLISHING A NUG.



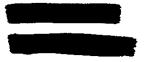


PAGE 02 TEL AV 15763 03 OF 03 020844Z

11. LIKUD. THE MOOD OF LIKUD CONTACTS AT PARTY HEADQUARTERS AFTER THE INITIAL RETURNS WAS GLUM BUT PICKED UP AS IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE STRONG SHOWING OF THE RELIGIOUS PARTIES GAVE LIKUD A GOOD CHANCE OF ESTABLISHING A RIGHT-RELIGIOUS MAJORITY.

STRATEGIES

- 12. LIKUD'S NEGOTIATORS WILL BE WORKING TO LINE UP THE RIGHT AND RELIGIOUS PARTIES BEYOND THE 61 SEATS NEEDED TO FORM A MAJORITY GOVERNMENT. SHAMIR SHOULD TRY TO INCLUDE EVERY RIGHT/RELIGIOUS PARTY TO IMPROVE THE CHANCES FOR STABILITY FOR A GOVERNMENT THAT COULD FACE CONTROVERSIAL DECISIONS ON SETTLEMENTS AND RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS. WHILE SHAMIR CAN PASS UP ON ONE OR ANOTHER OF THE SMALL RIGHT PARTIES, HE NEEDS ALL THE LARGER RELIGIOUS PARTIES FOR A MAJORITY.
- 13. SHAMIR MAY PREFER TO INCLUDE LABOR IN A COALITION DESPITE HIS PUBLIC POSTURING AGAINST A NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT. IF SO, HIS STRATEGY WILL BE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT HE IS CAPABLE OF FORMING A NARROW COALITION IN ORDER TO ENHANCE HIS BARGAINING LEVERAGE IN FUTURE DISCUSSIONS WITH LABOR.
- 14. PERES' STRATEGY IS SIMPLER: HE NEEDS TO WIN OVER ONLY ONE OF THE LARGE RELIGIOUS PARTIES IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A BLOCKING MAJORITY AGAINST A LIKUD-LED NARROW GOVERNMENT. SHAS (AND DEGEL HATORAH) ARE LABOR'S PRIME TARGETS, AGUDA IS MORE PROBLEMATIC AND THE NRP UNLIKELY TO AGREE TO BLOCK LIKUD. BUT EVEN IF PERES MAKES AN EXTRAORDINARY OFFER. THESE PARTIES



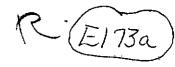
PAGE 03 TEL AV 15763 03 OF 03 020844Z

WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO COOPERATE WITH LABOR RATHER THAN LIKUD. MEANWHILE, WITHIN LABOR, PERES' OPPONENTS AND RIVALS ARE OPENLY CARPING ABOUT THE ELECTION OUTCOME AND CRITICIZING PERES FOR THE LOSS.

PICKERING

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510



3828916

September 26, 1988

The Honorable George Shultz Secretary of State Department of State Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasser Arafat, apparently may seek a United States visa for the purpose of attending and addressing the United Nations General Assembly, as well as speaking to the National Press Club. We urge you to exercise your authority and right to deny any request for such visa.

Section 6 of P.L. 80-357 reserves for the Secretary of State the complete authority to "control the entrance of aliens" to the (U.N.) Headquarters District in such a manner as to "safeguard its own security." Both the Departments of State and Justice have affirmed the right of the United States to deny visas to persons seeking to enter the Headquarters District of the United Nations under Section 212(a), paragraphs 27 and 29 of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

In January 1986 State Department spokeman Charles Redman reiterated U.S. policy on this matter: "We will as a matter of principle exclude individuals who personally advocate terrorism or who we believe have participated in or supported terrorist activities."

And in May 1986, when members of the Senate wrote to you concerning a possible Arafat request for a visa, you responded, "... I have no desire to see Arafat in the United States. Should he apply for a visa, his applications will receive my most severe scrutiny, including a thorough review of all the legal and other factors and circumstances pertinent to his application... We share a common desire that Arafat should not come to the United States."

Arafat's PLO has claimed responsibility for a host of terrorist activities in which numerous innocent persons, including many Americans, were killed. As recently as May, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy, in testimony before Congressional committees, stated that the State Department was aware that Arafat, "may have personally approved a series of terrorist attacks against American citizens and facilities abroad..."

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Arafat should be denied access to our country until he and the PLO renounce terrorism as a tool of foreign policy. Before he is admitted into our country, Arafat and the PLO must accept the same reasonable requirements that the United States has consistently demanded in order to have dealings with them:

- -- formal recognition of Israel's rights to exist;
- -- acceptance of UN Resolutions 242 and 338; and
- -- elimination from the PLO Charter of the call for the destruction of Israel.

The United States confers no diplomatic immunity on the PLO or its United Nations "Observer Mission." We must continue our policy of denying admission to our country those, including Arafat, who profess terrorism as a tool of foreign policy.

As a matter of law and policy, we urge you to deny Yasser Arafat permission to enter the United States. We look forward to hearing from you as to your decision on this important issue.

Sincerely.

Dennis De Concini

Patrick J. Leahy

Pete Wilson

Daniel P. Mownihan

Charles E. Grassley

Afonse M. D'Amato

Dan Quayie

Daniel K. Zhouye

James Exon John F. Kenry William V. Roth, Jr. Frank R. Lautenberg Wendell H. Ford onald W. Riegle, m Wallop esse Helms Steve Symms Gordon J. Hymphrey

Arlen Specter Howard M. Metzenbaum John H. Glenn, Jr. Don Nickles Albert Gore, Jr.

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SUBJECT= THE ISRAELI KNESSET ELECTIONS TOMORROW	
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CONCEPTS= n/a

TAGS= KPRP, PGOV, IS

PAGE 01 TEL AV 15651 01 OF 02 311835Z ACTION NEA-11

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SECTION 01 OF 02 TEL AVIV 15651

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PGOV, KPRP, IS

SUBJECT: THE ISRAELI KNESSET ELECTIONS TOMORROW

REFS: (A) TEL AVIV 15440, (B) FBIS TA3101112788,

(B) FBIS TA3010101888

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2. SUMMARY: THE OUTCOME OF TOMORROW'S ISRAELI ELECTION IS LIKELY TO BE A CLOSE ONE. THE RIGHT WAS GIVEN A BOOST BY THE OCT. 30 FIRE-BOMBING OF AN ISRAELI BUS IN JERICHO WHICH CAUSED FOUR DEATHS. MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE TRAGEDY HAS BEEN HEAVY AND PROBABLE COVERAGE OF THE FUNERALS ON TELEVISION NEWS TONIGHT WILL HAVE ADDITIONAL IMPACT. THE ATTACK WILL SHIFT SOME OF THE FLOATING VOTE TO LIKUD AND CONFIRM THOSE ON THE RIGHT WHO DO NOT BELIEVE ISRAEL CAN TAKE RISKS. LIKUD CAMPAIGN INFORMATION DIRECTOR MILO TOLD US LIKUD WILL EDGE OUT THE LABOR PARTY AND LIKELY HAVE THE OPTION OF A NARROW RIGHT/RELIGIOUS

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GOVERNMENT. BUT SHAMIR, IN HIS VIEW, CONTINUED TO PREFER TO LEAD ANOTHER NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT (NUG) WITHOUT ROTATION RATHER THAN FORM A NARROW, UNSTABLE COALITION DEPENDENT ON THE SMALL RIGHT AND RELIGIOUS PARTIES. (SHAMIR, FOR THE LAST WEEK, HAS BEEN REITERATING AVERSION TO ANOTHER NUG.) THE

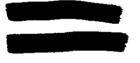
CAMPAIGN OFFICIALLY CLOSED THE EVENING OF OCT. 30 WITH LIKUD AND LABOR TELEVISION ELECTION BROADCASTS AND A SMALLER THAN EXPECTED LIKUD RALLY IN TEL AVIV. END SUMMARY.

IMPACT OF JERICHO FIRE-BOMBING

3. THERE HAS BEEN HEAVY MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE JERICHO FIRE-BOMBING OF A BUS WHICH RESULTED IN FOUR ISRAELI DEATHS. PROBABLE TELEVISION NEWS COVERAGE OF THE FUNERALS TONIGHT WILL HAVE A CONTINUING IMPACT ON THE PUBLIC. LABOR SOURCES ASSUME THE ATTACK WILL BENEFIT THE RIGHT ON ELECTION DAY. SOME IN LABOR SUGGESTED THE IMPACT OF THE EVENT ON THE ELECTION TOMORROW WILL BE "MARGINAL," BUT OTHERS NOTED THAT IN A CLOSE RACE EVEN A SMALL SHIFT COULD BE CRITICAL. LIKUD CAMPAIGN INFORMATION DIRECTOR (DEPUTY MINISTER) RONI MILO EXPECTED THE FIRE-BOMBING WOULD BRING SOME UNDECIDED VOTERS WAVERING BETWEEN LIKUD AND LABOR INTO THE LIKUD COLUMN, AND PROBABLY ENABLE ZE'EVI'S NEW "MOLEDET" PARTY TO CROSS THE 1 PERCENT THRESHOLD AND WIN A KNESSET SEAT.

THE VIEW FROM LIKUD

4. LIKUD'S MILO EXPECTED A CLOSE ELECTION, WITH THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEEN LIKUD AND LABOR NOT MORE THAN 2-3



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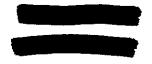
SEATS. HE THOUGHT LIKUD WOULD COME OUT AHEAD OF LABOR 42-40 AND WOULD HAVE THE OPTION OF FORMING A NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT. MILO ASSERTED, HOWEVER, THAT SHAMIR HAD NO DESIRE TO ESTABLISH A NARROW RIGHT/RELIGIOUS COALITION DEPENDENT ON THE BLACKMAIL OF THE SMALL PARTIES. RATHER, SHAMIR PREFERRED ANOTHER NUG WITHOUT ROTATION. (SHAMIR, IN THE LAST WEEK, HAS BEEN EXPRESSING HIS AVERSION TO ANOTHER NUG.)

5. MILO DOUBTED LABOR WOULD ENTER A NUG WITHOUT PERES OR THAT RABIN ALONE COULD SOMEHOW BE ENTICED INTO A LIKUD-LED GOVERNMENT WITHOUT LABOR. MILO NOTED THAT LIKUD WOULD BE IN A STRONG POSITION IN POST-ELECTION NEGOTIATIONS WITH LABOR BECAUSE SHAMIR HELD THE PRIME MINISTRY AND COULD REMAIN AS CARETAKER IN THE POST AS LONG AS NECESSARY UNTIL THERE WAS A MEETING OF THE MINDS WITH LABOR. UNDER THIS SCENARIO, MILO SAID PERES MIGHT PREFER TO TAKE THE

FINANCE PORTFOLIO IN THE NEXT GOVERNMENT. SHAMIR WOULD THEN OFFER ARENS THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. THE REST OF THE LIKUD AND LABOR MINISTERS WOULD STAY WHERE THEY WERE, MORE OR LESS. DAVID LEVY WOULD BE UNHAPPY, MILO AGREED, BUT THAT WAS THAT.

POLLS

6. THE FINAL FOUR POLLS (REF B) PUBLISHED TODAY REPORTED THE SMALL PARTIES CONTINUED TO RETAIN THEIR INCREASES AT THE EXPENSE OF THE TWO LARGE PARTIES. OTHERWISE, RESULTS WERE CONTRADICTORY. DAHAF REPORTED LIKUD AND LABOR TIED AT 40 SEATS EACH, WITH THE TWO BLOCS TIED AT 60 SEATS. (MILO ASSERTED TO US THAT LIKUD WAS REALLY AHEAD BECAUSE DAHAF'S POLLSTER HAD EVALUATED HER RESULTS EXTRA RIGOROUSLY IN ORDER



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CONCEPTS= BUS, BOMBING, PALESTINIANS, INCIDENT, CASUALTY

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, PHUM, PTER, ASEC, IS

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SECTION 01 OF 02 JERUSALEM 03591

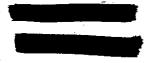
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, ASEC, KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: FOUR ISRAELIS KILLED IN JERICHO BUS

ATTACK

1. SUMMARY. FOUR ISRAELIS WERE KILLED OCTOBER 30 WHEN THE EGGED BUS IN WHICH THEY WERE RIDING WAS HIT BY FIVE MOLOTOV COCKTAILS IN JERICHO. THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES HAVE RESPONDED WITH LARGE-SCALE ARRESTS AND HARSH RHETORIC. PALESTINIANS ARE AMBIVALENT. THEY DECRY THE DEATHS, BUT NOTE THE DAILY LOSS OF PALESTINIAN LIVES IN THE INTIFADA. THE INCIDENT IS LIKELY TO STRENGTHEN HARD LINERS ON BOTH SIDES AND BOLSTER LIKUD'S ELECTORAL PROSPECTS. END SUMMARY.

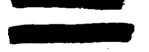


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2. (U) AN ISRAELI WOMAN AND THREE OF HER CHILDREN WERE KILLED, AND SEVEN OTHERS WERE INJURED, WHEN AN EGGED BUS WAS ATTACKED WITH MOLOTOV COCKTAILS IN JERICHO OCTOBER 30. THE BUS, WHICH WAS EN ROUTE FROM TIBERIAS TO JERUSALEM, WAS HIT BY MULTIPLE FIRE BOMBS AS IT

WAS PASSING THROUGH THE NORTHERN OUTSKIRTS OF JERICHO AROUND 7:45 PM. ACCORDING TO THE OCTOBER 31 JERUSALEM POST, THE AMBUSH WAS PLANNED WELL. YOUTHS SLOWED THE BUS BY PLACING STONES ON THE ROAD AND THEN HIT IT WITH FIVE PETROL BOMBS. ACCORDING TO A PASSENGER ON THE BUS, THE WOMAN WHO DIED PANICKED AND FROZE IN HER SEAT AT THE BACK OF THE BUS, RESISTING EFFORTS TO SAVE HER. THE INCIDENT IS THE FIRST FATAL ATTACK ON AN ISRAELI VEHICLE SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE INTIFADA.

3. (U) ISRAELI RESPONSE HAS BEEN PREDICTABLY SWIFT AND HARSH. THE JERUSALEM POST QUOTES PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR AS PROMISING "AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE...THE MURDERERS WILL BE PUNISHED AND THEIR MURDEROUS INTENTIONS ERADICATED." FOREIGN MINISTER PERES VOWED THAT "THE PERPETRATORS WILL BE CAUGHT AND TERRORISM WILL BE FOUGHT TO THE BITTER END." THE SETTLERS' COMMITTEE FOR SAFE TRAVEL BLAMED THE GOVERNMENT'S LAX SECURITY POLICIES FOR THE INCIDENT AND CALLED FOR THE EXPUSION OF "ANYONE WHO DARES TO LIFT A HAND AGAINST A SOLDIER." GUSH EMUNIM DEMANDED THE EXPULSION OF THE PALESTINIANS RELEASED IN THE 1985 PRISONER EXCHANGE WITH THE AHMED JIBRIL ORGANIZATION.



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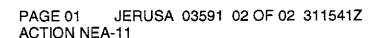
4. THE IDF CLAMPED A CURFEW ON JERICHO SHORTLY AFTER THE INCIDENT. ACCORDING TO MAYOR KHALAF, SEVERAL HUNDRED MEN BETWEEN 16 AND 60 WERE DETAINED FOR QUESTIONING. THOSE OVER AGE 35 SUBSEQUENTLY WERE RELEASED. HE ADDED THAT SECURITY OFFICIALS HAVE IDENTIFIED SEVERAL YOUTHS THEY BELIEVE PARTICIPATED IN THE ATTACK AND ARE HOLDING OTHERS FOR FURTHER QUESTIONING.

5. RESPONSE AMONG PALESTINIANS CONTACTED BY THE CONGEN HAS BEEN AMBIVALENT. WHILE ALL PRIVATELY DECRY THE LOSS OF LIFE AND THE PROBABLE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES, MANY POINT TO THE DAILY KILLING OF ARABS AND ASK WHY ISRAELIS DO NOT DENOUNCE THESE ACTS. BETHLEHEM MAYOR ELIAS FREIJ TERMED THE INCIDENT "A BAD ACT" AND PREDICTED A SEVERE ISRAELI RESPONSE. HOWEVER, HE ADDED THAT "NO ONE CAN DENOUNCE THE ACT,

SINCE ISRAELIS DO NOT DENOUNCE THE KILLING OF ARABS." JERICHO MAYOR KHALAF PRIVATELY CONDEMNED VIOLENCE AGAINST BOTH JEWS AND ARABS. NABLUS BUSINESSMAN BASEL KANAAN, WHILE CRITICIZING VIOLENCE, SAID THAT THE OCTOBER 18 KILLING OF A FIVE YEAR OLD IN NABLUS WAS WORSE BECAUSE THE JERICHO ATTACK HAD NOT BEEN AIMED AT CHILDREN.

6. JOURNALISTS MAHDI ABDUL-HADI, HANNA SINIORA, AND DAOUD KUTTAB ALL SAID THEY WERE DEEPLY DISTRESSED BY THE ATTACK. THEY PROMISED TO MAKE STATEMENTS IN THE PRESS AND SAID THEY WERE WORKING WITH OTHERS ON A POSSIBLE STATEMENT BY WEST BANK PALESTINIANS CONDEMNING VIOLENCE.

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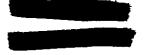
SECTION 02 OF 02 JERUSALEM 03591

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PHUM, PTER, ASEC, KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: FOUR ISRAELIS KILLED IN JERICHO BUS

RADWAN ABU AYYASH, PRESIDENT OF THE ARAB JOURNALISTS ASSOCIATION, NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR ANYONE IN THE TERRITORIES TO MAKE SUCH A STATEMENT. SINIORA, HOWEVER, SAID HE PLANNED TO PUBLISH ONE TOMORROW WITHOUT SUBMITTING IT TO THE CENSORS. KUTTAB ALSO ADDED THAT EFFORTS WERE UNDERWAY TO CONTACT THE PLO AND GET IT TO DISCLAIM RESPONSIBILITY AND CONDEMN THE ACT. ABDUL-HADI SAID HE AND OTHERS LIKE HIM THOUGHT A STATEMENT, IF IT MATERIALIZED, SHOULD ALSO CONDEMN THE KILLING OF THE NABLUS FIVE YEAR OLD, WHILE ADDING THAT EFFORTS TO AVENGE THE KILLINGS OF PALESTINIANS



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WERE WRONG.

7. COMMENT. WHILE NO ONE YET HAS A FIRM IDEA OF WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE JERICHO ATTACK, BOTH ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN OBSERVERS BELIEVE THE DEATHS OF ISRAELI CITIZENS WILL WEAKEN MODERATES ON BOTH SIDES AND ENHANCE LIKUD'S ELECTORAL PROSPECTS. GIVEN THE POLITICAL AND EMOTIONAL RESPONSE IN ISRAEL, THE INCIDENT IS LIKELY TO PROVOKE HARSH IDF MEASURES, INCLUDING HOUSE DEMOLITIONS AND THE LEVELING OF THE ROADSIDE BANANA GROVE WHERE THE ATTACKERS ARE SAID TO HAVE WAITED. SINCE THE PERPETRATORS REPORTEDLY HAVE BEEN ARRESTED, THEIR TRIAL FOR MURDER IS LIKELY. DEPORTATIONS SEEM A MORE REMOTE POSSIBILITY SINCE, UNLIKE THE BEITA INCIDENT, CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY IS MORE CLEAR AND SUSPECTS ARE IN CUSTODY.

8. COMMENT CONTINUED. THE ATTACK IS BEING PORTRAYED BY ISRAELI OFFICIALS AND SETTLERS AS AN ESCALATION IN PALESTINIAN VIOLENCE. THEY CITE INTIFADA LEAFLET NO. 28, WHICH APPEARED ON OCTOBER 30, AS CALLING FOR INCREASED VIOLENCE DURING THE PNC MEETING, INCLUDING "MORE PETROL BOMBS AND MORE STONES." HOWEVER, IT IS PREMATURE TO ATTRIBUTE THE DEATHS TO A

PALESTINIAN DECISION TO ESCALATE THE UPRISING. EARLIER INTIFADA LEAFLETS HAVE CONTAINED SIMILAR EXHORTATIONS TO STEPPED-UP STREET ACTION, INCLUDING MORE DEMONSTRATIONS AND THE USE OF STONES AND MOLOTOVS. END COMMENT. WILCOX

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SECTION 01 OF 03 SOFIA 00054

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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, ETRD, BU, US

SUBJECT: LANTOS MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER DIMITROV

- ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. FOREIGN MINISTER DIMITROV STRESSED BULGARIA'S COMMITMENT TO POLITICAL REFORMS, BUT WAS VAGUE ABOUT THE EMERGENCE OF MULTIPLE POLITICAL PARTIES. HE SAID THAT BULGARIA WAS ACTIVELY CONSIDERING ESTABLISH-ING RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. HE INSISTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN PROGRESS ON TREATMENT OF THE MUSLIM MINORITY IN BULGARIA, BUT THAT CHANGES MUST BE MADE CAREFULLY AND SLOWLY. MLADENOV AND HE WOULD WELCOME A CHANCE FOR HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS AT THE OPEN SKIES CONFERENCE IN MID-FEBRUARY, HE SAID. END SUMMARY.



PAGE 02

SOFIA: 00054 01 OF 03 040758Z

POLITICAL REFORMS

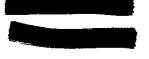
FOREIGN MINISTER BOYKO DIMITROV MET WITH CONGRESSMAN LANTOS, AMBASSADOR AND EMBOFF DECEMBER 22. LANTOS ASKED WHETHER BULGARIA WAS MORE LIKELY TO DEVELOP ALONG THE LINES OF THE SOVIET UNION, WHERE THE BASIC FRAMEWORK WAS RETAINED, BUT MULTIPLE VIEWS COULD BE EXPRESSED, OR ALONG THE LINES OF HUNGARY AND POLAND, WHERE MULTIPLE PARTIES AND FREE ELECTIONS HAD

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DIMITROV GAVE A GUARDED RESPONSE, SAYING APPEARED. THE AGRARIAN PARTY WOULD BE TRANSFORMED AND EMERGE AS A BONA FIDE ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL PARTY, WITH ELEMENTS OF BOTH COOPERATION AND COMPETITION WITH THE CP.

- DIMITROV WENT ON TO RECALL THAT BULGARIA HAD HAD A LONGER EXPERIENCE WITH POLITICAL PARTIES THAN THE SOVIET UNION. THERE WAS OPPOSITION WITHIN CERTAIN LEVELS OF THE CP--PRIMARILY THAT GENERATION IN ITS 50'S--TO ALLOWING A REAL OPPOSITION, BUT THIS GROUP WAS FAIRLY ISOLATED. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE SAID, THE PARTY SHOULD NOT GO OUT OF ITS WAY TO CREATE AN "OPPOSITION," WHICH WOULD BE A FARCE. THE AGRARIANS AND "GREENS" WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY EMERGE AS PARTIES, HE THOUGHT.
- 5. DIMITROV SAID THAT EXISTENCE OF MULTIPLE PARTIES WAS NOT A PRE-CONDITION FOR FREE ELECTIONS. WHAT WAS NECESSARY WAS MULTIPLE CANDIDATES, NOMINATED BY PEOPLE OUTSIDE OF NORMAL PARTY PROCESSES.
- DIMITROV ADMITTED TO "ONE POINT OF CONCERN," THE ALLEGED DEMAGOGY OF THOSE WHO GET LARGE NUMBERS OF



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PEOPLE OUT ON THE STREET SHOUTING FOR ELECTIONS AND RESIGNATIONS. SOME OF THE SAME PEOPLE THEN SAY ON TV THAT THE CP IS FORCING QUICK ELECTIONS.

- DIMITROV SAID THAT THE GOB WAS THINKING OF WAYS THAT RESPONSIBLE ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL GROUPS CAN EMERGE. DIALOGUE WAS ALREADY UNDERWAY, BUT HAD NOT YET BEEN FORMALIZED. CONDITIONS DID NOT YET EXIST FOR A ROUNDTABLE, BUT A CHANNEL AND FORM WOULD BE FOUND, HE INSISTED. THE OTHER FORCES WERE NOT YET PREPARED, HE CHARGED, SAYING THEY HAD ONLY CHECKLISTS OF NEGATIVES. BULGARIA NEEDS FREE AND CONTESTED ELECTIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, HE SAID, EVEN IF NO ALTERNATIVE PARTIES HAD CRYSTALLIZED. THIS WOULD HELP FORM A NATIONAL CONSENSUS, AND A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WHICH WAS WIDELY ACCEPTED COULD GO FORWARD TO DEAL WITH OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS.
- THE PRESENT CP AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WERE NOT CAPABLE, DIMITROV LAMENTED, AND "NEW TYPES" WERE FOR THE PARTY, SOMETHING CLOSE TO DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM WAS NEEDED, AND SOME WESTERN EUROPEAN PARTIES WERE BEING STUDIED AS MODELS. DIMITROV SAID, HOWEVER, THAT A CHANGE IN PARTY NAME WAS NOT CONTEMPLATED, AS THE PARTY'S HISTORY HAD BEEN POSITIVE UP UNTIL THE PAST 12 YEARS, BEFORF WHICH ZHIVKOV'S POWER HAD BEEN CONSTRAINED BY PARTY TRADITION AND COLLECTIVE



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LEADERSHIP. THE PARTY HAD SUFFERED, BUT THE IMPORTANT THING NOW WAS TO PRESENT A NEW IMAGE AND CHARACTER. THERE WAS NOT MUCH TIME, HE SAID. SINCE THE PARTY

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CHANNEL: n/a

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 EUR-08 SS-00 IO-06 DS-01 /018 W

R 040750Z JAN 90 FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9079 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS USDOC WASHDC USMISSION GENEVA AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

SECTION 02 OF 03 SOFIA 00054

STATE/H PLEASE PASS TO REP. LANTOS' OFFICE

GENEVA FOR USTR

BRUSSELS FOR USEC-AMB. NILES

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, ETRD, BU, US

SUBJECT: LANTOS MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER DIMITROV

HAD CREATED THE VACUUM OF POLITICAL CULTURE, ONE OF ITS DUTIES WAS TO TRANSFORM NOT ONLY THE CP, BUT OTHER PARTIES AS WELL. THINGS WOULD BE "CHAOTIC" IF THE CP LEFT THE GOVERNMENT, HE ASSERTED.

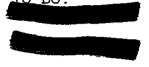
RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

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9. LANTOS SAID THAT FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN BULGARIA AND ISRAEL WAS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE TO MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. THIS WOULD BE VIEWED FAVORABLY IN THE U.S., BUT WAS ALSO THE RIGHT THING

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10. DIMITROV REPLIED THAT IT WAS HARD TO BE SPECIFIC. THE GOB WAS ACTIVELY CONSIDERING THE OUESTION WITH A VIEW TO MOVING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE___

B1

TURKISH MINORITY

12. DIMITROV REFERRED TO A REPORT THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE IN BULGARIA'S TREATMENT OF MUSLIMS, SAYING THAT THERE HAD IN FACT BEEN MOVEMENT IN REGARDS TO PROTECTING RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS. SPECIFICS VARIED FROM LOCALITY TO LOCALITY, AND THE MOST DELICATE POINT, USE OF TURKISH NAMES, HAD NOT BEEN RESOLVED, BUT THERE HAD BEEN "TREMENDOUS CHANGE," HE INSISTED. SINCE EMOTIONS AND MISCONCEPTIONS WERE INVOLVED, IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO MOVE QUICKLY, HE SAID.

LANTOS SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN AND REMAINED OUTRAGED



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OVER FORCED NAME CHANGES. DIMITROV REPLIED THAT BULGARIA OF A SOLUTION NEEDED RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL HOMOGENEITY, BUT THE NEW LEADERSHIP WAS STRONGLY COMMITTED TO FINDING A CIVILIZED SOLUTION, NOT SO MUCH BECAUSE OF INTER-

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NATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS, BUT BECAUSE IT WAS NECESSARY THAT ALL BULGARIAN CITIZENS FEEL EQUAL REGARDLESS OF RELIGION, LANGUAGE, OR CUSTOMS. EACH STEP TOWARD THIS GOAL, HOWEVER, MUST BE CAUTIOUS, AND ACCEPTABLE TO A BROAD NATIONAL CONSENSUS TO AVOID ETHNIC UNREST AND CONFLICT.



CHANNEL: n/a

FUTURE CONTACTS

- 14. LANTOS EXTENDED AN INVITATION TO VISIT WASHINGTON ANY TIME BEFORE THE JULY 4 CONGRESSIONAL RECESS, EXPRESSING THE VIEW THAT CONGRESS WOULD BE VERY ATTEN-TIVE TO WHAT DIMITROV HAD TO SAY. DIMITROV REPLIED THAT "WE HAVE OUR SURVIVAL TO THINK ABOUT, " DURING THAT PERIOD, AND NOTED THAT SECRETARY BAKER HAD A STANDING INVITATION TO VISIT BULGARIA, AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT HE AND MLADENOV MIGHT BE ABLE TO TALK WITH THE SECRETARY DURING THE OPEN SKIES CONFERENCE IN MID-FEBRUARY. LANTOS SAID THAT HE WOULD SEE SECRETARY BAKER UPON HIS RETURN TO WASHINGTON AND WOULD REPORT ON HIS TRIP.
- THE AMBASSADOR TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE MEETING TO EXPRESS THANKS TO DIMITROV FOR GOB EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF THE STAFF OF THE U.S. EMBASSY IN BUCHAREST.

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ACTION H-03

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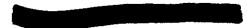
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INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS USDOC WASHDC USMISSION GENEVA AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS



SECTION 03 OF 03 SOFIA 00054

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CHANNEL: n/a

STATE/H PLEASE PASS TO REP. LANTOS' OFFICE

GENEVA FOR USTR

BRUSSELS FOR USEC-AMB. NILES

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

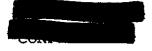
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, ETRD, BU, US

SUBJECT: LANTOS MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER DIMITROV

DIMITROV SAID THAT BULGARIA WOULD HAVE OFFICIALS ON DUTY IN RUSE IN VIEW OF THE FLUID SITUATION INSIDE ROMANIA. HE ALSO REMARKED THAT THE EC WAS CONSIDERING USE OF BULGARIAN FACILITIES IN SENDING IN A FIELD HOSPITAL TO BE LOCATED IN RUSE.

COMMENT

16. AFTER THE EVENTS OF THE PAST WEEK, INCLUDING THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSIONS AND RESTORATION OF RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC RIGHTS, DIMITROV'S CAUTIOUS COMMENTS ABOUT PROGRESS ON POLITICAL REFORMS,



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AND THE NEED FOR CAUTION ON THE TURKISH ISSUE ARE SOMEWHAT OUT O F DATE. IT MAY BE THAT DIMITROV WAS MERELY BEING GUARDED BEFORE A FINAL DECISION WAS TAKEN.

17. CONGRESSMAN LANTOS DID NOT CLEAR THIS MESSAGE BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE. POLANSKY

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-05 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 P-02

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R 281221Z DEC 89 FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9001 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS AMEMBASSY ANKARA AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS



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BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB. NILES

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PINS, BU

SUBJECT: MLADENOV REAFFIRMS COMMITMENT TO

DEMOCRATIZATIONS; LANTOS SAYS USG IS

PREPARED TO HELP

ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. IN A MEETING WITH CONGRESSMAN TOM LANTOS, BULGARIAN LEADER PETUR MLADENOV REAFFIRMED HIS GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS, INCLUDING DIALOGUE WITH INDEPENDENT FORCES AND DEMOCRATIC RESOLUTION OF THE COUNTRY'S ETHNIC PROBLEMS. IN RESPONSE TO LANTOS' RESTATEMENT OF THE USG'S PREPAREDNESS TO OFFER ECONOMIC ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE, SUCH AS GATT AND MFN STATUS, MLADENOV SAID THAT THE PROGRESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION WOULD CONTINUE AND THAT REFORMS WOULD BE CONSTITUTIONALLY AND LEGISLATIVELY GUARANTEED. HE REPEATED HIS



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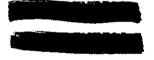
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INVITATION TO HOST SECRETARY BAKER ON A VISIT TO BULGARIA AND, AT LANTOS' SUGGESTION, HE ALSO SAID THAT HE WOULD CONSIDER EXPLORING GREATER BILATERAL AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. FINALLY, HE ROUNDLY CRITICIZED ROMANIA'S OUSTED LEADER CEAUCESCU AS A DICTATOR AND CRIMINAL, SUPPORTED BULGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY'S OFFERS TO ASSIST IN MEDICAL AID TO VICTIMS OF RECENT CIVIL CONFLICT THERE, AND CONFIRMED THE MINISTRY'S OFFER OF ASSISTANCE IN EVACUATING AMERICAN PERSONNEL FROM BUCHARDST. END SUMMARY.

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3. IN A NINETY-MINUTE MEFTING WITH CONGRESSMAN AND MRS. TOM LANTOS, THE AMBASSADOR, AND POST HUMAN RIGHTS. OFFICER (NOTETAKER) ON 23 DECEMBER, BULGARIAN LEADER PETUR MLADENOV REAFFIRMED HIS LEADERSHIP'S AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S (BCP) COMMITMENT TO COMPREHENSIVE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS. HE WELCOMED POLITICAL PLURALISM, HE SAID, BECAUSE "NO PARTY CAN SUCCEED ON ITS OWN-WE NEED UNITY OF THE PEOPLE." HE SAID THAT BULGARIA MUST BE A "PEACEFUL, OPEN COUNTRY," AND SHOULD "ACHIEVE UNITY WITH ALL FORCES, INCLUDING NEWLY ARISING ONES, TO WORK TO DEVELOP A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY."

4. MLADENOV UNVEILED A POLITICAL TIMETABLE, BEGINNING WITH ROUNDTABLE TALKS WITH NON-STATE ORGANIZATIONS. ON 22 DECEMBER, HE MET WITH THE PATRIARCH OF THE BULGARIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH. ON 25 DECEMBER, HE SAID, HE WOULD MEET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AGRARIAN PARTY. MEETINGS WITH TRADE UNIONS WOULD BE ORGANIZED NEXT, THEN WITH THE FATHERLAND FRONT (THE PARTY'S GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS, OF WHICH ALMOST THE ENTIRE POPULATION IS A VOLUNTARY OR INVOLUNTARY



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MEMBER), AND, FINALLY, "NEWLY FOUNDED," INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATIONS. THIS WOULD LEAD INTO A PARTY CONGRESS WHICH IS NOW SCHEDULED FOR 19 MARCH 1990 BUT WHICH MAY BE SCHEDULED FOR AN EVEN EARLIER DATE. IN ANNOUNCING THIS POSSIBLE CHANGE, MLADENOV TURNED TO THE AMBASSADOR AND SAID, "DON'T TELL ZHELO ZHELEV" (CHAIRMAN, UNION OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES) "OR YOUR OTHER FRIENDS ABOUT THIS." FINALLY, "FREE ELECTIONS" WILL TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE END OF MAY, 1990.

- 5. THE GOAL OF ALL OF THESE TALKS, MLADENOV CONTINUED, IS TO "DISCUSS MATTERS OF DEVELOPMENT AND TRY TO JOIN EFFORTS TO SOLVE BULGARIA'S PROBLEMS. IN THIS REGARD, IT IS VERY IMPORTANT HOW THE WORLD EVALUATES US. IT'S VERY IMPORTANT WHETHER THE WORLD IS SYMPATHETIC OR NOT AND WHETHER THE WORLD IS READY TO COOPERATE." THE UNITED STATES IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO BULGARIA, HE SAID, IN LIGHT OF ITS "ROLE IN THE WORLD AND IN EUROPE. WE'D APPRECIATE A FAVORABLE ATTITUDE FROM THE UNITED STATES," HE ADDED, INCLUDING A VISIT FROM SECRETARY BAKER. "I'D BE HAPPY TO WELCOME HIM, EVEN THOUGH I'M NO LONGER FOREIGN MINISTER," HE SAID.
- 6. CONGRESSMAN LANTOS IDENTIFIED HIMSELF AND MRS. LANTOS AS "BULGARIA'S BIGGEST FRIENDS IN THE CONGRESS AND POSSIBLY IN THE UNITED STATES." "WF FREL WE'RE TALKING AMONG FRIENDS," HE SAIL, 'AND CAN BE CANDID

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BECAUSE WE WANT TO BE OF HELP. " THAT HELP COULD THE USSR'S BEHALF, OPIC RIGHTS, JOINT VENTURES,
REGULAR RELATIONS BETWEEN BULGARIA'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY INCLUDE MFN STATUS, AS HE WAS WORKING ALREADY ON AND THE US CONGRESS, AND GREATER TIES WITH THE EC. THE EUROPEAN FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION, AND TAIWAN.

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ACTION EUR-00

ADS-00 INR-05 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 LOG-00 INFO NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 INRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 P-02 OMB-01 T = 0.1/037 W

R 281221Z DEC 89 FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9002 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS AMEMBASSY ANKARA AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

SECTION 02 OF 03 SOFIA 06972

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BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB. NILES

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PINS, BU

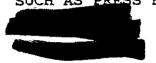
SUBJECT: MLADENOV REAFFIRMS COMMITMENT TO

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7. "REMAINING PROBLEMS" HAD 'TO BE RESOLVED, HOWEVER, BEFORE THE CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION DECAME AS "FORTHCOMING" WITH BULGARIA AS IT WAS BEING WITH HUNGARY AND POLAND. THESE INCLUDED RESOLUTION OF THE ETHNIC PROBLEMS INVOLVING TURKS, POMAKS, AND GYPSIES AND THE LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENT OF REFORMS SUCH AS PRESS FREEDOMS AND POLITICAL PLURALISM WHICH





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HAVE ALREADY BEGUN IN PRACTICE IF NOT IN LAW. HE ADDED THAT HE WAS "PLEASED TO HEAR" THAT 80,000 ETHNIC TURKS WHO FLED BULGARIA DURING THE SUMMER HAD RETURNED. "I KNOW WE CAN COUNT ON YOUR LEADERSHIP FULLY REINTEGRATING THEM, WITH JOBS AND HOUSES, IN BULGARIAN SOCIETY." "WE WANT TO SEE AS HAPPY AN ENDING AS POSSIBLE," HE STATED.

8. IN ROMANIA, THINGS WERE SUDDENLY MOVING VERY RAPIDLY, HE OBSERVED.

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HE SAID THAT ROMANIA WOULD, IN THE NEXT "THREE TO SIX WEEKS," BE EAGER "TO SHOW IT'S MOVING TOWARD DEMOCRACY WITH FULL FORCE." WITH CHANGE ALSO MOVING WITH FULL FORCE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND, HUNGARY, AND THE GDR, HE CONTINUED, HE WAS "ANXIOUS TO SEE THAT THE PROCESS IN BULGARIA" DOES NOT BECOME SO SLOW THAT BULGARIA IS LEFT BEHIND OTHER COUNTRIES IN THIS "FAST-MOVING" REGION. "IT SEEMS TO ME," HE EXPLAINED, "THAT THERE IS ALMOST A RACE TO INTRODUCED DEMOCRATIC MEASURES, INTERNALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY."

9. LANTOS THEN TURNED TO EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES' RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. HUNGARY HAD ALREADY ESTABLISHED FULL RELATIONS, AS HAD ROMANIA EARLIER, AND POLAND WOULD FOLLOW IN A FEW WEEKS. IN THE GDR, "MODROW SAYS THEY'RE READY, TOO, AND I HAD THE SAME IMPRESSION IN PRAGUE." HE SAID, "I SUGGEST THAT IT IS IN BULGARIA'S INTEREST TO QUICKEN THE PROCESS, TO STAY AHEAD OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE GDR." HE THEN URGED MLADENOV NOT TO BE AFRAID OF REPERCUSSIONS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST.

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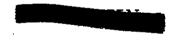
10. MLADENOV ASSURED LANTOS THAT HIS "TEAM" INCLUDES A MAJORITY WHICH IS "SINCEPELY COMMITTED TO THE

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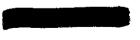
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PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRATIZATION" AND THAT IT WOULD "SEE SUCCESS. " THE MAJORITY PRE PROPER I VE KNOWN FOR YEARS. DUE TO UNDERSTANDABLE REASONS, THEY HAVE UNCLASSIFIED NOT BEEN ABLE TO EXPRESS THEIR REAL VIEWS. "NOW THEY ARE ABLE, AND NONE WANT TO SLOW DOWN." HE CONTINUED, "PLURALISM WILL BE IRREVERSIBLE. MOVEMENT TOWARD DEMOCRATIZATION WILL BE IRREVERSIBLE." BUT CAUTION IS IN ORDER. HE SAID THAT HE WANTED TO AVOID "DESTABLIZATION" AND TO "TIME THINGS REASONABLY." IT WILL TAKE TIME TO DEVELOP NEW LAWS. IT WILL ALSO TAKE TIME TO "SOLVE PROBLEMS IN THE MORAL SPHERE," WHERE THE "DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WORDS AND DEEDS HAS LED TO CYNICISM." OTHER CHANGES CANNOT BE IMMEDIATE, EITHER: THE YOUNG PEOPLE (OUTSIDE THE ASSEMBLY BUILDING ON 14 DECEMBER WHEN MLADENOV WAS SHOUTED DOWN) DEMANDED IMMEDIATE RESIGNATIONS OF ASSEMBLY MEMBERS, BUT THIS WOULD MEAN IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS, FOR WHICH THEY ARE NOT READY. *WE HAVE TO LEARN TO BE DEMOCRATIC AND TOLERANT* AND TO KNOW LEGISLATIVE METHODS, HE SAID. "THIS IS TRUE FOR COMMUNISTS AND FOR EVERYONE ELSE."

11. AS TO THE ETHNIC PROBLEM, MLADENOV SAID THAT THIS WAS A "SENSITIVE ISSUE" AND "THE MOST DIFFICULT HERITAGE" OF THE ZHIVKOV REGIME. "PEOPLE ARE BORN EQUAL AND SHOULD HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS," HE CONTINUED. "RELIGION, FAITH, AND ONE'S ORIGIN ARE PRIVATE MATTERS. OUR LEGISLATION WILL SETTLE THIS." HE CONCLUDED, "MY FRIENDS (IN THE LEADERSHIP) AND I



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R 281221Z DEC 89 FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9003 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS AMEMBASSY ANKARA AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS





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BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB. NILES

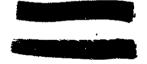
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, PINS, BU

SUBJECT: MLADENOV REAFFIRMS COMMITMENT TO

AGREE: NATIONALISM AND CHAUVINISM ARE DANGEROUS TO ANY COUNTRY. "

- 12. AS TO LANTOS' ADVICE ON BULGARIAN-ISRAELI RELATIONS, MLADENOV SAID, "WE ARE A SMALL COUNTRY AND LISTEN TO ADVICE OF FRIENDS. WE'LL CONSIDER WHAT YOU SAID VERY SERIOUSLY. PLEASE REMEMBER THIS MIGHT LEAD TO FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES. WE HAVE THE LARGEST INTERESTS IN THE ARAB WORLD AMONG SOCIALIST COUNTRIES."
- 13. MLADENOV SAID THAT HE APPRECIATED THE UNITED STATES' FAVORABLE ATTITUDE TO BULGARIA AND THAT HE WOULD APPRECIATE ITS EFFORTS TOWARD MFN STATUS, GATT, AND, LATER, PARTICIPATION IN THE EC.



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14. FINALLY, IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM LANTOS, MLADENOV SAID THAT HE WAS VERY PLEASED AT CEAUCESCU"S OVERTHROW IN ROMANIA. HE AND CEAUCESCU HAD ALWAYS HAD "A MUTUAL HATRED," HE SAID. IN THE DISTANT FUTURE, HE PREDICTED THAT ROMANIA "WILL BE PLURALISTIC" AND THAT THE MONARCHY WILL NOT BE RESTORED. IMMEDIATE FUTURE, HE AFFIRMED THAT BULGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOYKO DIMITROV WOULD ASSIST US WITH THE EVACUATION OF US PERSONNEL AND THAT THE COMMON MARKET MIGHT USE A BULGARIAN HOSPITAL AS A SITE FOR TREATING THE WOUNDED. THE AMBASSADOR THANKED MLADENOV FOR HIS COOPERATION IN THE EVACUATION AND INFORMED HIM OF A SUCCESSFUL 22 DECEMBER MEETING ON NARCOTICS ISSUES WITH INTERIOR MINISTER TANEV (REPORTED SEPTEL).

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15. COMMENT. IIRCLASSIFILU

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MLADENOV WAS, ALTHOUGH EQUALLY CORDIAL, RESERVED AND NON-SPECIFIC IN HIS ASSERTIONS THAT THE COUNTRY WOULD CONTINUE ITS PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND THAT IT WOULD MOVE TO ASSURE FULL RIGHTS FOR ITS ETHNIC MINORITIES. LIKEWISE, HE WAS NON-COMMITTAL IN HIS RESPONSE TO LANTOS' SUGGESTION THAT BULGARIA ASSUME FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. END COMMENT. POLANSKY



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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification ***

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AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 SOFIA 00612

BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB NILES

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, BU, PHUM

SUBJECT: BULGARIAN PRESS HIGHLIGHTS 25 JANUARY

25 JANUARY

"RABOTNICHESKO DELO"

1. THE MANAGING COUNCIL OF BANU (BULGARIAN AGRARIAN PARTY) HELD A SESSION WHICH DISCUSSED THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BULGARIAN VILLAGE: THE "NECESSARY EQUALITY OF THE THREE FORMS OF OWNERSHIP" (STATE, COOPERATIVE, AND PRIVATE), TAXES, CREDITS, AND OTHER ISSUES. THE SESSION PROPOSED THE FORMATION OF A COALITION GOVERNMENT, FREE DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS, THE OPENING OF BULGARIA TOWARD EUROPE AND THE WHOLE WORLD, AND ITS JOINING A NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS. BANU'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PARLIAMENTARY GROUP WAS TASKED WITH ADVANCING THE CAUSE OF RESTORATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AND CHILE AND UNCLASSIFIED

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ESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH SOUTH KOREA.

2. RD EDITOR-IN-CHIEF RADOSLAV RADEV IS AUTHOR OF A LENGTHY ARTICLE IN WHICH HE RESPONDS TO CRITICS' DEMANDS FOR HIS RESIGNATION. RADEV EXPLAINS THAT HE AND THE NEWSPAPER PERSONALLY ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR SOME PUBLICATIONS (BEFORE 10 NOVEMBER 1989) WHICH WERE AIMED AT DISCREDITING PEOPLE WHO HAD BECOME "INCONVENIENT" FOR TODOR ZHIVKOV AND HIS ENTOURAGE. AS EXAMFLES, RADEV MENTIONS ARTICLES AGAINST STOYAN MIKHAILOV, WHO, TWO DAYS AFTER THE

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PUBLICATION, WAS EXPELLED FROM THE SECRET PIAT OF THE CC/BCP, AND JOURNALIST GEORGI TAMBUEV, WHO WAS ACCUSED OF SLANDERING A PUBLIC PROSECUTOR IN ETRPOLE. RADEV CLAIMS THAT DURING ZHIVKOV'S TOTALITARIAN RULE NO ONE DARED DISOBEY HIM, THAT A NUMBER OF CRITICAL ARTICLES IN THE SPIRIT OF RESTRUCTURING WERE STOPPED, AND THAT EVEN RADEV HIMSELF AS EDITOR-IN-CHIEF DID NOT HAVE THE FREEDOM TO PUBLISH EVERYTHING HE CONSIDERED USEFUL AND NECESSARY.

- 3. IVAN VURBANOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE ECOGLASNOST CHAPTER IN SVISHTOV, STATES THAT, FOR ECOLOGICAL REASONS, HE AND HIS ORGANIZATION ARE CATEGORICALLY AGAINST THE CONSTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS IN BULGARIA. IN ANOTHER ARTICLE, HOWEVER, ATANAS GEORGIEV, A SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW, ASSERTS THAT NUCLEAR POWER IS THE ONLY VIABLE ALTERNATIVE "FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR ENERGY SYSTEM."
- 4. RD PROVIDES SOME DETAILS ABOUT THE NEW BILL ON RELIGION, WHICH WAS SENT FOR DISCUSSION TO MANY ORGANIZATIONS AND WHICH WILL BE PUT FORWARD AT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THE BILL INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING PROVISIONS: ALL CITIZENS WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO CARRY OUT THE RITES SPECIFIC TO THEIR RELIGION. RELIGIOUS UNCLASSIFIED

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COMMITTEES WILL BE SEPARATED FROM THE STATE AND WILL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW. ALL RELIGIONS AND THEIR ESTABLISHMENTS WILL BE JURIDICALLY RECOGNIZED BY THE COURTS. RELIGIOUS GROUPS WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO RUN THEIR OWN SCHOOLS WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (AS WAS PREVIOUSLY REQUIRED). PARENTS WILL HAVE THE FREEDOM TO IMPART RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE TO THEIR CHILDREN IF THEY SO WISH. FINALLY, RELIGIOUS GROUPS WILL BE ALLOWED TO CONDUCT CHARITABLE ACTIVITIES.

- 5. IVAN SHPATOV, MINISTER OF INTERNAL TRADE, FOCUSES ON THE SHORTAGE OF SOME FOODSTUFFS, SUCH AS MILK AND DAIRY PRODUCTS, SUGAR, AND COFFEE, WHICH ARE LACKING DUE TO INSUFFICIENT PRODUCTION (MILK) OR DELAYED IMPORTS (SUGAR, COFFEE). IN SOME CASES, HOWEVER, THE SHORTAGES ARE DUE TO WEAKNESSES IN EFFICIENCY OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRODUCTS.
- 6. MINISTER OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS KHRISTO KHRISTOV SAYS THAT, AS AN AUSTERITY MEASURE, MINISTRY PERSONNEL WHO ARE WORKING ABROAD MUST BE CUT BACK BY 15 TO 20 PERCENT.
- 7. ACCORDING TO A RD CORRESPONDENT, IN HIS 24 JANUARY STATEMENT ON TELEVISION, UDF (UNION OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES) CHAIRMAN ZHELYU ZHELEY DID NOT DENY QUOTES OF HIS REMARKS CARRIED BY THE DUTCH NEWSFAPER 'DE VOLKSKRANT" UNDER THE

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TITLE: "OPPOSITION IN COFIA DEMANDS THAT THE EEC POSTPONE THE GRANTING OF AID" (TO BULGARIA). BORISLAV KOSTURKOV, A JOURNALIST FROM "ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME," DISAGREES WITH THE CONCLUSIONS MADE BY THE RD CORRESPONDENT THAT IF THE

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 SOFIA 00612

BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB NILES

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, BU, PHUM

SUBJECT: BULGARIAN PRESS HIGHLIGHTS 25 JANUARY

"OPPORTUNITY FOR AID IS MISSED," IT WILL BE ZHELEY'S FAULT.

8. THE NATIONAL CONSTITUENT CONFERENCE OF THE UNION OF FIGHTERS AGAINST FASCISM AND CAPITALISM TOOK PLACE IN SOFIA. ARMY GENERAL DOBRI DZHUROV, MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, GREETED THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE. KRUM RADONOV WAS ELECTED AS THE NEW CHAIRMAN OF THE UNION.

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A UNION OF SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZE FIRMS, BOTH STATE AND COOPERATIVELY OWNED, WAS Q'MED. ITS GOAL IS TO SECURE THE FINANCIAL INTERESTS OF ITS MEMBERS AND TO CREATE A JOINT-STOCK BANK AND A STOCK MARKET OF THE UNION. IT ADOPTED A TEMPORARY ECONOMIC PLATFORM AND A STATUTE NEITHER ARE DESCRIBED.

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10. IN A MEETING OF EMPLOYEES OF THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC HEALTH, PARTICIPANTS DEMANDED THE RESIGNATION OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MINISTRY, WAGE-INCREASES FOR MEDICAL WORKERS, FREEDOM TO ENGAGE IN PRIVATE PRACTICE, A 7-HOUR WORKDAY AND A 5-DAY WORKWEEK. THE MEETING WAS ORGANIZED BY THE INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION "PODKREPA'S" BRANCH FOR MEDICAL WORKERS. ACCORDING TO "PODKREPA," IF THE MINISTRY FAILS TO MEET THESE DEMANDS, A GENERAL NATIONAL ONE-HOUR STRIKE OF MEDICAL WORKERS WILL BE HELD ON 31 JANUARY. ITS DURATION WILL INCREASE BY 1 HOUR EVERY DAY. TEAMS WILL BE FORMED FOR URGENT MEDICAL AID.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- 11. WE SHOULD USE "EUROPEAN CRITERIA" IN THE MODERNIZATION, POLITICAL RENOVATION, AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF SOCIETY, SAYS PETUR-EMIL MITEV, CHAIRMAN OF THE COORDINATION COUNCIL OF THE "BULGARIAN ROAD TO EUROPE" BCP INITIATIVE GROUP. "WE ARE FOR A SOCIALLY ORIENTED MARKET ECONOMY WITH HIGHLY DEVELOPED COLLECTIVE FORMS OF OWNERSHIP, WITH POWERFUL SOCIAL FUNDS, AND NOT FOR DEMOCRATIC-CAPITALISM", SAYS MITEV. "VREME"
- 12. THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE VARNA BCP ORGANIZATION GAVE A VOTE OF NO-CONFIDENCE TO PETKO DANEV, CANDIDATE MEMBER OF THE POLITBURO AND FIRST SECRETARY OF THE OBLAST AND MUNICIPAL BCP COMMITTEE IN VARNA AND PROPOSED THAT THE CC/BCP NOT ELECT HIM TO ANY IMPORTANT POSTS. (NOTE: IN A RECENT TV BROADCAST, A REPORTER CLAIMED THAT DANEV HAD ORDERED THAT JOURNALISTS IN VARNA NOT SHOW OR PUBLISH A CRITICAL REPORT THEY HAVE UNCLASSIFIED

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PREPARED.) "NARODNA MLADEZH."

13. "ROUND-TABLE" PARTICIPANT (IN THE UDF) MANKO MANKOV IS A LAWYER WHO WAS A POLITICAL PRISONER FROM 1984 UNTIL ate Printed: 07/15/1997 DOC_NUMBER: 90SOFIA00612 CHANNEL: n/a

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OCTOBER, 1989. IN THE MAGAZINE 'O'TECHESTYO" HE DESCRIBES HIS STAY IN PRISON AND THE ILL-TREATMENT TO WHICH HE WAS SUBJECTED. ALTHOUGH HE DECLARES THAT THE DISBANDED SIXTH DEPARTMENT OF STATE SECURITY OCCUPY A SECRET APARTMENT IN SOFIA, AT 86 TOLBUKIN BOULEVARD, THE MAGAZINE REPORTS THAT AN INSPECTION OF THIS ADDRESS SHOWED THAT THIS WAS NOT TRUE.

- "NM" REPORTS THAT A SOFIA WOMAN WHO WORKS AT KREMIKOVTSI METALLURGICAL COMBINE WENT ON A HUNGER STRIKE. SHE SAID THAT SHE HAS BEEN WAITING FOR 10 YEARS FOR AN APARTMENT. NOW SHE LIVES IN ONE ROOM WITH HER TWO CHILDREN, PAYS A HIGH RENT, AND FEELS DESPERATE BECAUSE NO ONE IS INTERESTED IN HER PROBLEMS. THE STRIKE WILL BE CARRIED OUT IN FRONT OF THE OFFICE OF THE GENERAL DIRECTOR OF THE FIRM "KREMIKOVTSI."
- 15. IN A SHORT PARAGRAPH, "NM" NOTES THAT BOOKSTORES' AND PUBLISHERS' REMAINING STOCKS OF BOOKS BY TODOR ZHIVKOV WILL BE RECYCLED FOR PAPER.

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16. A "PEASANT DEMOCRATIC UNION" WAS SET UP IN THE VILLAGE OF YAKIMOVO, MIHAILOVGRAD OBLAST. IT UNITES NON-PARTY PEOPLE, COMMUNISTS, AND BANU MEMBERS. THE PURPOSE OF THE UNION IS TO SPEED UP ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORM, TO STOP MIGRATION AWAY FROM THE VILLAGE, AND TO

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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 SOFIA 00612

BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB NILES

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, BU, PHUM

SUBJECT: BULGARIAN PRESS HIGHLIGHTS 25 JANUARY

RESTORE THE VITALITY OF VILLAGES.

- 17. THE MINERS FROM THREE MORE MINES (IN ZLATOGRAD, RUDOZEM AND MADAN) JOINED THE STRIKE OF THE MINERS FROM THE FIRM "GORUBSO." MINERS FROM CHELOPECH MINE HAVE BEEN ON A SITDOWN HUNGER STRIKE FOR THREE DAYS IN THE MINE. THEY DEMAND THE RESIGNATION OF THE DIRECTOR AND THREE OTHER LEADERS.
- 18. ON 24 JANUARY, BUS DRIVERS IN VELIKO TURNOVO WENT ON A PRELIMINARY 7-HOUR STRIKE AND PARALYZED CITY TRANSPORTATION. THEY INSISTED ON THE RESIGNATIONS OF THE LEADERS OF THEIR FIRM, "AVTOSTOPANSTVO."

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- 19. "ECOGLASNOST," JOINTLY WITH THE "COMMITTEE FOR THE ECOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC PROTECTION OF SVISHTOV" AND THE "MOTHERS AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER STATIONS" INITIATIVE COMMITTEE, PRESENTED LOCAL LEADERS WITH A PETITION WITH 6,000 SIGNATURES OF MOTHERS FROM SVISHTOV AND 500 MEDICAL WORKERS. THEY ARE PROTESTING AGAINST THE CONSTRUCTION OF BELENE NUCLEAR POWER STATION BECAUSE THEY CLAIM THAT ITS CONSTRUCTION WILL FORCE THE CLOSURE OF 6 ENTERPRISES FOR FOOD STUFFS AND THE ONLY BULGARIAN ENTERPRISE FOR DIETETIC CHILDREN'S FOOD.
- 20. ON 24 JANUARY A GROUP OF 50 60 CITIZENS GATHERED AT THE "SERDIKA" BOROUGH BCP COMMITTEE IN SOFIA. THEY WERE SHOUTING: "DOWN WITH BCP," "BEFORE AND NOW, THE BCP IS A MAFIA, " AND "UDF" (UNION OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES). THEY BROKE THE SIGN BEARING THE NAME OF THE COMMITTEE AND TRIED TO ENTER THE BUILDING. THE GROUP DISPERSED AFTER MILITIAMEN WERE CALLED BY NEARBY CITIZENS. POLANSKY

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BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB NILES

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, BU

SUBJECT: BULGARIAN PRESS HIGHLIGHTS: 12-17 JANUARY

12 JANUARY

- 1. IN AN INTERVIEW, ANABEL MARKOVA, THE WIFE OF THE BULGARIAN WRITER GEORGI MARKOV WHO FLED FROM THE COUNTRY IN 1969, REVEALS THAT MARKOV LIVED AND WORKED THEREAFTER IN LONDON, WHERE HE WAS KILLED FOR HIS CRITICISM OF THE POLITICAL REGIME IN BULGARIA. MARKOVA RECENTLY MET WITH POLITBURO MEMBER ALEXANDER LILOV, BUT NO DETAILS OF THE MEETING ARE GIVEN.
- 2. THE PEOPLE OF VARNA ARE INDIGNANT AND ARE PROTESTING AGAINST THE POLLUTION OF THE CITY'S DRINKING WATER, IN UNCLASSIFIED

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SPITE OF PRESS STATEMENTS RECOMMENDING ITS USE. THE POPULATION INSISTS ON CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW WATER PIPELINE.

3. RD CARRIES THE PROGRAM DECLARATION OF THE "MOVEMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM AND RENOVATION OF SOCIALISM." IT SAYS THAT THE MOVEMENT SUPPORTS "MARXISM FREE FROM THE DOGMA OF STALINISM." THE MOVEMENT WILL WORK FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL EFFORTS OF ALL PEOPLE WHO ARE LOOKING FOR A WAY CUT OF THE PRESENT DEEP ECONOMIC, SOCIO-POLITICAL AND MORAL CRISTS OF

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BULGARIAN SOCIETY. THE MOVEMENT WILL WORK FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A FREE, DEMOCRATIC AND HUMANE SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND WILL RESIST ANY ATTEMPTS TO "RESTORE CAPITALISM" IN THE COUNTRY, THE DECLARATION READS.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- 4. IN AN INTERVIEW FOR "OTECHESTVEN FRONT," THE NOTED SURGEON DR. ALEXANDER CHIRKOV DELINEATES DEFORMATIONS IN THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC HEALTH. THESE WERE ALL CAUSED BY THE TOTALITARIAN REGIME, HE SAYS. HE POINTS OUT THE NECESSITY FOR SERIOUS CHANGES IN THE ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF HEALTH ESTABLISHMENTS IN BULGARIA, AND OF IMPROVEMENT OF THE QUALITY OF FOOD, ESPECIALLY FOR CHILDREN, WHO GET SICK MORE OFTEN THAN CHILDREN IN WEST EUROPE DUE TO SHORTAGES OF FRESH FRUITS, VEGETABLES, AND NATURAL FRUIT AND VEGETABLE JUICES.
- 5. A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY, WHICH WAS COMPLETED IN 1987 BUT WAS NOT PUBLISHED, SHOWS THAT THE REAL INCOME OF THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR BUYING-POWER ARE DECREASING CONSTANTLY WHILE THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO LIVE ON THE POVERTY LINE GROWS. "OTECHESTVEN FRONT." UNCLASSIFIED

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- 6. THE TASK OF THE "GREEN" PARTY IN BULGARIA IS TO FIGHT FOR DEMOCRATIZATION, FOR ELIMINATION OF THE BCP'S MONOPOLY ON STATE POWER, AND FOR CHANGES IN THE MAIN STRUCTURES OF POWER IN ORDER TO CREATE A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. THE "GREEN" PARTY WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE ECOLOGIZATION OF INDUSTRY, IN THE JUST RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS OF OWNERSHIP OF AGRICULTURAL LAND, AND OTHER IMPORTANT PROBLEMS, SAYS FILIP DIMITROV, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE "GREEN" PARTY. "KOOPERATIVNO SELO."
- 7. ON 23 JANUARY 1989, A GROUP OF SOFIA UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSORS (INCLUDING NIKOLAY GENCHEV, NIKOLAY VASILEV, AND KRISTIAN VASILEV) RAISED DEMANDS FOR AUTONOMY OF THE UNIVERSITY AND REJECTED CATEGORICALLY THE ATTEMPTS OF SOME PEOPLE TO "IMPOSE THE ELECTION" OF TODOR ZHIVKOV AS CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL FOR UNIVERSITY STRATEGY. TODOR ZHIVKOV WAS DULY INFORMED AND, TWO DAYS LATER, HE SENT A LETTER SAYING THAT SUCH A PROPOSAL HAS NOT BEEN DISCUSSED AT THE CC/BCP, AND THAT IT WAS NOT CORRECT. "NARODNA MLADEZH."
- 8. "STURSHEL" (THE SATIRICAL PAPER) PUBLISHES A LETTER OF OGNYAN DOINOV, BULGARIAN AMBASSADOR TO NORWAY, IN WHICH HE PROTESTS AGAINST A "STURSHEL" ARTICLE BY PETUR NEZNAKOMOV, WHO "DISCREDITS A BULGARIAN AMEASSADOR BEFORE THE BULGARIAN AND FOREIGN PUBLIC." DOYNOV DECLARES HE IS

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SUING NEZNAKOMOV. IN HIS REFLY TO LOYNOW, NEZNAKOMOV SAYS THAT HE WILL INVITE ALL OF HIS COLLEAGUES TO ATTEND THE TRIAL, AT WHICH THEY WILL GET TO KNOW MANY FACTS ABOUT THE NOMENCLATURE CADRES, WHICH, UNTIL NOW, HAVE BEEN CAREFULLY CONCEALED FROM THE PUBLIC.

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BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB NILES

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TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, BU

SUBJECT: BULGARIAN PRESS HIGHLIGHTS: 12-17 JANUARY

NARODNA KULTURA

9. THE LATEST NATIONAL PHOTO EXHIBITION IN SOFIA PROVED THAT PHOTOGRAPHERS ARE STILL AFRAID OF UNOFFICIAL CENSORSHIP IN BULGARIA... THAT IS WHY NO ONE DAFED SHOW OR

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DISPLAY ANYTHING DIVERGING FROM THE USUAL PRODUCTS OF TOTALITARIAN CULTURE, SAYS GEORGI LOZANOV. THE SPECIAL PRIZE FOR CIVIC COURAGE WAS AWARDED TO SIMON VARSANO, WHO, EARLY IN 1989, WAS SHOT IN THE LEG BY SECURITY AGENTS WHO SAW HIM WRITING THE WORDS "TODOR BERIA ZHIVKOV". ON A WALL.

10. ARCHITECT YAVOR DICHEV PROPOSES CHANGES IN THE UNCLASSIFIED

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BULGARIAN COAT-OF-ARMS: REMOVAL OF ALL SYMBOLS (I.E., THE RED STAR) EXCEPT THE LION AND THE "681," THE YEAR OF THE FOUNDING OF THE BULGARIAN STATE.

- 11. IN TURGOVISHTE, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE MUNICIPAL BCP COMMITTEE TEODOR GHYAOUROV, A CLOSE RELATIVE OF PENCHO KUBADISNKI, ORGANIZED A 5 JANUARY MEETING TO PROTEST THE PRO-MUSLIM DECISION OF 29 DECEMBER. RADOSLAV CHERKEZOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE LOCAL CLUB FOR GLASNOST AND DEMOCRACY, WAS TAKEN FORCIBLY TO THE MEETING, WHERE PARTICIPANTS SPAT AT HIM AND CALLED HIM "TRAITOR."
- 12. THE NATIONAL QUESTION HAS MANY ASPECTS, SAYS ALEKSANDUR MILANOV IN "LITERATUREN FRONT." ALMOST EVERY FAMILY KEEPS THE MEMORY OF RELATIVES SLAIN BY THE TURKS DURING THEIR RULE IN BULGARIA, BUT THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE HAVE NEVER HATED THE TURKISH PEOPLE. THEY ONLY HATED THE TURKISH RULERS DURING THE FIVE CENTURIES UNDER THE TURKISH YOKE. NOW, SOME PEOPLE ARE MISLED BY THOSE WHO SUPPORTED ZHIVKOV'S ASSIMILATION CAMPAIGN AND NOW SHOUT: "BULGARIANS IN BULGARIA" WITHOUT THINKING THAT THERE ARE MANY BULGARIANS WHO LIVE IN TURKEY, MOLDAVIA, THE UKRAINE, YUGOSLAVIA, GREECE AND MANY OTHER COUNTRIES. WHAT HAS THE BULGARIAN GOVERNMENT DONE TO DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF THESE BULGARIANS? NO ONE WAS ALLOWED TO EVEN MENTION THEM. FOR TWO FULL DECADES, ZHIVKOV AND HIS ASSOCIATES DID NOT ALLOW ANYTHING TO BE SAID OR PUBLISHED ABOUT THE ATROCTTIES OF THE TURKS DURING THEIR RULE IN BULGARIA BECAUSE THIS COULD ALLEGEDLY HURT THE NATIONALIST FEELINGS OF OUR TURKISH COMPATRIOTS, AS IF THEY WERE TO BLAME FOR THE CRIMES OF SULTANIC DESPOTISM. AT THE SAME TIME, THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE STILL DO NOT KNOW THE TRUTH ABOUT THE FORCIBLE CHANGE OF NAMES OF THE MUSLIMS IN 1984. THOSE WHO INCITED NATIONAL UNCLASSIFIED

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HATRED IN BULGARIA ARE STILL NOT PUNISHED, SAYS MILANOV.

13. GEORGI MISHEV ALSO LENOUNCES THE VIOLENT CHANGE OF MUSLIM NAMES IN 1984 AND LESISTS THAT THE FULGAPTAN PUBLIC

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BE TOLD THE TRUTH ABOUT IT AND ABOUT THE REASONS WHY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE LEFT THEIR HOMES FOR TURKEY IN THE SUMMER OF 1989. "LITERATUREN FRONT."

13 JANUARY

"RABOTNICHESKO DELO"

- 14. IN 1972 DRAZHA VULCHEVA (FORMER DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY), AMBITIOUS FIRST SECRETARY OF THE LOCAL BCP COMMITTEE IN PLOVDIV, SLANDERED A GROUP OF COMMUNISTS AND ACCUSED THEM OF ORGANIZING ANTI-PARTY AND FACTIONIST ACTIVITIES. AS A RESULT, 34 COMMUNISTS WERE PUNISHED, OFFENDED AND HUMILIATED. FOUR OF THEM WERE EXPELLED FROM THE PARTY. ONE OF THEM WAS ANTON YUGOV, A MAN WHOM TODOR ZHIVKOV HAD BEEN TRYING TO EXPEL FOR A LONG TIME. THE INCIDENT HELPED DRAZHA VULCHEVA IN HER PROMOTION TO HIGHER POSTS IN SOFIA.
- 15. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE INDEPENDENT BULGARIAN TRADE UNIONS, PROFESSOR KRUSTYU PETKOV, MADE A SHORT VISIT TO POLAND, WHERE HE MET WITH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE ALL-POLISH TRADE UNION ASSOCIATION ALFRED MIODOWICZ AND DISCUSSED QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE STRUCTUIRE OF THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS. PETKOV WAS RECEIVED BY THE MINISTER OF LABOR JACZEK KURON. THEY DISCUSSED "THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT." PETKOV ALSO MET WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF WARSAW'S "SOLIDARITY"

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21. IN A SESSION OF THE FARLTAMENTARY COMMISSION ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, PARTICIPANTS DECIDED TO SUGGEST TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS THE FOLLOWING: SETTING UP A MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE & FOOD INDUSTRY AND A COMMITTEE FOR FORESTS & FOREST INDUSTRY, WHICH WILL REPLACE THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE & FORESTS. IT WAS ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE COMMISSION ON SELF-SUFFICIENCY BE DISSOLVED AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON WATERS BE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF ECONOMY & PLANNING. UNSPECIFIED PROPOSALS FOR AMENDMENTS TO DECREE NO 56 (ON FOREIGN ECONOMIC INVESTMENT) WERE ALSO MADE.

14 JANUARY

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"RABOTNICHESKO DELO"

- 22. AT THE SESSION OF THE SOFIA CITY PEOPLE'S COUNCIL THE MAYOR OF SOFIA STEFAN NINOV WAS GIVEN A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE. (NOTE: ECOGLASNOST EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND "GREEN PARTY" CHAIRMAN ALEXANDER KARAKACHANOV, WHO IS ALSO A SOFIA CITY COUNCILLOR, HAD MADE THE MOTION AGAINST THE MAYOR DUE TO HIS PART IN THE BEATINGS OF ECOGLASNOST ACTIVISTS IN A SOFIA PARK ON 26 OCTOBER 1989.)
- 23. A "UNITED FRONT FOR RESTRUCTURING AND DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM" WAS ESTABLISHED. IT UNITES THE "SOCIAL FORUM FOR RESTRUCTURING AND DEFENSE OF SOCIALISM, " THE "MOVEMENT FOR SOCIALIST RENOVATION 'EDINSTVO,' " THE "MOVEMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM AND RENOVATION OF SOCIALISM. " AND THE "ALTERNATIVE FORUM." IN ITS DECLARATION THE UNITED FRONT SAYS THAT THE PROCESS OF RESTRUCTURING IS VERY SLOW. IT APPEALS TO ALL SOCIALIST FORCES TO UNITE IN ACCELERATING CHANGES IN THE BULGARIAN SOCIETY.
- 24. A "NON-PARTY PEOPLE FOR DEMOCRACY" INITIATIVE GROUP WAS FORMED.
- 25. A CLUB "RODOLYUBIE" ("PATRIOTISM") WAS ESTABLISHED. IT WILL UNITE AUTHORS WRITING ABOUT PATRIOTIC EDUCATION. THE DEFENSE OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND THE LAWS, AND THE UNITY OF THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE.
- 26. THE COMMITTEE FOR STATE & PUBLIC CONTROL OFFERS A PROGRAM FOR THE NEW ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF ORGANS FOR STATE AND PUBLIC CONTROL AND THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THEY SHOULD BE FORMED.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9455
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 07 SOFIA 00599

BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB NILES

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, BU

SUBJECT: BULGARIAN PRESS HIGHLIGHTS: 12-17 JANUARY

- 27. BTA'S (BULGARIAN PRESS AGENCY) BELGRADE CORRESPONDENT NIKOLAY KOEV PROTESTS AGAINST THE BIASED AND TENDENTIOUS APPROACH OF TELEVISION "SKOPJE" IN ITS REPORTS ABOUT RECENT EVENTS IN BULGARIA. THE EMPHASIS OF THE REPORTS WAS DELIBERATELY PUT ON ANTI-COMMUNIST SLOGANS RAISED AT PROTESTS AROUND THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY BUILDING. THESE DISRUPTIVE AND NON-CONSTRUCTIVE PROTESTS ARE NOT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS SINCERE EFFORTS TO REFORM WITHOUT CONFRONTATION.
- 28. "ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME" CARRIES AN APPEAL FOR RESTORATION UNCLASSIFIED

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OF THE BULGARIAN AGRARIAN YOUTH UNION. AFTER THE COMMUNISTS CONSOLIDATED THEIR POWER IN 1948, THE AGRARIAN PARTY WAS ALLOWED TO CONTINUE AS AN "ALLIED" PARTY WITHOUT A POLITICAL PLATFORM. IT WAS ALSO FORBIDDEN TO ORGANIZE YOUNG PEOPLE'S CHAPTERS, AS THE BCP DID WITH ITS "PIONEERS" AND "KOMSOMOLS".

29. A UNION OF BULGARIAN PHYSICIANS WAS FORMED IN SOFIA. 30. THE "ECOGLASNOST" CHAPTER IN SVISHTOV PROTESTED AGAINST THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE BELENE NUCLEAR POWER PLANT.

15 JANUARY

"RABOTNICHESKO DELO"

- 31. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR INSIST ON: REDUCTION OF THE BCP PARTY APPARATUS, CHANGING THE NAME AND THE COAT-OF-ARMS OF THE BULGARIAN STATE, REVEALING THE NAMES OF BULGARIAN MILLIONAIRES, ACCELERATING DEMOCRATIC CHANGE, AND PUNISHING PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN VIOLATING THE COUNTRY'S LAWS AND MORAL NORMS FOR YEARS.
- 32. WITHOUT EXPLANATION OR COMMENT, RD CARRIES THE FULL TEXT OF THE DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ADOPTED BY THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1948.
- 33. ANTON ANTONOV, EXPERT AT THE STATE NAVIGATION INSPECTORATE, ORGANIZED A DISCUSSION ABOUT THE ALARMING ABSENCE OF SAFETY IN TRANSPORTATION. HOWEVER, THE MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT REFUSED TO PROVIDE A ROOM FOR THE DISCUSSION, AND MINISTER OF TRANSPORT TRIFON PASHOV, ALTHOUGH HE WAS INVITED, REFUSED TO ATTEND. UNCLASSIFIED

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ANTONOV HAS RAISED HIS OWN CANDIDATURE FOR DEPUTY MINISTER AND OFFERS A PROGRAM FOR GUARANTEEING SAFETY IN TRANSPORTATION.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

34. ALDIN TOPALOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE "MUSLIM SECTION" OF THE ASENOVGRAD CHAPTER OF THE INDEPENDENT (HUMAN RIGHTS) SOCIETY ACCUSES THE TOTALITARIAN REGIME OF ZHIVKOV OF CREATING THE EXISTING NATIONALIST HOSTILITIES. HE ALSO ACCUSES THE LOCAL NOMENCLATURA CADRES, WHICH ARE STILL INTACT, FOR THEIR DELIBERATE INCITEMENT (F CITIZENS AGAINST THE PRO-MUSLIM DECISIONS OF 29 DECEMBER.

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- 35. THE PROVISIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE BULGARIAN TRADE UNIONS HELD A SESSION WHICH APPROVED URGENT MEASURES IN THE SOCIAL INTEREST OF BULGARIAN WORKING PEOPLE: HIGHER PENSIONS, WORKING CLOTHES, LABOR SAFETY MEASURES, AND OTHERS. THE PROPOSALS WILL BE OFFERED TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS FOR DISCUSSION.
- 36. TRADE UNIONS CHAIRMAN PETKOV DECLARED THAT HE WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN PREPARATIONS FOR THE 14TH BCP CONGRESS BECAUSE THIS RUNS COUNTER TO THE PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNIONS.
- 37. "TRUD" ALSO CARRIES A DECLARATION OF THE BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BULGARIAN TEACHERS UNION. THE UNION IS DEMANDING DEMOCRATIZATION OF EDUCATION AND JUST RESOLUTION OF "THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS" OF TEACHERS.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9456
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AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
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BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB NILES

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, BU

SUBJECT: BULGARIAN PRESS HIGHLIGHTS: 12-17 JANUARY

38. A SOVIET JOURNALIST'S ARTICLE, PUBLISHED IN THE SOVIET NEWSPAPER "IZVESTIA," IS SUMMARIZED. THE ARTICLE DESCRIBES THE FORCIBLE CHANGE OF BULGARIAN MUSLIMS' NAMES IN 1984. THE AUTHOR NOTES THAT THE FORMER SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO BULGARIA LEONID GREKOV CALLED SOVIET JOURNALISTS AND STRICTLY FORBADE THE PUBLICATION OF ANY MATERIALS ABOUT THIS CAMPAIGN. "THIS IS ZHIVKOV'S REQUEST", GREKOV IS REPORTED TO HAVE SAID. THE AUTHOR OF THE ARTICLE FOLLOWS THE COURSE OF EVENTS SINCE 1984 AND FOCUSES ON THE MUSLIMS' FLIGHT FROM THEIR HOMES IN 1989. AT THIS STAGE, JOURNALISTS WERE ALLOWED TO WRITE ABOUT THE UNCLASSIFIED

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EMIGRATING MUSLIMS, BUT THEY HAD BEEN DULY INSTRUCTED BEFOREHAND, SAYS THE SOVIET JOURNALIST. "THE BULGARIANS SHOULD RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM BY THEMSELVES. NEITHER "PAN-TURKISM" NOR "MANIFESTATIONS OF SEPARATISM" NOR "BULGARIAN CHAUVINISM" WILL HELP THE COUNTRY ACHIEVE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION", SAYS THE AUTHOR IN CLOSING.

39. "NARODNA MLADEZH" REPORTS THE FORMATION IN RUSE OF A COORDINATION COUNCIL IN SUPPORT OF THE BCP INITIATIVE GROUP "BULGARIAN ROAD TO EUROPE."

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- 40. SHORT NOTES ABOUT THE "MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM," AN IDEOLOGICAL "TREND" IN THE BCP, DESCRIBE ITS GOALS OF WIDE POLITICAL LIBERTIES AND MULTIPLE FORMS OF OWNERSHIP. (NOTE: SEE ALSO PARAGRAPH 55 BELOW.)
- 41. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NEW SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY DECLARE THAT THE PARTY IS FOR CONSOLIDATION OF ALL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS WITH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ORIENTATION, AND FOR COOPERATION WITH ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN THE COUNTRY IN CREATING A DEMOCRATIC LAWFUL STATE WITHIN A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM.
- 42. NOTED BULGARIAN JOURNALIST VELISLAVA DUREVA TELLS ABOUT THE CONSTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE AND NUMEROUS ADMINISTRATIVE PUNISHMENTS IMPOSED BY THE MOMENCIATURA CADRES AT THE OKRUG BCP COMMITTEES IN PLOVDIV ON

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JOURNALISTS, POETS AND WRITERS WHO DARED TO DIVFRGE FROM THE COMMON POLITICAL PATH. DUREVA MENTIONS THE NAMES OF CADRE MEMBERS WHO DEFENDED NIKOLAY HAITOV WHEN HE WAS CORRECTLY ACCUSED OF PLAGIARISM. NOW, ONE OF THESE PEOPLE, PETUR ANASTASOV, IS DEPUTY CHIEF OF DEPARTMENT AT UNCLASSIFIED

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THE CC/BCP, AND ANOTHER, ATANAS MOSENGOV, IS AN ENTERPRISE DIRECTOR. A THIRD, EMIL KALUCHEV, IS NOW EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE DANOV PUBLISHING HOUSE IN PLOVDIV.

43. YULIANA NEDEVA IS AUTHOR OF AN ARTICLE ABOUT THE PERSECUTION OF THE PAINTER SVETLIN RUSEV, ACTIVIST ON THE COMMITTEE FOR ECOLOGICAL PROTECTION OF RUSE, DURING THE REGIME OF ZHIVKOV AND HIS ASSOCIATES. RUSEV WAS EXCLUDED FROM ARTISTIC CIRCLES AND DENIED MANY OPPORTUNITIES TO PAINT AND WRITE. HE WAS ISOLATED BY HIS LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATION, HIS WRITTEN WORKS WERE REFUSED BY EDITORS OF ARTISTIC AND CULTURAL JOURNALS, THE ARTISTS' UNION DID NOT DIRECT COMMISSIONS TO HIM, AND HIS WORKS WERE NOT ACCEPTED AND EVEN REMOVED PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS.

16 JANUARY

"ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME

- 44. IN 1985 OFFICERS FROM THE PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE AND STATE SECURITY CONFISCATED THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE MEMOIRS OF KHRISTO STRATEV, BANU (AGRARIAN PARTY) ACTIVIST AND ASSOCIATE OF NIKOLA PETKOV, WHO WAS ARRESTED AND SPENT LONG YEARS IN PRISON AS A RESULT OF A SENTENCE BASED ON FALSE ACCUSATIONS AT THE TRIAL IN 1952 AGAINST BANU LEADERS. IN 1985 THE STRATEVS WERE ADVISED NOT TO COMPLAIN. BUT TODAY THEY WANT JUSTICE AND THE RETURN OF THE DOCUMENTS.
- 45. ZHIVKOV'S DECISION IN 1967 TO BREAK DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL WAS A GREAT MISTAKE, SAYS JOURNALIST IVAN GLUSHKOV. BULGARIA WAS DEPRIVED OF THE POSSIBILITY TO COOPERATE WITH ISRAEL IN THE CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC FIELD

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BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB NILES

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SUBJECT: BULGARIAN PRESS HIGHLIGHTS: 12-17 JANUARY

WITH ISRAEL. THE DECISION OF 1967 WAS NOT REALLY IN BULGARIA'S INTERESTS. IT IS TIME TO NORMALIZE OUR RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, GLUSHKOV POINTS OUT.

18 JANUARY

"RABOTNICHESKO DELO"

46. THE TEXTILE COMBINE IN GABROVO IS SUFFERING FROM SHORTAGES OF MATERIALS AND FUEL OIL. IT WILL THEREFORE BE UNABLE TO FULFILL PRODUCTION PLANS. UNCLASSIFIED

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47. THE LEADERSHIPS OF OVER 60 ENTERPRISES AND FIRMS IN PLEVEN REGION REGISTERED A TRADE BANK "JOINT STOCK COMPANY" WITH INITIAL CAPITAL OF 5.5 MILLION LEVA.

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48. THE "INITIATIVE COMMITTEE FOR REJICVATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE UNION OF BULGARIAN MOTORISTS" CRITICIZED SHARPLY THE "GROSS TOTALITARIAN LEADERSHIP OF GENERAL VRACHEV, CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF THE UNION."

- 49. IN AN INTERVIEW, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR ALEXANDER TOMOV. MEMBER OF THE COORDINATION COUNCIL OF THE "MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM" AND MEMBER OF THE COMMISSION FOR PREPARATION OF THE 14TH EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE BCP. NOTES THAT THE MOVEMENT IS AN IDEOLOGICAL TREND IN THE BCP, WHOSE TASK IS TO FIND A WAY OUT OF THE PRESENT CRISIS IN BULGARIAN SOCIETY AND TO CONSTRUCT A SOCIETY OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM WITH RADICAL ECONOMIC REFORM. MEMBERS OF THE MOVEMENT ARE MOSTLY SCIENTIFIC WORKERS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WORKING CLASS.
- 50. THE GRAND MUFTI OF MUSLIMS IN BULGARIA, NEDYU GENDZHEV, MET WITH THE MAYOR OF SOFIA, STEFAN NINOV. THE MAYOR VOLUNTEERED TO HELP IN ACCELERATING THE REPAIR OF THE MOSOUE "BANYA BASHI" IN SOFIA. THE GRAND MUFTI ALSO RAISED DEMANDS FOR RECEIVING MATERIAL AID FOR EDUCATION AND IMPROVING THE PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATION OF IMAMS.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

51. "LITERATUREN FRONT" CARRIES AN ARTICLE BY METODI GEORGIEV WHICH SHARPLY CRITICIZES JOURNALISTS, WRITERS AND UNCLASSIFIED

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PUBLIC ACTIVISTS WHO WERE IN ZHIVKOV'S ENTOURAGE AND PRAISED HIM BUT IMMEDIATELY AFTER 10 NOVEMBER 1989 SIMPLY "CHANGED THEIR COLOR." THESE PEOPLE TRY TO PRESENT THEMSELVES AS VICTIMS OF ZHIVKOV'S REGIME AND QUICKLY ADAPT THEMSELVES TO THE NEW SITUATION. ACCORDING TO GEORGIEV, THEY INCLUDE RADOSLAV RADEV, PAVEL PISAREV. VLADIMIR TOPENCHAROV, ILIYA KYULYOVSKI, PETUR KOZHUKHAROV, AND DR. VASIL IVANOV.

- 52. LF CARRIES THE APPEAL OF A GROUP OF BEIJING STUDENTS WHO WENT ON A HUNGER STRIKE IN THE SUMMER OF 1989. "WE COULDN'T PUBLISH THE APPEAL EARLIER BECAUSE WE WERE UNDER THE CENSORSHIP OF 'GOOD RELATIONS,' READS THE SHORT NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR OF THE APPEAL. HOWEVER, "GOOD RELATIONS" AND "NON-INTERFERENCE" DO NOT MEAN GIVING UP THE PURSUIT OF THOROUGHNESS OF INFORMATION AND LISTENING TO THE "OTHER'S SIDE OPINION," SAYS THE AUTHOR.
- "NARODNA MLADEZH" CARRIES THE MOCKING LETTER OF A "BULGARIAN-SPEAKING AND ELECTRICITY-DEPRIVED" JOURNALIST WHO REMINDS READERS THAT IN 1958 IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE PROBLEMS OF ELECTRIFICATION OF BULGARIA HAD BEEN

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RESOLVED. HOWEVER, FLECTRICITY IS NOT ENOUGH. THE AUTHOR ASKS MINISTER OF ENERGY NIKOLA TODORIEV, "WHEN SHOULD A MINISTER RESIGN IF HE HAS NOT BEEN APPOINTED FOR LIFE?" A NOTE APPENDED TO THE LETTER READS: "TO BE READ BY CANDLE LIGHT."

54. LIVE-STOCK BREEDERS IN GODECH (NEAR SOFIA) WARNED THAT THEY WILL GO STRIKE IF THEIR DEMANDS FOR BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS AND HIGHER WAGES ARE NOT MET IN SEVEN DAYS.

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BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB NILES

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TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, BU

SUBJECT: BULGARIAN PRESS HIGHLIGHTS: 12-17 JANUARY

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55. REDUCTION IN THE EXPORT OF CONSUMER GCOS, PRODUCTION EXPENDITURES, AND PRICE CONTROLS, AND INCREASE OF THE MINIMUM WAGE AND PENSIONS ARE AMONG IDEAS FOR STABILIZING THE BULGARIAN ECONOMY. THEY ARE EXPLAINED BY BENYO BENEV, CHIEF DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF ECONOMY & MANAGEMENT. "ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME"

56. VALIA GANCHEV, A JOURNALIST FROM SOFIA PRESS, IS STILL ON HUNGER STRIKE. HER COLLEAGUES HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR SUPPORT FOR HER GOALS BUT HAVE APPEALED TO HER TO TERMINATE THE STRIKE BECAUSE HER DEMANDS CONCERNING THE LAW ON MASS MEDIA, COPYRIGHT PROTECTION OF JOURNALISTS' UNCLASSIFIED

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LABOR, FREEDOM OF CRITICISM, AND MANY OTHERS CANNOT BE RESOLVED OVERNIGHT.

- 57. "UCHITELSKO DELO" CARRIES A LETTER IN WHICH A GROUP OF BCP MEMBERS ADDRESS TODOR ZHIVKOV IN CONNECTION WITH THE PLENUM ON AGRICULTURE IN MAY, 1989. THEY WERE SEVERELY PUNISHED FOR THEIR CRITICISM OF ZHIVKOV'S POLICIES, WHICH LED THE COUNTRY INTO A DEEP CRISIS.
- 58. "ANTENI" CARRIES AN ARTICLE BY SENIOR RESEARCH WORKER VELKO VULKANOV WHO DESCRIBES THE DICTATORSHIP OF YAROSLAV RADEV, FORMER DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE COUNCIL ON BULGARIAN LEGISLATION. EVEN THOUGH HE WAS INCOMPETENT, HE WAS GIVEN A HIGH ACADEMIC POSITION, SAYS VULKANOV. POLANSKY

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BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB. NILES

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, BU

SUBJECT: BULGARIAN PRESS HIGHLIGHTS

31 DECEMBER, 1989

"RABOTNICHESKO DELO"

1. THE POLITBURO OF THE CC/BCP HELD CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PERMANENT BOARD OF BANU (BULGARIAN AGRARIAN PARTY) IN CONNECTION WITH THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY AND IN THE TWO PARTIES. THE PARTIES GAVE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE FORTHCOMING "ROUND TABLE" DISCUSSIONS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS AND TO OUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE FORTHCOMING SESSIONS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. UNCLASSIFIED

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- 2. TURKEY'S FOREIGN MINISTER MESUT YILMAZ HAS DECLARED HIS SATISFACTION WITH THE DECISION OF THE BULGARIAN AUTHORITIES TO ALLOW THE TURKISH-SPEAKING AND MUSLIM POPULATION TO HAVE A FREE CHOICE OF NAMES.
- 1 JANUARY, 1990

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3. ON 31 DECEMBER AT A MEETING IN SOFIA, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BCP INITIATIVE GROUP FOR THE "BULGARIAN ROAD TO EUROPE" PRESENTED THEIR PLATFORM. THE FORMATION OF A COORDINATION COUNCIL WILL TAKE PLACE ON 4 JANUARY 1990 AT SOFIA UNIVERSITY.

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- 4. PROMINENT BULGARIAN ECONOMISTS WILL DISCUSS VARIANTS FOR THE FUTURE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF BULGARIA ON 5 JANUARY AT SOFIA UNIVERSITY.
- 5. THE GOAL OF THE "GREEN" PARTY IN BULGARIA WILL BE THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL, DECLARED ALEXANDER KARAKACHANOV. ONE OF THE INITIATORS OF THE PARTY AND FORMER "ECOGLASNOST" SECRETARY. UNLIKE "ECOGLASNOST," THE "GREEN" PARTY IS A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, KARAKACHANOV NOTED.

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"RABOTNICHESKO DELO"

- 6. AN ARTICLE REPORTS ON THE DISSATISFACTION OF THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION IN KURDZALI WITH THE DECISION OF THE CC/BCP FOR FREE CHOICE OF NAMES FOR THE TURKISH-SPEAKING AND MUSLIM POPULATION.
- 7. A LENGTHY ARTICLE BY LIDIA LECHEVA PROVIDES ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NUCLEAR POWER PLANT IN BELENE. THE AUTHOR MAKES PROPOSALS FOR GUARANTEEING THE SAFETY OF NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS.
- 8. RD CARRIES AN INTERVIEW WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE LAWRENCE EAGLEBERGER, WHO DECLARED THAT REFORMS IN BULGARIA ARE ENCOURAGING.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

9. "OTECHESTVEN FRONT" IS NOT "FOR SALE", DECLARES ITS EDITORIAL STAFF. IT HAS PUBLISHED AND WILL PUBLISH MATERIALS OFFERED BY THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES UNION, ECOGLASNOST, PODKREPA, AND OTHER SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS, BUT IT HAS ITS OWN POSITION, WHICH IS THE UNITING OF ALL DEMOCRATIC AND PATRIOTIC FORCES WHICH CARE FOR BULGARIA AND WORK FOR THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE AND ITS "SOCIALIST CHOICE " THE DECLARATION FRADS

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BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB. NILES

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, BU

SUBJECT: BULGARIAN PRESS HIGHLIGHTS

10. OVER 15,000 PEOPLE IN KURDZHALI PROTESTED AGAINST THE DECISION OF THE CC/BCP FOR FREE CHOICE OF NAMES FOR THE TURKISH-SPEAKING AND MUSLIM POPULATION. "BULGARIA - FOR THE BULGARIANS" AND "TUPKS - IN TURKEY" ARE TWO OF THE SLOGANS RAISED AT THE MEETING. ANOMEY LUKANOV ADDRESSED THE MEETING AND EXPLAINED THE POSITION OF THE CC/BCP.

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HOWEVER, SOME OF HIS STATEMENTS WERE BOOED, AND HIS RESIGNATION WAS DEMANDED BY THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE MEETING. FINALLY, THE COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL UNITY ADOPTED A DECLARATION WHICH WILL BE DELIVERED TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

11. OVER 150 AUTOMOBILES FROM KURDZHALI HAVE HEADED FOR UNCLASSIFIED

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SOFIA. THE PARTICIPANTS IN THIS AUTO-MARCH WILL DELIVER THE "NATIONAL UNITY"DECLARATION TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO DEMAND A REFERENDUM ON RESOLVING THE NATIONAL QUESTION.

- 12. AT A MEETING IN SOFIA HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE FROM KURDZHALI INSISTED ON A REFERENDUM ON THE QUESTION OF THE TURKISH-SPEAKING AND MUSLIM POPULATION AND ON STUDYING THE OPINION OF THE PEOPLE FROM REGIONS WHERE THE NATIONAL QUESTION IS VERY GRAVE. THE DECLARATION ON BEHALF OF THE UNION FOR ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN KURDZHALI INSISTS ON AN ANSWER TO ITS DEMANDS ON 4 JANUARY. OTHERWISE, THE AUTHORS OF THE DECLARATION WILL APPEAL TO THE POPULATION FROM KURDZHALI REGION AND FROM ALL REGIONS OF BULGARIA TO GO ON A WARNING STRIKE ON 5 JANUARY.
- 13. A PROTEST MEETING WAS ALSO HELD IN HASKOVO.
- 14. THE POLITBURO OF THE CC/BCP ISSUED A DECLARATION WHICH NOTES THAT THE NEGATIVE REACTION OF PART OF THE POPULATION AGAINST THE DECISION FOR RETURNING TURKISH ARABIC NAMES COULD HAVE BEEN PREDICTED. THE DISSATIFACTION OF PART OF THE POPULATION IN RAZGRAD REGION AND ESPECIALLY IN KURDZHALI WAS NOTED. HOWEVER, THE POLITBURO BELIEVES THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK AT PRESENT IS NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND UNITY, WHICH WILL GUARANTEE THE INTEGRITY AND SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY.
- 15. MINISTER OF INTERIOR ATANAS SEMERDZHEIV ORDERED THE FORMATION OF A GROUP FOR TIES WITH THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE PUBLIC. THE PURPOSE OF THE GROUP IS TO FURTHER DEVELOP GLASNOST AND TO INFORM THE PUBLIC ABOUT CURRENT PROBLEMS IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR. THE GROUP WILL BE HEADED BY SENIOR RESEARCH UNCLASSIFIED

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WORKER YORDAN ORMANKOV. AFTER THEIR APPROVAL, THE STATUTE AND STATEMENT OF FUNCTIONS OF THE GROUP WILL BE ANNOUNCED IN THE MASS MEDIA

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- 16. AT THE INITIATIVE OF INTERIOR MINISTER SIMERDZHIEV. THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MINISTRY MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA AND NEWLY FORMED PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS. "WE ARE FOR POLITICALLY INDEPENDENT ACTIVITIES WHICH SHOULD FOCUS ON SOCIAL ISSUES AND SHOULD BE UNDER THEIR CONTROL", "DECLARED SEMERDZHIEV.
- 17. THE COMMISSION FOR DEFENSE OF PUBLIC INTERESTS AND CITIZENS RIGHTS WILL HOLD A SESSION ON 4 JANUARY. IT WILL DISCUSS THE ELIMINATION OF CERTAIN VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS DURING THE AUTHORITATRIAN REGIME AND ON THE NATIONAL UNITY OF THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE.
- 18. THE PERMANENT COMMISSION ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WILL HOLD A SESSION ON 4 JANUARY TO DISCUSS THE MAIN FUNCTIONS OF THE MINISTRIES OF ECONOMICS AND PLANNING, FINANCE, INDUSTRIES & TECHNOLOGIES, AGRICULTURE AND FORESTS, AND CONSTRUCTION, ARCHITECTURE, AND URBANIZATION.
- 19. RD CARRIES SHORT SUMMARIES OF THE PLATFORMS OF THREE ORGANIZATIONS OF BCP MEMBERS, WHICH WILL SOON HOLD CONSTITUENT MEETINGS. THEY ARE: THE ALTERNATIVE SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION, WHICH ASSUMES THE FUNCTIONS OF A PARTY FACTION; THE COORDINATION COUNCIL OF THE INITIATIVE "BULGARIAN ROAD TO EUROPE," AND THE BCP - DEMOCRATIC FORUM.
- 20. TIES IN TOURISM BETWEEN BULGARIA AND ISRAEL ARE DEVELOPING SUCCESSFULLY, ACCORDING TO AN OFFICIAL REPORT.

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INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-05 SS-00 CIAE-00 EB-00 DODE-00 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 H-01 OME -01 PA-02 INPE-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 T-01 P-02 7038 W

Date Printed: 07/15/1997 DOC_NUMBER: 90SOFIA00093 CHANNEL: n/a FileName: ...t9001151/aaaaenyf.tel

R 050942Z JAN 90 FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9120 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS AMEMBASSY ANKARA AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 SOFIA 00093

BRUSSELS FOR USEC - AMB. NILES

MUNICH FOR JEFFREY

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, BU

SUBJECT: BULGARIAN PRESS HIGHLIGHTS

- 21. AN INITIATIVE COMMITTEE IN PLOVDIV HAS RESUMED THE LEGAL ACTIVITIES OF THE BULGARIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY, WHICH WAS DISSOLVED IN 1947.
- 22. THE COORDINATION COUNCIL OF THE INITIATIVE GROUP "BULGARIAN ROAD TO EUROPE" EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE "HALF-WAY" CONDITIONS FOR FREE INTER-PARTY ELECTIONS. THE COORDINATION COUNCIL INSISTS ON THE PROVISION OF ROOMS, PRINTING. AND XEROX MACHINES BELONGING TO THE PARTY TO ALL WINGS, IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS AND FACTIONS OF THE PARTY.

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23. "LITE

RATUREN FRONT" CARRIES AN ARTICLE ABOUT THE CORRUPTION AND NUMEROUS VIOLATIONS OF THE LAWS OF THE FORMER FIRST SECRETARY OF VARNA DISTRICT BCP COMMITTEE TODOR STOICHEV, WHO WAS TOLERATED AND SUPPORTED BY TODOR ZHIVKOV. RECENTLY, TODOR STOICHEV WAS EXPELLED FROM THE BCP.

- 24. BULGARIAN WRITER VASIL STANILOV HAS GONE ON A HUNGER STRIKE TO INSIST ON ABOLITION OF ALL OF ARTICLE 1 FROM THE BULGARIAN CONSTITUTION. A GROUP OF PLAYWRIGHTS EXPRESSED THEIR SUPPORT, LF.
- 25. THE SAME ISSUE OF LF CARRIES CARTOONS OF TODOR ZHIVKOV BY ARTIST TODOR TSONEV, WHO, UNDER ZHIVKOV, WAS PROSECUTED AND HAD ALL OF HIS CARTOONS CONFISCATED BY STATE SECURITY ORGANS.
- 26. IN 1963 AND 1964 TODOR ZHIVKOV APPLIED GREAT EFFORTS

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TO MAKE BULGARIA A SOVIET REPUBLIC. HE LAUNCHED HIS IDEA AT A PLENUM OF THE CC/BCP ON 31 JULY 1963, AT A SPECIAL PLENUM ON 4 DECEMBER 1963. AND AT YET ANOTHER PLENUM ON 26 FEBRUARY 1964. AFTER THAT A BULGARIAN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION WENT TO MOSCOW TO CONVINCE KHRUSHCHEV TO APPROVE THE IDEA OF BULGARIA'S JOINING THE SOVIET UNION. THE STORY IS CARRIED IN "NARODNA KULTURA."

VECHERNI NOVINI, 2 JANUARY _____

27. THIS ISSUE CARRIES THE STORY OF AN OPEN LETTER TO TODOR ZHIVKOV WRITTEN BY A GROUP OF MILITARY OFFICERS IN 1982. FOR THEIR SHARP CRITICISM THE AUTHORS OF THE GROUP WERE EXPELLED FROM THE PARTY AND PUT IN JAIL. THE ARTICLE UNCLASSIFIED

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IN VN IS ABOUT TWO OF THEM WHO WERE REHABILITATED RECENTLY.

- 28. ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL STATISTICS, PERNIK IS AMONG THE SEVEN MOST POLLUTED CITIES IN BULGARIA. AN ARTICLE IN "OTECHESTVEN FRONT." 3 JANUARY, POINTS OUT THE REASONS FOR THE POLLUTION AND INSISTS ON CLOSING DOWN SOME OF THE PRODUCTION UNITS IN THE CITY.
- 29. LIKE ROMANIA, BULGARIA HAS ITS OWN PRETORIAN BODYGUARDS, SAYS WRITER DIMITUR PAUNOV. ITS FUNCTIONS, COMMAND, AND POSITION IN EVENTS ARE STILL A SECRET. THE FIRST HOPE FOR RAISING THE CORNER OF THE CURTAIN IS THE DISBANDMENT OF THE 6TH DEPARTMENT OF THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR, ALTHOUGH NO ONE KNOWS ANYTHING ABOUT ITS OFFICERS. THE APPOINTMENT OF ATANAS SEMERDZHIEV AS MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR IS THE SECOND HOPE, THE AUTHOR SAYS. ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, 3 JANUARY. POLANSKY

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R 291512Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9053
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
USDOC WASHDC
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS



L SECTION 01 OF 03 SOFIA 07021

GENEVA FOR USTR

BRUSSELS FOR USEC-AMB. NILES

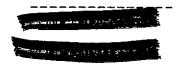
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, ETRD, BU, US

SUBJECT: LANTOS MEETINGS WITH TODOROV AND PIRINSKI

1. - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. SENIOR BULGARIAN OFFICIALS MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVE TOM LANTOS INDICATED MOVEMENT TOWARD MULTIPLE PARTIES IN BULGARIA MIGHT BE SLOWER THAN IN OTHER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, THOUGH ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD BY MID-YEAR. THEY ALSO EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO IMPROVE BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. END SUMMARY.

TODOROV MEETING



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- 3. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CHAIRMAN STANKO TODOROV, MEETING WITH REP. LANTOS, AMBASSADOR, AND EMBOFF DECEMBER 22, SAID THAT THE MAIN ARGUMENT AGAINST BULGARIA'S BEING PART OF THE COMMON EUROPEAN HOME, THAT BULGARIA WAS NOT DEMOCRATIC, HAD NOW DISAPPEARED.
- 4. LANTOS REPLIED THAT HE WAS DELIGHTED TO SEE BULGARIA MOVING TOWARD DEMOCRACY, AND ASKED WHEN THE ASSEMBLY WOULD PASS LEGISLATION ALLOWING OTHER

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POLITICAL PARTIES TO SE ORGANIZED, AND WHEN WOULD TRULY FREE ELECTIONS BE SCHEDULED? TODOROV REPLIED THAT ELECTIONS WOULD BE SCHEDULED BY MID-1990, AND WOULD BE PRELIMINARY ELECTIONS. CONSIDERATION OF A NEW ELECTION LAW WAS UNDERWAY, BUT WOULD TAKE SOME TIME. THE ASSEMBLY WAS STUDYING THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE U.S.

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- 5. LANTOS NOTED THAT HE WAS THE ONLY MEMBER OF CONGRESS BORN IN EASTERN EUROPE, AND THAT SOME OTHER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS OFTEN LOOKED TO HIM TO TAKE THE LEAD REGARDING COUNTRIES IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. FOR HIS PART, HE SAID, HE WOULD BE PLEASED IF CONDITIONS IN BULGARIA PROCEEDED TO THE POINT WHERE HE COULD OFFER LEGISLATION REGARDING MFN, OPIC, AND AID, AS HE HAD FOR HUNGARY AND POLAND.
- 6. TODOROV REPLIED THAT HE HOPED THAT THERE WERE NO REMAINING BARRIERS TO NORMAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS. WHILE HE COULDN'T SAY THAT BULGARIA DIDN'T WANT AID, IT WAS NOT IN GREAT NEED. WHAT THE GOB WANTS IS NORMAL TRADE RELATIONS, HE SAID, WHICH WERE PREVENTED BY LACK OF MFN. BULGARIA WANTED TO SEE MORE ACTIVE

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COOPERATION BETWEEN U.S. AND BULGARIAN COMPANIES, WHICH COULD ONLY HAPPEN IF THE U.S. CONGRESS REMOVED EXISTING RESTRICTIONS, HE ASSERTED.

- 7. LANTOS POINTED OUT THAT CONGRESS CAN MOVE VERY QUICKLY WHEN CONDITIONS WARRANT. ACTION REGARDING BULGARIA COULD TAKE PLACE QUICKLY IF THERE WERE FREE ELECTIONS, FREE EMIGRATION, AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, ESPECIALLY FOR THE TURKISH MINORITY. THIS WAS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT HE SAID. ALSO, THERE WAS NO REASON WHY THE GOB SHOULDN'T RESTORE FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. IF THESE THINGS WERE DONE, LANTOS SAID, HE WAS READY TO MOVE VERY RAPIDLY. THERE WAS LOTS OF GOOD WILL TOWARD BULGARIA.
- 8. TODOROV REPLIED THAT BULGARIA WOULD DO THESE THINGS, NOT TO PLEASE THE U.S., BUT BECAUSE THEY WERE NECESSARY.
- 9. THE JANUARY SESSION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WOULD ADDRESS THE MOST PRESSING ECONOMIC MEASURES, TODOROV REMARKED, INCLUDING PROPERTY RIGHTS AND CONDITIONS FOR ECONOMIC REFORM, AND IT WOULD DISCUSS AND ADOPT LAWS PROVIDING FOR FURTHER DEMOCRATIZATION.

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10. LANTOS ASKED IF THE U.S. COULD FLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE

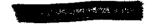


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ROLE IN HELPING THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, KECALLING THAT THE U.S. HAS EXPERTS IN DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AND PARTIES. THESE HAD GONE TO HUNGARY, AND LEADERS ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM THERE HAD EXPRESSED APPRECIATION.





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R 291512Z DEC 89 FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9054 INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS USDOC WASHDC USMISSION GENEVA AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS



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GENEVA FOR USTR

BRUSSELS FOR USEC-AMB, NILES

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, ETRD, BU, US

SUBJECT: LANTOS MEETINGS WITH TODOROV AND PIRINSKI

11. TODOROV AVOIDED GIVING A DIRECT ANSWER TO THE QUESTION, SAYING THAT BULGARIA HAD TO CLARIFY CERTAIN QUESTIONS FOR ITSELF. IN ELECTION LAW WAS UNDER PREPARATION. THE CONSTITUTION NEEDED AMENDMENTS AND A DECISION MUST BE MADE AS TO WHETHER THE NATIONAL



THE REAL PROPERTY AND ADDRESS.

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ASSEMBLY SHOULD MEET IN PERMINENT SESSION. IF 5(),
THE STATE COUNCIL WOULD BE SUPERFLUOUS. UNDER THE
CURRENT CONSTITUTION, TODOROV SAID, THE NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY HAD 400 MEMBERS. PERHAPS 200 TO 250 MEMBERS
WOULD DO. THE ROLE OF A PRESIDENT/HEAD OF STATE WAS
OPEN. DECISIONS ON SUCH QUESTIONS COULD PROBABLY
BE MADE IN FEBRUARY. THE ASSEMBLY WAS MUCH MORE





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ACTIVE THAN IT HAD BEEN IN THE PAST, TODOROV ASSERTED.

PIRINSKI MEETING

- 12. REPRESENTATIVE LANTOS MET THE SAME DAY WITH DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS GEORGI PIRINSKI.
- 13. PIRINSKI SAID THAT BULGARIA WAS MOVING AWAY FROM A TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM, AND WAS ATTEMPTING TO RETURN TO VALUES OF SOCIAL JUSTICE PREVAILING IN THE 1944-47 PERIOD. THE PARTY WOULD NO LONGER CLAIM A MONOPOLY ON TRUTH, HE SAID, BUT WOULD SEEK A DIALOG WITH OTHERS.
- 14. REGARDING THE ECONOMY, THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT WOULD SEEK SHORT-TERM STABILITY FOR 1990 THROUGH CONTROL OF THE BUDGET DEFICIT AND FOREIGN DEBT. A DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM WOULD BEGIN IN 1991. THE STABILIZATION WOULD BE SOUGHT IN A NEW WAY, HE CLAIMED, THROUGH DIALOG WITH THE COMPANIES.
- 15. ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING WOULD RESUME IN 1991
 IN BOTH INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE, HE PREDICTED.
 UNEMPLOYMENT WAS NOT OVERT YET, BUT WAS PRESENT IN
 OVERMANNED INDUSTRIES. A DECREE IN EARLY DECEMBER
 HAD SET THE BASIS FOR MEASURES TO DEAL WITH LAID-OFF
 WORKERS THROUGH REEDUCATION AND OTHER MEANS. THERE
 WAS A QUESTION OF LABOR ELASTICITY, HOW QUICKLY
 WORKERS COULD ADJUST TO THE FULL BLAST OF WORLD
 ECONOMIC COMPETITION. OVER THE LONG RUN, HEAVY
 INDUSTRY HAD TO BECOME MORE EFFICIENT. THE



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HEAVY INVESTMENT IN HIGH TECH SECTORS, METALLURGY, AUTOMATIZATION, DATA PROCESSING AND FIGHER CHEMISTRY WAS NOT BEING USED EFFICIENTLY. MANAGERIAL KNOW HOW AND MARKET ORIENTATION WARE NECESSARY, HE STRESSED.

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16. LANTOS URGED PIRINSKI TO INVITE PHILANTHROPIST AND ENTREPRENEUR GEORGE SOROS TO BULGARIA. HE ALSO ASKED IF THE GOB WAS READY TO MOVE TOWARD PLURALISM IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE.

- 17. PIRINSKI REPLIED THAT IT WAS, IN THE SENSE OF PERMITTING DIVERGENT POINTS OF VIEW, INDEPENDENT PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS, AND GENUINE DIALOG WITH OPPOSING POINTS OF VIEW, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF BASIC SOCIALIST VALUES, WHICH HE CLAIMED WERE INTRINSIC TO BULGARIAN SOCIETY. PIRINSKI DISCUSSED THE DECEMBER 14 DEMONSTRATION OUTSIDE THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN SOMEWHAT NEGATIVE TERMS, WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT SOME OF THE DEMONSTRATORS FELT INSULTED AT BEING TERMED "EXTREMISTS." A FINE BALANCE HAD TO BE MAINTAINED, HE SAID.
- 18. PIRINSKI SAID THAT BULGARIA FACED A RANGE OF PROBLEMS INCLUDING THOSE POSED BY SEVERAL ETHNIC GROUPS SUCH AS THE MACEDONIANS. THERE WAS A SENSE OF IMPAIRED NATIONAL PRIDE, HE CLAIMED, WHICH WAS A POWERFUL RECIPE FOR "FASCISM," THOUGH ONLY A SMALL MINORITY "WANT CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR COMMUNISTS."
- 19. LANTOS ASKED IF IT WERE FEASIBLE TO STRUCTURE ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSIONS WITH CLEARLY INDEPENDENT GROUPS. PIRINSKI SAID THAT A WIDE RANGE OF GROUPS HAD PARTICIPATED IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEMONSTRA-



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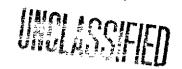
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R 291512Z DEC 89
FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9055
INFO EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS
USDOC WASHDC
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS





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GENEVA FOR USTR

BRUSSELS FOR USEC-AMB. NILES

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, ETRD, BU, US

SUBJECT: LANTOS MEETINGS WITH TODOROV AND PIRINSKI

TIONS, INCLUDING SOME HE TERMED "BLACK SHIRTS," YOUTHS IN BLACK LEATHER JACKETS WHO HAD ALLEGEDLY SHOUTED AT MLADENOV, "WE GIVE YOU A YEAR," AND, "WE'VE HAD OUR SKINS TAKEN OFF, NOW IT'S YOUR TURN." THE LEGITIMACY OF ANY GROUP NEEDED TO BE EARNED, HE SAID, THROUGH ITS PLATFORM

. RFE BROADCASTS, HE CHARGED, GAVE ONLY ONE POINT OF VIEW, AND HINDERED THE PROCESS OF BEGINNING A DIALOG.

20. THE AMBASSADOR ASKED HOW INDEPENDENT GROUPS WERE TO HAVE ACCESS TO MEANS OF COMMUNICATION AS THEY DID NOT HAVE THEIR OWN NEWSPAPERS AND OTHER



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MEDIA. PIRINSKI REPLIED THAT SINCE NOVEMBER 10, THE PRESS AND TV HAVE GIVEN THE INDEPENDENT MOVE-MENTS "GREATER PLAY" THAN THE PARTY POINT OF VIEW, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF EDITORIALS, REPORTING ON THE DECISIONS OF PLENUMS, ETC. HE CITED A LONG TRUD INTERVIEW WITH KARAKACHANOV OF ECOGLASNOST, WHO WAS LEAVING TO FORM A GREEN PARTY, AND THE POPULAR TV PROGRAM "EVERY SUNDAY," WHOSE COVERAGE OF NEW GROUPS HAD MANY COMMUNISTS "HOPPING MAD."

21. LANTOS ASKED WHETHER BULGARIA WAS LIKELY TO DEVELOP MORE ALONG CURRENT SOVIET POLITICAL REFORM LINES, OR ACCORDING TO THE POLISH/HUNGARIAN MODEL. DODGING THE QUESTION SOMEWHAT, PIRINSKI SAID THAT BULGARIA WOULD SEEK SOMETHING ALONG THE LINES OF THE 1947 CONSTITUTION, WHICH PERMITTED THREE FORMS OF PROPERTY, RECOGNIZED THE LABOP PASIS OF VALUE, AND SOUGHT STATE PROTECTION FOR FAIR WAGES AND BENEFITS, BALANCING SOCIAL EQUALITY WITH ECONOMIC

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COMMENT

22. BOTH TODOROV AND PIRINSKI LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT PROGRESS TOWARD MULTIPLE PARTIES WOULD BE FAIRLY SLOW AND MEASURED IF THEY HAD THEIR WAY. THEIR CAUTION MAY HAVE BEEN A RESULT OF THE LACK OF A CLEAR LINE, PRIOR TO THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT

THAT ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSIONS WOULD BEGIN. POLANSKY



CHANNEL: n/a

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*** Current Handling Restrictions ***

*** Current Classification ***

* n/a

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SOFIA 06954

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: PREL, BU, IS, KS

SUBJECT: GOTSEV SUGGESTS ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC

RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, SOUTH KOREA

REF: TEL AVIV 971

- 1. (U) ON DEC 11-13 THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BULGARIA HELD ITS LATEST PLENUM. ON A DAILY BASIS, THE NEWSPAPER "RABOTNICHESKO DELO" IS CARRYING SOME OF THE SPEECHES WHICH WERE MADE AT THE PLENUM.
- 2. (U) THE DECEMBER 21 EDITION CARRIES THE SPEECH MADE BY LYUBEN GOTSEV, A MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND A DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. IT MAKES TWO INTERESTING POINTS:

--AFTER THE RELEVANT PREPARATION AND CLARIFICATIONS ARE CARRIED OUT WITH THE ARAB COUNTRIES, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SHOULD BE RESTORED WITH ISRAEL IN THE FIRST HALF OF 1990. Ampailement of the fact of the

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--THE NECESSARY STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN TO ACTIVATE THE RELATIONS WITH SOUTH KOREA, BEGINNING FIRST WITH CONSULAR AND AFTER THAT POLITICAL RELATIONS. THE GOAL SHOULD BE TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BY THE END OF 1990.

3. (C) BULGARIA WAS MOVING IN THE ABOVE DIFFCTIONS EVEN UNDER ZHIVKOV, BUT THE PACE HAD BEEN VERY SLOW. AGREEMENT WAS REACHED WITH SCUTH NOREA FOR THE



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ESTABLISHMENT OF TRADE OFFICES IN THE TWO CAPITALS. THE SOUTH KOREANS OPENED THEIR OFFICE HERE EARLIER INFORMAL TRADE TALKS HAVE ALSO BEEN HELD WITH THE ISRAELIS (REFTEL). GIVEN THE FACT THAT GOTSEV FELT FREE TO MAKE THE SUGGESTIONS OPENLY AT THE PLENUM SUGGESTS STRONGLY THAT AT SENIOR LEVELS OF AT LEAST THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, BOTH HAVE SIGNIFICANT SUPPORT. IT MAY BE WORTHWHILE CALLING HIS SPEECH TO THE ATTENTION OF BOTH THE SOUTH KOREANS AND THE ISRAELIS. POLANSKY

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*** Current Handling Restrictions ***

Current Classification ***

UNCLASSIFIED

NEWS BRIEFER

LEAD STORIES AND/OR EDITORIALS IN THE MALAYSIAN PRESS AFFECTING THE U.S.

September 11, 1991 DATE:

HEADLINE: PLANE CRASH REMAINS TAKEN FOR POST-MORTEM

PUBLICATION: NST p. 2, STAR, p. 4, ALL PAPERS

GIST: POLICE ANNOUNCE FINDING OF SIX REMAINS THAT WILL BE

SENT TO QUEEN ELIZABETH HOSPITAL TOMORROW.

HEADLINE: CORY LEADS THOUSANDS IN RALLY TO BACK US BASES

PUBLICATION: FRONT PAGE MOST PAPERS

GIST: WIRESERVICES

MEDIA REACTION: YES

HEADLINE: NO MONEY NO TALK

PUBLICATION: NST EDITORIAL p. 8

GIST: RENEWED US-ISRAELIS TENSION IS LINKED TO FINANCIAL AID

AND PEACE TALKS

MEDIA REACTION:

HEADLINE: WHY IS THE US KEEPING SILENT?

PUBLICATION: BH p. 8, EDITORIAL

U.S. IS SILENT ON INDEPENDENCE OF AZERBAIJAN, KAZAKSTAN UZBEKISTAN BECAUSE THEY FEAR THIS COULD LEAD TO ISLAMIC RESURGENCE. U.S. DARES TO BE TOUGH WITH ARABS BUT NOT WITH ISRAEL BECAUSE THE JEWS DECIDE WHO IS ELECTED TO WHITE HOUSE. IN ORDER TO NOT OFFEND ISRAEL, BUSH IS AFRAID TO SUPPORT INDEPENDENCE OF THE ISLAMIC SOVIET REPUBLICS.

MEDIA REACTION: YES

HEADLINE: KELANTAN BARS AL-ARQAM EXPO

PUBLICATION: NST p. 2

IN KOTA BARU, PAS GOVERNMENT BANS EXPO BY AURAD MUHAMMADIAH TARIKAT SECT BECAUSE OF SECT'S HERESY.

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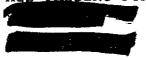
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: SOPN TC

SUBJECT: BREZHNEV'S DEATH -- UAE CONDOLENCE

- (LOU) NOVEMBER 12, UAE PRESIDENT SAHIKH ZAYID SENT CABLE OF CONDOLENCE TO PRESIDIUM OF SUPREME SOVIET UPON OCCASION OF SOVIET PRESIDENT BREZHNEV'S DEATH. CABLE, AS REPORTED IN PRESS, WAS BRIEF AND CORRECT -- WITHOUT EXPLICIT OR IMPLICIT REFERENCE TO SOVIET-UAE RELATIONS.
- 2. (C) LOCAL NEWSPAPERS HERE CARRIED SEVERAL WIRE-SERVICE REPORTS RELATING TO DEATH OF BREZHNEV, IN-CLUDING BRIEF BIOGRAPHIC SKETCHES OF HIM; SOVIET AND WORLD-WIDE REACTION TO NEWS; AND IMPLICATIONS OF HIS PASSING FOR THE FUTURE. ONE LOCAL ENGLISH-



PAGE 02

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LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER AVAILED ITSELF OF THE SITUATION TO PUBLICH AN EDITORIAL CASTIGATING WHAT IT TERMED AS PRESIDENT REAGAN'S "STRIDENT POSTURE" TOWARD

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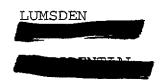
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SOVIETS, IN CONTRADICTION TO WHAT IT CLAIMED WERE
PRESIDENT BREZHNEV'S CONSTRUCTIVE ATTEMPTS TO RESTRAIN
THE ARMS RACE. THE EDITORIAL MADE MILD, PASSING
CRITICISM OF SOVIET INVASIONS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND
AFGHANISTAN, BUT WENT ON TO COMMEND SOVIET SUPPORT
FOR ARAB CAUSES, VIZ, MATERIAL SUPPORT FOR ARAB
NATIONS CONFRONTING ISRAEL IN SUPPORT OF PALESTINIANS.

CHANNEL: n/a

(C) COMMENT: ALTHOUGH COMMERCIAL TIES WITH THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES -- AND ATTENDANT INTELLIGENCE PROBLEMS THESE ENTAIG -- ARE ON UPSWING HERE, PROSPECTS FOR FULL FORMAL UAE/USSR RELATIONS WILL, WE THINK, REMAIN DIM FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE ANYWAY. BREZHNEV'S DEATH ITSELF SHOULD NEITHER IMPROVE NOR OTHERWISE CHANGE SOVIET-UAE RELATIONS. UAE IS UNLIKELY TO USE THIS OCCASION TO MAKE ANY DIPLOMATIC OVERTURES TO NEW SOVIET LEADERSHIP -- OR RESPOND FAVORABLY TO ANY SUCH MOVES ON SOVIETS' PART, SINCE UAE CONTINUES TO FOLLOW SAUDI LEAD IN DETERMINING APPROPRIATE POSITION TO TAKE ON EAST/WEST ISSUES. OF COURSE, UAE CAN BE EXPECTED TO ALSO CONTINUE PERMITTING UAE NEWSPAPERS TO GIVE EXPRESSION TO LOCAL ANGER OVER U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY, EVEN WHEN, AS IN EXAMPLE CITED IN PARA 2 ABOVE, EDITORIAL COMMENTARY PLACES SOVIET UNION IN MORE FAVORABLE LIGHT THAN U.S. OUR HOSTS VIEW PRESS AS "SAFETY VALVE" FOR REGIONAL FRUSTRATIONS RATHER THAN AS MEANS OF SIGNALLING CHANGE OF TRADITIONAL UAE POSITION RE USSR.



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AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 CAIRO 28621

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PEPR, IS, EG, XF

SUBJECT: CAIRO PRESS REVIEW FOR NOVEMBER 12

- 1. HIGHLIGHTS
- -- LEAD STORY IN ALL JOURNALS IS DEATH OF BREZHNEV AND SPECULATION AS TO HIS SUCCESSOR
- -- MUBARAK MEETS CODEL HAMILTON UNCLASSIFIED

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-- ALI TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN AND SECSTATE SHULTZ NOVEMBER 13

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END HIGHLIGHTS

2. BREZHNEV. TOP STORY IN ALL NOVEMBER 12 DAILIES IS THE DEATH OF SOVIET PREMIER BREZHNEV AND SPECULATION UNCLASSIFED

ON HIS SUCCESSOR. THE PAPERS CARRY MINISTER OF STATE FOR FORAF BOUTROS GHALI'S CONDOLENCES ON EGYPT'S BEHALF TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE IN WHICH HE PRAISES BREZHNEV'S DETERMINATION TO SHOULDER HIS RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARD HIS COUNTRY, EVEN UP TO THE LAST MINUTE DESPITE HIS ILLNESS. GHALI ASSERTS THAT BREZHNEV'S DEATH WILL HAVE WORLDWIDE REPERCUSSIONS.

3. CODEL HAMILTON: SECOND LEAD STORY IS ONE-HOUR MEETING NOVEMBER 12 BETWEEN MUBARAK AND CODEL HAMILTON ATTENDED BY AMBASSADOR ATHERTON. FOLLOWING THE MEETING, CONG. HAMILTON TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE TALKS WERE VERY GOOD AND THAT MUBARAK HAD ASSERTED HIS COMMITMENT TO THE PEACE PROCESS. "THAT GAVE US HOPE THAT THE PEACE PROCESS WILL CONTINUE UNTIL THE END," HAMILTON SAID. QUESTIONED AS TO ISRAEL'S READINESS TO HALT OR FREEZE THE BUILDING OF SETTLEMENTS, HAMILTON IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE CODEL WAS IN THE AREA TO STUDY A NUMBER OF ISSUES, AND THAT WHILE IN ISRAEL THEY HAD DISCUSSED THE SITUATION IN GENERAL WITH PRIMIN BEGIN AND OTHER ISRAELI OFFICIALS WHO HAD "SOUNDED THEIR COMMITMENT TO PEACE."

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- 4. MUBARAK: PRESS ALSO GIVES PROMINENT COVERAGE TO A NOVEMBER 12 MEETING BETWEEN MUBARAK AND A DELEGATION OF SENIOR EDITORS FROM AMERICAN CATHOLIC PAPERS. AFTER MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, JOHN FINK, LEADER OF THE GROUP WHILE ADDRESSING JOURNALISTS, SAID THAT MUBARAK HAD GIVEN HIS DELEGATION THE IMPRESSION THAT HE IS DOING HIS BEST TO ESTABLISH PEACE IN THE AREA. HE REPORTEDLY COMMENTED FURTHER THAT OFFICIALS IN ISRAEL ALSO WANT PEACE BUT THAT NEITHER BEGIN NOR THE ARABS TRUST EACH OTHER AND THAT IS THE PROBLEM.
- 5. REAGAN/ALI MEETING: NOVEMBER 12 PRESS NOTES THAT

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PRESIDENT REAGAN WILL RECEIVE DEPRIMIN AND FORMIN ALI NOVEMBER 13 AT WHICH TIME ALI WILL DELIVER A WRITTEN MESSAGE ON MIDEAST PROBLEMS. PAPERS ADD THAT HE WILL MEET WITH SECSTATE SHULTZ LATER IN THE EVENING AND NOVEMBER 14 WITH SECDEF WEINBERGER AS WELL AS OTHER SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIALS. QUOTINGXALON HIS JUST-CONCLUDED MEETINGS WITH PALESTINIANS IN PARIS, ALI UNCLASSIFIED

SAID HE HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT THE PALESTINIANS WELCOMED THE IDEA OF A FEDERAL UNION OR A CONFEDERATION WITH JORDAN BUT THAT REQUIRES THE HOLDING OF A PLEBISCITE ON SELF-DETERMINATION. HE ADDED THAT THE PALESTINIANS HAVE NOT GIVEN JORDANIAN KING HUSSEIN THE AUTHORITY TO SPEAK FOR THEM.

6. GHALI: GUMHURIYA, QUOTING FROM A GHALI INTERVIEW TO THE KUWAITI NEWSPAPAER AL-NABAA, WRITES THAT EGYPT

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AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

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WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN TRIPARTITE NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL AND THE U.S. ON PALESTINIAN AUTONOMY UNLESS JORDAN AND THE PALESTINIANS PARTICIPATE. HE REPORTEDLY STRESSED THAT DIRECT DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE PLO WAS ESSENTIAL.

- 7. PRC: THE PRESS REPORTS THAT THE CHINESE PREMIER HAS ACCEPTED AN OFFICIAL INVITATION TO VISIT EGYPT FROM DECEMBER 20-24.
- 8. SUDAN: MUBARAK MET NOVEMBER 12 WITH THE VISITING SUDANESE VICE PRESIDENT. AHRAM ALSO WRITES THAT UNCLASSIFIED

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THE SUDANESE MINISTER OF STATE FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS WILL ARRIVE THIS WEEK AT THE HEAD OF A DELEGATION.

9. DETAINEES:

- -- NOVEMBER 12 AKHBAR REPORTS THAT THE 304 AL-JIHAD DETAINES WILL GO TO TRIAL ON DECEMBER 4 IN A COURTROOM WHICH WILL HAVE 16 DETENTION AREAS FOR THE DEFENDENTS. THE CASE FILE TO DATE COVERS 30 THOUSAND PAGES, ACCORDING TO AKHBAR.
- -- THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE GAZETTE REPORTS THAT THE ADMINISTRATIVE LITIGATION COURT HAS REFERRED THE CASES OF 72 DETAINEES, ARRESTED UNDER THE OCTOBER 8, 1981 EMERGENCY LAW, TO THE SUPREME CONSTITUTIONAL

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COURT FOR A DECISION ON THE LAW'S LEGALITY. THE ADMINISTRATIVE COURT MEANWHILE HAS ORDERED A SUSPENSION OF THE PROCEEDINGS PENDING THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT'S FINDING. ATHERTON

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CAIRO ALSO FOR HABIBS BEIRUT ALSO FOR DRAPER

E.O. 12356: DECL: CADR

TAGS: PEPR. PINR. LE. SY. PLO

SUBJECT: PLO RETURN TO LEBANON

VIOLATION OF THE THE RETURN OF THESE PLO ELEMENTS TO LEBANON COULD LEAD TO FURTHER HOSTILITIES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA, WHICH WOULD HAVE UNFORTUNATE CONSEQUENCES FOR LEBANON AND THE REGION.

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HABIB AND DRAPER SHOULD COORDINATE WITH AMB.

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PAGAMELLI TO DEVISE THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAYOF BRINGING THIS MATTER FORCEFULLY TO THE ATTENTION OF THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT. THE SECRETARY WILL RAISE THIS ISSUE WITH FORMIN KHADDAN WHEN HE MEETS WITH HIM ON SEPT. 30 IN NEW YORK. THE SECRETARY WILL ALSO DISCUSS THE PROBLEM WITH FORMIN SAUD DURING THEIR OCT. 5 MEETING.

4. FOR JIDDA: CHARGE SUDDARTH SHOULD APPROACH THE SAUDIS ON THIS ISSUE AND IMPRESS UPON THEM THE SERIOUS

CONSEQUENCES THAT COULD RESULT FROM A CONTINUATION OF THE PLO ACTIVITIES OUTLINED IN SEPTEL MENTIONED ABOVE.

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FROM HABIS

E.O. HOPS, PEPR, PINT, LE, IS, PLO, SY, XF MABIS HISSION:

1.

JOINED BY DILLON AND DRAPER. I HAD A LONG MEETING HITH METH JULY 19. TODAY. REGARD TO HIS SESSION EARLIER IN THE DAY WITH PLO YASIR ARAFAT, ABU WALID, AND MANI AL-MASSAM. CHACHICALLY SKEPTICAL ABOUT PLO INTENTIONS. OCCASION TOLD ME HE WAS NOW REPEAT NOW CONVINCED THAT ARAFAT LEAVE BEIRUT OR WAS AT LEAST RESIGNED TO ITS INEVITABILITY. HE WAS THINKING IN TERMS OF BISPERSAL TO SIX OR HORE AND COUNTRIES OF THE VARIOUS PLO GROWNIZATIONS AND COMBATANTS. ARAPAT WAS INSISTEN THAT HIS DECISION WAS ALL THAT COUNTED, AND TO "THE SOOMER THE SETTER". considers if undertevable, nourven, that we could expect TO THE ARRIVAL THE PLO TO WITHORAY PROM ARIRY PALOR Proposed to

AND ARAPAT LIKED THE IDEA - THAT THE PLO DITHORAD araf at

PAGE 62 THE OTHER TO MORTHERN LEBANOR, THEN COLLECT ALL

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COMBATANTS IN THE AREA, AND DISPERSE ALL OF THEM TO RECIPIENT COUNTRIES UNDER A TIMETABLE AGREED IN ADVANCE. I SAID I DOUBTED THIS WOULD BE WORKABLE BUT BID NOT CLOSE THE DOOR COMPLETELY.

SAID THAT SHARON HAD TOLD BASHIR GENAYEL EARLIER IN THE DAY THAT THE LOF WOULD GO INTO WEST BEIRNT WITHIN NO MOURS. END SUMMARY.

SAID IN OUR REETING TODAY THAT HE HAD HAD A GOOD SESSION EARLIER IN THE DAY WITH PLO LEADERS YASIR ARAFAT, ABU WALID AND MAMI AL-MASSAM. ALTHOUGH THE FACT HAY HAVE NOT BEEN REPORTED FULLY, I HAVE BEEN URSING STRONGLY THAT GET IN TOUCH DIRECTLY - AND FACE-TO-FACE - WITH THE PLO LEADERS - BECAUSE I HAVE BEEN CONCERNED THAT WAIZAM HAS NOT BEEN ABEQUATELY FORTHRIGHT IN HIS DESCRIPTIONS OF THE RESPECTIVE GOL AND W.S. POSITIONS. I HAVE SENSED THAT WOULD BE HORE SPECIFIC AND, IN THE PROCESS, BEVELOP FORE INSIGHT INTO THE PLO POSITION. FORTWATELY, TOO, HAS BEEN CHRONICIALLY SKEPTICAL OF PLO INTENTIONS, AND WARY OF ARAFAT'S WELL-KNOWN MEGOTIATING STYLE.

THEREPORE. I WAS IMPRESSED WHEN SAID PLATLY THAT HE WAS NOT REPEAT NOW CONVINCED THAT THE PLO LEADERSHIP REALIZED IT HAD TO LEAVE BEIRUT AS WELL AS LEBANON FOR SOOD AND THAT THE COMBATANTS HAD TO LEAVE ALSO. WHETHER THIS WAS DECAUSE THEY WERE RESIGNED TO THE PRESSURE DEING APPLIED TO THEM OR WHETHER IT WAS SECAUSE THEY SAW ADVANTABLES IN MOVING WAS NOT SO IMPORTANT. THE DECISION HAD DEEN MADE. AND ARAPAT HAD STRESSED THAT IT WAS HIS OWN DECISION:

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HE ONE. ARAPAT HAD SAID, HOULD CONTEST HIM. IN AN ASIDE, SAID THAT HE SENSED THAT PLO HORALE WAS LOW.

THEY WERE PREPARED TO DISPERSE THE PLO MEMBERS TO A VARIETY OF COUNTRIES. IRAG, SYRIA, LIDYA, JORGAN AND EOTPT WERE MEMTLONED. IT IS MARD TO TAKE THIS SERIOUSLY, BUT YENTURED THE OPINION THAT ARAPAT MIMBELF WOULD BE TO GREECE, AT LEAST INITIALLY IN PART SECAUSE PAPERDREOU HAD ISSUED AN INVITATION.

THAT ARAPAT WANTED TO SO THERE SO THAT HE COULD LEVEL ACCUSATIONS AT THE ARAB WORLD FOR HAVING LET THE PLO-DOWN. WHILE THESE OTHER COUNTRIES WERE MENTIONED, ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SYRIA WOWLD SE THE DESTINATION FOR SOME, PRIMARILY HABBASH, HAWATHAH, AND PERHAPS JABRIL.

OUT IN MIS MEETING WITH THE PLO LEADERS SOMETHING SPECIFIC ABOUT THE VARIOUS PLO PASSPORT MOLDERS, WHITS WITH CONNECTIONS TO VARIOUS ARAB COUNTRIES, ETC.. AND APPARENTLY ASKED THEN SQUARELY UNAT THEY COULD PROVIDE. ARAPAT INTER ALIA SAID THAT HE MAD THE BATTALIONS OF COMBATANTS WHO MAD CONNECTIONS WITH JORDAN. HE AND THE OTHERS WENT ON TO SAY THAT SYRIA HAD OVER-ESTIMATED THE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE GIVEN ASYLUM, AND HAD SAID THAT THIS MIGHT HAVE BEEN DONE DELIBERATELY IN ORDER TO PRIGHTEN OTHER COUNTRIES AWAY FROM ACCEPTING PLO MEMBERS.

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FROM HABIS

LINGS ALE

ARAFAT AT'ONE POINT SAID THAT AS REGARDS DEPARTURE. "THE SOOMER THE BETTER." HOWEVER, HE HADE IT CLEAR THAT THE RANK AND FILE WOULD NOT ACCEPT THE CONCEPT OF DISPERSAL DIRECTLY FROM BEIRUT TO OTHER COUNTRIES. THEY WANTED TO MOVE OUT OF DEIRUT UNDER ARAFAT'S PERSONAL PLAG. SO TO SPEAK. THIS WAS SHY ME SAID TO THAY ME WANTED TO GO TO THE DIG'A - TO MORTHERN LEGATION -AS A FIRST STEP. AT THAT POINT, IN RELATEVE SECURITY. THE MOVEMENT TO OTHER RECIPIENT COUNTRIES COULD SEGIN. SAID THAT HE HAD THEN PROPOSED - CLEARLY ASAINST THE SENTIMENTS OF SARKIS - THAT ARAPAT CONSIDER SOINS TO THE DIE'A AND COLLECTING ALL THE OTHER CO DATANTS IN THE AREA AT THE SAME TIME, SOME 12,000 OF THEM ACCORDING TO ARAPAT'S SUESS, AND THEN HOVE OUT PROMPTLY FROM THE DIG'A MOER A TIME TABLE TO BE ASSEED IN ADVANCE DITH THE OOL. SAID THAT ARAPAT LIKES THIS IDEA VERY MUCH. I DROKE THE THIS POINT IN THE RECITAL TO SAY THAT I DOUBTED THAT THE BIG'A STOPOVER HAD ALL THE BARE GOJECTIONS WHICH SARKIS HAD OUTLINED to ME. But DID NOT CLOSE THE BOOK COMPLETELT TO THE CONCEPT.

THE HAP WOULD COME IN TO BEINUT AFTER EVACUATION OF THE

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PLO MAD BEOUR. ARAPAT SAID THIS SHOUED THERE WAS TRUST ON THE PART OF THE U.S. OF THE PLO.

WALKSHED

ANSWERED RATHER CLEVERLY THAT IT WAS THE BOL THAT DID NOT TRUST THE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE POSSIBILITY OF DISSENT AMONG THE VARIOUS FACTIONS, THE RISK FROM LEBAMESE ARMED ELEMENTS IN BEIRUT, ETC. .

THEN WENT ON TO SAY TO ARAPAT AND COMPANY THAT THE BOL HAD ALREADY COME THROWSH WITH MANY PLO REQUESTS (E.G., THAT THERE BE AN MAP, THAT THE LAF BE JOINED WITH THE MAP BURING THE ENTRY INTO WEST BEIRUT, THAT THERE BE SOME INTERPOSITION OF FORCES BETWEEN THE LOP AND THE PLO, THAT THERE BE UN OBSERVERS, ETC.). SAID THAT, AFTER MAVING BIVEN THAT, THE GOL COWLD BO NO FURTHER REGOTIATING ON THE "TIMING" OF THE MAP. ARAPAT THEN SUGGESTED THAT THE PRENCH ACCOMPANY THE PLO COMPANY LEAVING BEIRUT, AND SAID HE THOUGHT THIS COULD BE A POSSIBILITY. MICH I QUESTIONED HIM ON WHY HE HAD SAID SUCH A THING, SAID THAT HE HAD BASED HIS SUPPOSITION ON COMMENTS MADE TO HIM BY GEMERAL TAMIR, WHO WOULD NOT OBJECT.

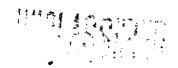
THEN REVEALED SOMETHING UMICH SAYS SOMETHING ABOUT THIS UMOLE EXASPERATING NEGOTIATING PROCESS I MAVE BEEN CONDUCTING. I ASKED MIN UMETHER ME MADE IT CLEAR THAT MEAVY ARMS URRE NOT TO BE TAKEN BY THE PLO UMEN THEY LEFT BEIRUT. SAID ME MAD NOT MADE IT CLEAR, BECAUSE THE GOL DID NOT WANT TO BE SADOLED WITH THE HEAVY ARMS. THE GOL COULD NOT PROTECT THEM. THIS WAS THEIR WELL-KNOWN POSITION. MAD NOT, MOREOVER, TOLD THE PLO THAT MEITHER THE U.S. WOR ISRAEL WOULD AGREE TO THEIR CARRYING OUT MEAVY ARMS. I INSISTED TO THAT HE MUST TELL THE PLO PLATLY THAT

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THERE IS NO REMOTE POSSIBILITY WHATSOEVER THAT THE PLO CAN TAKE OUT ANYTHING BUT THEIR SIDE, INDIVIDUAL WEAPONS. SAID ME WOULD DO SO IN MIS NEXT MEETING WITH THEM.

APPARENTLY DID NOT BET DEEPLY INTO THE SUBJECT OF A SIMULTAMEOUS WITHDRAWAL OF SYRIAM AND STRIAM-CONTROLLED FORCES. MOUSTER, HIS DEST ESTIMATE DASED ON HIS TALES WITH ARAPAT AND COMPANY WAS THAT PRON 5-6000 COMPATANTS HOULD BE EVACUATED PAGE THE PLO. NOT REPEAT NOT COUNTING THE PLA. WHICH IS AT LEAST 1600 IN NUMBER, PERHAPS HORE.





AN EVACUATION OF SOME BOOD COMBATANTS IS, THEREFORE, STILL A BALLPARK PIGURE. [HAD ASKED ARAFAT AND COMPANY ABOUT NON-ARAB FORE SMERS AMONG THE PLO, AND ARAFAT HAD ADMITTED THERE WERE SOME PAKISTANIS AND OTHERS. THERE WERE A FEW IRANIAMS. HOWEVER, ARAFAT HAD SAID THAT THERE WERE SOME 5.000 IRANIAMS IN SYRIA AND THAT HE EXPECTED THEM TO BE INSERTED TEMPORARILY INTO LEBANOM FOR SOME 24 HOWRS - FOR POLITICAL REASONS - AFTER WHICH THEY WOULD BE BROWGHT OUT AND PERHAPS SENT TO THE IRAQI-SYRIAM SORDER.

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FROM HABID

LIBASSEID

ASKING THAT I RETAIN THE INFORMATION IN GREAT SAID THAT SHARON MAD PALKED TO DASHIR CONFIDENCE. GEMAYEL EARLIER IN THE DAY AND MAD ADVISED HIM THAT THE IDF WOULD MOVE INTO WEST BEIRNT "WITHIN 48 MOURS". <u>Sharon</u> report<u>edly h</u>ad also told bashir not to tell sarkis. OR ME. WAS NOT INCLINED TO ATTACH A LOT OF STRAIFICANCE TO THIS REVELATION SINCE IT HAD BEEN MADE PREVIOUSLY TO BASHIR. IT COULD BE A FORM OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE, SINCE SHARON WAS WELL AWARE THAT BASHIR WAS NOT LIKELY TO KEEP SUCH ADVICE A SECRET. COMMENT: AS I MAYE ALREADY ADVISED OVER THE SECURE TELEPHONE. WE SHOULD CAREFULLY ANALYZE THE PROSPECTS OF MILITARY MOVES INTO WEST BEIRUT OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS. SHARON IN TODAY'S CONVERSATION WITH HE DID NOT TALK OF DEADLINES AS SUCH. BUT HE INDICATED THAT HE EXPECTED TO MEAR THE RESULTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH EMASSAM AND SAUS AS EARLY AS THESDAY MISHT OR BEDRESDAY MORNING. AND BOULD RESARD THAT REPORT AS A SIGNIFICANT DENCH MARK. MOREOVER, WEDNESDAY, JULY 21, 15 THE DESIRATION OF THE 1D AL-PITA. FINALLY, THE "EIGHT DAYS" DESIR ALLEGEDLY WAS BOING TO SIVE HE IN MY MEGOTIATIONS PALL OUR ON ABOUT JULY 21 OR 22. END COMMENT.

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FROM HABIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1,3 7/5/92 (HABIB, PHILIP) TAGS: MILI, MOPS, PINT, LE, IS, US, PLO, XF SUBJECT: HABIB HISSION: EFFORTS FOR CEASEFIRE, OPENING OF CROSSING AND HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM

2. THIS IS A SUMMARY REPORT. SHOULD HOLD CLOSELY THE FACT THAT I MET SECRETLY WITH SHARON THIS MONDAY AFTERNOOM, '7>6 S. JOINED BY DRAPER. KINCHE. SHARON'S HILITARY AIDE, AND A FEW OTHERS WERE WITH SHARON.

BASIC OUTCOME WAS AS FOLLOWS:

SHARON AGREED THAT ISRAEL WOULD DECLARE A UNILATERAL

PAGE 02

CEASEFIRE AT 1600 LOCAL HOURS TODAY WITH THE USUAL CONDITION

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THAT ISRAEL WOULD NOT FIRE THEREAFTER UNLESS FIRED UPON.

-- B) SHARON WILL BE CHECKING WTH THE ISRAEL!

GOVERNMENT THIS AFTERNOON AS REGARDS ELIMINATING THE IDF

CHECKPOINT AT THE EXIT OF GALERIE SIMAN AS WELL AS

ELIMINATING IDF_COTROLS ON THE ROAD UP TO THE PRESI
DENTIAL PALACE.

(4)(4)(5)

Y--C) SIMPLARLY. SHARON WILL ALSO CHECK WITH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT FOR AN AMSWER TOMY HUMANITARIAL APPERAL TO RESTORE WATER AND POWER TO WEST BEIRWT, AND ALLOW FOOD AND OTHER NECESSITIS INTO THAT PART OF THE CITY. HE PREDICTED THAT ANY RELAXATION WOULD BE FOR A LIMITED TIME ONLY.

*.IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE MEETING, I SOT IN TOUCH FIRST WITH PRIMIN MAZZAN AND THEN WITH SARKIS, TO EXPLAIN THAT A CEASEFIRE WOULD COMMENCE AT 1600. I URGED WAZZAN TO SET THE WORD TO ALL PLO QUARTERS AS FAST AS POSSIBLE TO COOPERATE WITH THE CEASEFIRE. I ALSO PRESSED MIN TO MOVE AMEAD RAPIDLY WITH THE MILITARY COMMISSION SESSIONS. HE SAID ONE SUCH SESSION HAD BEEN HELD ALREADY AND ANOTHER WAS TO BE CONVENED LATER IN THE DAY. TO THE HILITARY COMMISSION MEMBERS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE INTRODUCTION OF THE WS-FRENCH MNP.

S. OTHER KEY POINTS:
SMARON STRONGLY AFFIRMED THAT ISRAEL WOULD NOT
ACCEPT A PLO POLITICAL PRESENCE OF ANY KIND IN LEBANON
OR EVEN A TOKEN HILTARY PRESENCE. I REPUSED TO ACCEPT
HIS ARGUMENTS.

SECOR

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-- HE ALSO MADE IT CLEAR TAT, IF "D-DAY" WAS NOT SET SOOM, HE WOULD RESURE THE MEAVY PRESSURE ON THE CITY, AND SHUT OFF WATER, POWER AND SUPPLIES ONCE BAIN.

-- HE SAID ISRAEL HAD DECIDED NOT TO LET ANY TERRORISTS STAY IN BEIRUT. WHILE HE WOULD PREFER A POLITICAL BOLUTION, THE IDP WILL GO INTO WEST BEIRUT IP NECESSARY. AS FOR THE CIVILIANS, IT WOULD BE DETTER FOR THEN TO DECONE THIRSTY AND LEAVE, RATHER THAN STAY AND BE KILLED LATER. I SAID I WOULD IN NO WAY ACCEPT HIS PREMISE THAT WEST

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NODIS FOR HABIB DECAPTIONED

E.O. 12065: ROS-3, 6/13/02 (EAGLEBURGER, LAURENCE)

TAGS: MOPS, MARR, LE, IS, PLG, XF SUBJECT: MABIE MISSION INSTRUCTIONS

REF: STATE 163009

1. TOUR INSTRUCTIONS REMAIN AS STATED IN PARAS 1-5

J. IT IS TOO EARLY TO MAKE BECISION AS TO UNETHER YOU SHOULD BE RECALLED HERE FOR CONSULTATIONS. WE STILL BELIEVE YOU SHOULD GO TO BEIRUT AS SOON AS CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT, RECOGNIZING THAT IT IS NOW UP TO THE ISRAELIS TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR YOUR HEETING TO BE PRODUCTIVE ALONG LINES DESCRIBED BY THE SECRETARY TO ARENS AS STATED BELOW.

SECRET

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STATE 163040

4. THE SECRETARY WANTS YOU TOHORROW (JUNE 14) IN

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JERUSALEM TO SEE BEGIN FOR A GOOD DISCUSSION OF OUR OVERALL POLICY OBJECTIVES SO THAT WE MAY HAVE A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING THAN WE APPEAR TO HAVE AT PRESENT AS TO WHERE THE U.S. AND ISRAEL MAY OR MAY MOT AGREE. YOU WILL KNOW BEST HOW TO DRAW ON THIS CABLE AND REFTEL AND HOW TO STRUCTURE YOUR DISCUSSIONS. YOU SHOULD AVOID ISRAELI ATTEMPTS TO OVERFOCUS ON PEACEKEEPING ISSUES WHICH ARE ONLY PART, ALBEIT IMPORTANT PART, OF WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE. OUR OVERALL GOAL REMAINS CENTERED AROUND A MEW DEAL FOR LEBANON WITH A REVIVIFIED CENTRAL SOVERMMENT EXTENDING ITS AUTHORITY OVER ALL LEBANESE TERRITORY.

- S. AFTER BEING BRIEFED ON SECURE TELCONS CONCERNING YOUR SESSIONS WITH BEGIN AND HIS COLLEAGUES TODAY, THE SECRETARY TELEPHONED ARENS TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:
- -- THERE IS NO WAY THAT THE W.S. CAN ACQUIESCE IN AN ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF LEBANON LASTING FOR FIVE YEARS OR FOR ANY LENGTHY PERIOD: SHOULD ISRAEL SEEK TO DO SO. IT WILL DO SO ON ITS OWN.
- -- WE DO NOT WANT TO HEAR WLTINATUMS ABOUT WRIFIL, ETC. WE WILL WORK TO DO WHAT IS BEST AS CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT. BOTH OPTIONS (UNIFIL AND A NON-WN MMF) ARE MEEDED.
- -- "CONTRACTS" WITH TROOP CONTRIBUTORS TO A MNF ARE OUT OF THE QUESTION. WE WILL WORK TO SEE THAT ARRANGE-MENTS ARE ADEQUATE FOR ISRAEL'S INTERESTS.
- -- IN HABIS'S MEETINGS TOMORROW WE LOOK FOR A BROAD EXCHANGE ON THE FUTURE OF LEBANON COVERING OUR RESPECTIVE GOALS...

PAGE 03

STATE 163040

- -- THE SECRETARY WANTS PHIL MADIS TO GO TO BEIRUT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AS AN INSEPENDENT CONTRIBUTOR TO THIS PROCESS. HABIS MUST BE ABLE TO SPEAK WITH LEBANESE OFFICIALS WITHOUT INTIMIDATION. IT IS ONE THING FOR ISRAEL TO MOVE TO RELIEVE SYRIAM OR PLO PRESSURE BUT QUITE ANOTHER TO CREATE THE PERCEPTION OF ISRAELI INTIMIDATION OF LEBANON'S LEGALLY INSTITUTED GOVERNMENT.
- 6. THE SECRETARY TOLD ARENS THAT REPORTS CONTING IN, NOW



OF 100 PLUS IDF TANKS IN THE AREA OF LEBANON'S PRESIDENTIAL PALACE IS MIND-BOGGLING. HE ASKED ARENS FOR CLARIFICATION AND ARENS SAID-HE WOULD CALL JERUSALEN RIGHT AWAY (MIDNIGHT ISRAEL TIME). IF ISRAELIS WANT THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETINGS WITH US IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON IN THE NEXT WEEK TO GO AMEAD AS PLANNED. THIS SITUATION MUST BE CLEARED UP AT ONCE. ARENS SAID HE UNDERSTOOD.

7.

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B. WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED YOUR CABLE ON YOUR MEETING

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TODAY WITH BEGIN AND REALIZE AFRESH THE INCREDIBLE SITUATION YOU ARE FACING. THE SECRETARY WANTS YOU TO KNOW OF HIS STRONG AND CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR YOU AND YOUR MISSION.

- 9. FOLLOWING SECRETARY'S CALL TO ARENS HE SPOKE TO LEBAMESE AMBASSADOR ITAMI AND TOLD HIM TO CONVEY TO SARKIS OUR FIRM HOPE THAT SARKIS BILL ACT AS THE SOVEREIGN LEADER OF A SOVEREIGN NATION, PREE OF INTIMIDATION FROM EITHER SYRIA, THE PLO, OR THE ISRAELIS. DE BANT SYRIA AND ISRAEL OUT OF LEBAMON AND THE PLO DISARNED AND ABSORBED UNDER GOL AUTHORITY. ITAMI WAS NIGHLY GRATIFIED TO GET THIS MESSAGE AND UNDERTOOK TO PASS IT ON IMMEDIATELY.
- 10. THEN I HAS NOW CONTACTED VELICIES WITH NESSAGE FROM



SARKIS AS FOLLOWS:

(A) GOL IS GRATEFUL FOR THE SECRETARY'S HESSAGE:

(8) A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IS SARKIS' OBJECTIVE. BUT THAT IS IMPOSSIBLE SO LONG AS ISRAELI TANKS ARE POSITIONED IN BAABDA.

(C) USE SHOULD NOVE TO SET ISRAELIS TO WITHDRAW FORCES FROM BAABDA.

11. EAGLEBURGER IS TELLING ARENS TONIGHT THAT WHILE WE WANT PLO AND SYRIA OUT OF BEIRUT, THERE HUST BE NO SUGGESTION OF ISRAELI MILITARY PRESSURE ON THE GOL. HE IS EMPHASIZING GOL MUST BE AND BE PERCEIVED AS INDEPENDENT. THEREFORE, IT HOST IMPORTANT IDF NOVE AWAY FROM BABBDA. SECRETARY WANTS YOU TO REINFORCE THIS MESSAGEWITH

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ISRAELIS TOMORROW. HAIG





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FOR THE SECRETARY AND HABIB FROM LEWIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1,3,4 6/9/02 (LEWIS, SAMUEL W.) OR-H
TAGS: MILI, MOPS, IS, LE, WS, SY, PLO
SUBJECT: LEBAMESE MOSTILITIES: BEGIN PROVIDES MASIO WITH
- ADDITIONAL INSIGHTS INTO ISRAELI STRATESY
REF: JERUSALEN 1785

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. DEFORE FLYING TO DAMASCUS MEDNESDAY MORNING TO SEE PRESIDENT ASSAD, HABIB MET WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AT HIS RESIDENCE FOR APPROXIMATELY QUE-HALF HOUR TO PROBE INTO BEGIN'S THINKING FURTHER ABOUT THE CONDITIONS FOR A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE. BEGIN WAS ALONE: I ACCOMPANIED HABIB.

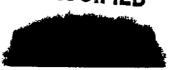
J. DEGIN BEGAN BY THANKING THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY FOR THE U.S. MEGATIVE VOTE LAST MIGHT ON THE UNSECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION CONDENNING THE ISRAELI MILITARY ACTIONS IN LEBANON. BEGIN ASKED THAT HIS PROFOUND

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THANKS BE CONVEYED TO BOTH. SAYING THAT "ALTHOUGH WE DIG

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NOT REQUEST YOUR VETO. WE ARE VERY GRATEFUL INDEED FOR IT.-IN RESPONSE TO MABIO'S QUERIES ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF ISRAELI MILITARY OPERATIONS NEAR BEIRUT AND CLOSE TO THE BEIRUT-DAMASCUS HIGHWAY, BEGIN CONFIDED THE FOLLOWING DESCRIPTION OF THE ISRAELI STRATEGY. REMINDING HABIB THAT THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM FACED BY THE ISRAELIS IS TO BET THE PLO MORTH OF HASBAYYAH TO PULL BACK AN ADDITIONAL THENTY FIVE KILOMETERS TO THE 40-KILOMETER LINE, AS HAS NOW BEEN HILITARILY ACCOMPLISHED BY THE IDF IN CENTRAL AND WESTERN PARTS OF LEBANON. THE STRATEGY, CONCEIVED BY DEFENSE MINISTER SHARON, IS TO "ENCIRCLE" THE SYRIAN AND PLO FORCES IN EASTERN LEBANON. HOVING MORTH AND THEN EAST -BEHIND THEM- TO PUT THE ISRAELI PORCES IN POSITION TO GO AFTER THE PLO FROM THE MORTH IF NECESSARY. HOWEVER, SEGIN SAID HE HAD INSTRUCTED THE ISRAELI FORCES NOT TO ATTACK THE SYRIAN OR PLO UNITS IN THE EAST, PREFERRING TO ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE THE SYRIAMS BY POLITICAL MEANS AND THROUGH HABIB THAT IT WOULD BE WISER FOR SYRIA TO ACCOMPLISH THE MECESSARY ACTIONS TO MOVE THE PLO NORTHWARD OUT OF RANG IN OTHER WORDS, BESIN EXPLAINED THE OPERATIONS IN THE BEIRUT AREA AS PART OF THIS ENCIRCLEMENT STRATEGY INTENDED TO BRING PRESSURE ON THE SYRIAMS WHICH WOULD THEN PERSUADE THEN TO DO WHAT WAS NECESSARY VIS-A-VIS THE PLG. THUS AVOIDING HOSTILITIES WITH SYREA. HABIB THEN SAID THAT HE WOULD DO HIS BEST TO PERSUADE. ASSAD TO TAKE THE ACTIONS REQUESTED IN BESIN'S HESSAGE TO THE SYRIAMS. BUT HE VISUALIZED HIS CHANCES AS VERY SLIM. HABIB SAID THAT THE FIRST INDICATIONS THROUGH ONE OF ASSAD'S TRUSTED ASSOCIATES (QADDOUR) WERE NOT ENCOURAGING: MONETHELESS HE WOULD DO HIS BEST. HABIS SAID HE WOULD HAVE MUCH HORE CHANCE IF HE COULD TELL ASSAU THAT THE ISRAELI FORCES WORTH OF THE FORTY KILOMETER LINE WOULD

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WITHORAW DEMIND THAT ROUGH LINE AS SOON AS THE PLO UNITS MAD HOVED NORTH AND THE PICHTING HAD STOPPED. DEGIN DEMURRED. BEGIN INSISTED THAT ISRAELI FORCES WILL REMAIN AFTER THE FIGHTING STOPS IN THE MORTH AS WELL AS THE SOU M. UNTIL ACCEPTABLE CONCRETE ARRANGEMENTS ARE IN PLACE TO ASSURE THAT THE AREA BEHIND THE FORTY KILOHETER LINE WILL REMAIN CLEAR OF PLO PRESENCE, EITHER THROUGH A MULTINATIONAL FORCE OR SOME OTHER HEAMS. MADIO TRIED STRENUOUBLY TEXTRACT THE COMMITMENT FROM BEGIN THAT WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MORTHERN POINTS WOULD OCCUR AS SOON AS PLO HOVEHENT TOOK



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PLACE AND A CEASEFIRE TOOK EFFECT. BUT BEGIN WOULD NOT AGREE. FINALLY DESIN AUTHORIZED HABIB TO SAY ONLY THAT ONCE THE PLO HAD NOVED NORTH AND A CEASEFIRE WAS IN EFFECT. israel will megotiate about the subject of withdrawal. HE THEN HEDGED EVEN THIS CONNITHENT BY SAYING THAT HE COULD NOT GIVE MABIE "A MARD PROMISE." AND THAT HABIE "CAMMOT PROMISE ASSAD ANYTHING NOW." HE SUGGESTED THAT HABID SE "MEGGTIATIONS CAN THEN OPEN." THE WORDS WITH ASSAD: BEGIN CONFIDED THAT THE ISRAELIS WANT TO KEEP A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF PRESSURE ON THE SYRIAMS TO "PERSUADE THEN" TO MOVE THE PLO OUT. ' TO PROMISE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL IN ADVA CE WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THAT STRATEGY. AT OME POINT BESIN HADE AN ANALOGY WITH THE IDF'S ENCIRCLEMENT OF THE EGYPTIAN THIRD ARMY ON THE EAST BANK OF THE SUEZ CAMAL IN THE YOR KIPPUR WAR. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE ISRAELIS HAD NOT FIRED AT THAT ARMY. BUT THAT BY KEEPING IT ENCIRCLED IT HAD FACILITATED THE SUBSEQUENT MEGOTIATIONS.

7. AFTER REALIZING THAT THIS WAS AS FAR AS BEGIN WOULD GO AT THIS TIME, AND THAT BEGIN WAS CLEARLY ASSUMING HABIB.

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MIGHT HAVE TO MAKE MORE THAN ONE TRIP BACK AND FORTH TO DAMASCUS, WE TURNED TO ANOTHER RELATED SUBJECT. BEFORE DOING SO HOWEVER, BEGIN RECOMPIRMED AGAIN THAT ISRAEL'S ONLY PURPOSE IN THE MILITARY OPERATIONS NORTH OF THE FORTY KILOMETER LIME IS TO PROVIDE LEVERAGE TO FORCE THE SYRIANS TO ARRANGE FOR PLO MITHORAWAL MORTHWARD.

AS WE WERE LEAVING, WE QUERIED SEGIN ABOUT HIS EXCHANGES WITH BASHIR GENAYEL. BEGIN COMPIDED THAT BASHIR HAD MET WITH GENERAL EITAM, APPARENTLY HONDAY MIGHT. AMONG OTHER THINGS AT THAT HEETING, EITAM APPARENTLY SUGGESTED TO BASHIR THAT HE APPOINT A "COMMISSIONER" TO TAKE OVER IN TYRE. BASHIR REPORTEDLY SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT THE PHALANGE COUNCIL BEFORE RESPONDING.

9.

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II. WE PROBED FURTHER TO TRY TO PIN DOUR WHETHER THE MORTHERN HILITARY OPERATIONS WERE A PRELUDE TO A LINK-UP BETWEEN THE PHALAMOIST AREA AND THE IOP PORCES, INTENDED TO ASSURE BASHIR'S ELECTION AT THE PORTMOONING LEBANESE PRESIDENTIAL BALLOTING. BEGIN WAS SOMEWHAT COY ON THIS SUBJECT, SAYING THAT HIS IMPORMATION WAS THAT BASHIR MAD A YERY LITTLE CHANCE OF BEING ELECTED PRESIDENT WHIL CAMILLE CHANGUN'S CHANCES WERE NUCH BETTER. HE DID NOT CATEGORICALLY DENY ANY CONNECTION RETWEEN THE M LI ARY MOYES AND THE PRE-ELECTORAL MANEUVERING, CONTENTING HIRSELF WITH STRESSING THE MILITARY PURPOSE VIS-A-VIS SYRIA AND THE PLO. BOTH HABIB AND I WERE LEFT HOWEVER WITH THE SECRET

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DISTINCT IMPRESSION THAT THE SAME BEHIND THESE MILITARY MOVES IS TWOFOLD: TO PRODUCE PRESSURE ON THE SYRIAMS TO WITHDRAW FROM BEIRUT AND TO PORCE THE PLO OUT OF THE HAS-BAYAH AREA ON THE ONE HAND, AND PERHAPS TO LINK UP US BASHIR'S FORCES IN SUCH A WAY AS TO MAKE MEARLY CERTAIN A RESTRUCTURING OF THE POLITICAL SAME IN BEIRUT ON THE WEEKS IMMEDIATELY AMEAD. IF OUR CONCLUSIONS ARE CORRECT, THE MEGOTIATIONS WHICH WOULD OCCUR ABOUT WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES AFTER A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE ARE SURE O BE LENGTHY AND LABORIOUS.

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AUTHORIZING MABIS TO TAKE "A FIRM LIME WITH BEGIN TODAY TO GET HIN TO PULL BACK HIS GROUND FORCES, ETC." IN LIGHT OF THE STRATEGY PICTURE BEGIN OUTLINED THIS HORNING, IT IS APPARENT THAT THE OBJECTIVE IN THIS MESSAGE WILL E EXTREMELY HARD IF NOT MEARLY IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE.

13. I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE UNUISE FOR HE TO MAKE THE POINTS IN SECTO 8045 PRIOR TO HABIB'S RETURN. TO HAVE AXIMUM IMPACT ON BEBIN, MABIB WILL MEED TO HAVE NOT ONLY THE AUTHORIZATION IN THIS MESSAGE BUT ALSO SOME ENCOURAGEMENT FROM ASSAD CONCERNING THE OBJECTIVE BEGIN IS SEEKING WITH RESPECT TO THE PLO IN THE HASBAYYAN AREA.

14. WE DO NOT KNOW YET WHEN HABIB WILL RETURN HERE. IF HE IS TOO LONG DELAYED, IT MAY BE BEST FOR HE TO GO AHEAD WITHOUT HIM, BUT I WOULD LIKE TO AWAIT HIS JUDGMENT ON THIS TACTICAL ISSUE.

IS. BEIRUT HINIHIZE CONSIDERED. LEVIS

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM MADES

E.O. 12065: RDS 1.3.4 3/11/02 (MABIS, P.C.) TABS: PEPR, MOPS, IP, LE, IS, SY, SA, JO SUBJ: HADIO MISSION: SUMMING-UP REPORT

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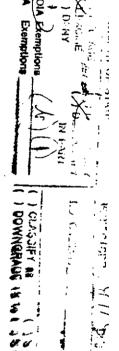
2. THIS REPORT IS INTENDED TO SUMMARIZE THE PRINCIPAL CONCLUSIONS I MAYE REACHED AFTER A TOO AND A HALF BEEK TRIP, BURING WHICH I VISITED LEBANON, ISRAEL, SYRIA, JORDAN, AND SAUDI ARABIA, AND HAD LENGTHY TALES BITH THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS THERE, ALONG BITH OPPOSITION FIGURES IN ISRAEL AND IMPORTANT POLITICIANS IN LEDANON. (I ALSO HAD BRIEF CONSULTATIONS BITH THE ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY, THE PRENCY FOREIGN MINISTRY, AND THE ELYSEE, AND BRAPER BRIEFED A BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE REPRESENTATIVE UNILE BE WERE IN PARIS.)

J. YOU WILL RECALL THAT YOU AND THE PRESIDENT ENTRUSTED HE WITH THE BASIC TASES:

-- (1) PRESERVING AND STRENGTHENING THE JULY CEASE-FIRE, THEREDY REDUCING THE CHANCES THAT RAJOR MILITARY ACTION WOULD BE UNDERTAKEN WITH CONSEQUENCES HARRFUL TO OVERALL

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-- (2) EXAMINING WAT COULD BE BONE TO IMPROVE THE INTERNAL LEBANESE SITUATION WICH, IF LEFT STATIC AND UNTENDED, COULD PRODUCE FUTURE MAJOR CONFRONTATIONS AND BLOU-UPS.

THE CEASE-FIRE: I BELIEVE THE LIKELIHOOD OF AN EARLY BREAKDOWN MAS BEEN REDUCED. ISRAEL, LEBANON, SYRIA, AND SAUDI ARADIA -- EACH IN ITS OWN MAY -- REAFFIRMED THE DESIRADILITY OF MAINTAINING THE CEASE-FIRE, AND FAND INTENDED TO PRESS ARAFAT TO COMPLY. EVERYTHING WE MAVE MEARD INDIRECTLY FROM THE PLO INDICATES THEIR INTENTION TO CONTINUE TO COSERVE THE TERMS OF THE CEASE-FIRE.

I EXPLICITLY DESCRIBED TO ALL LEADERS MMY WE BELIEVED THE RECENT FATAM INCURSION ACROSS THE JORDAN RIVER WAS A CEASE-FIRE VIOLATION DECAMES II ORIGINATED IN LEBANON. I USED TO DOOD EFFECT THE ARGUMENT THAT THE ISRAELIS COULD NOT SEND CHOOCATS OUT INTO INTERNATIONAL WATERS AND THEN BONBARD TARSETS IN LEBANON, AND AROUE THAT SINCE THE VESSELS CAME FROM INTERNATIONAL WATERS THIS WOULD NOT SE A VIOLATION. I SAID IT WOULD BE A VIOLATION JUST AS A COMMANDO GROUP COMING FROM LEBANON AND MOVING THROUGH SYRIA AND JORDAN DOULD SE. DEGIN APPLAUDED MY USE OF THIS SIMILE. HE REPEATED TO ME MIS PLEDGE THAT ISRAEL WILL NOT BE THE FIRST TO BREAK THE CEASE-FIRE.

E. I BRAPHICALLY DESCRIBED TO ALL CONCERNED THE BRAVE IMPLICATIONS OF A CEASE-FIRE BREAKBOWN AND THE POSSIBLE HAGHITUDE OF AN ISRAELI MILITARY RESPONSE. IT IS CLEAR THAT IF THERE IS A MAJOR INCIDENT INVOLVING THE LOSS OF ISRAELI LIVES THE REACTION BILL DE BRASTIC. I GAVE AMPLE MARMING TO BE PASSED TO THE PLO OF THE DANGER PROFIA MAJOR PROVOCATION. FOR ITS PART, ISRAEL HAS BEEN

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LEFT IN NO DOUBT OF BEEP US RESERVATIONS OVER RAJOR ISRAELI MILITARY ACTION IN LEBANON, AND I UNDERLINED THE WAY THAT DELLICOSE ISRAELI STATEMENTS AND LEAKS WAD CREATED AN ATMOSPHENE WHICH HAD DECOME MISMLY REATTOPAL OF MEARASSING TO ISRAEL'S IMAGE. APTER A GREAT DEAL OF MEATED ARGUMENT I AN MOPEPUL THAT DEDIM, AT LEAST, ACCEPTS THE MEED FOR ISRAEL TO APPEAR LESS DELLICOSE, MONEYER, I DO NOT BELIEVE SHARON IS CONVINCED.

6. I TRIED ALSO TO SET A RECEPTIVE STADE FOR THE UNIFEL

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COMMANDER'S FORTHCOMING NESOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL ON THE BEST HAYS TO MAKE USE OF UNIFIL'S EXPANDED FORCE! AND SAM LEWIS AND NORRIS DRAPER FOLLOWED UP THIS WITH COMSULTATIONS WITH THE ISRAEL! FOREIGN MINISTRY ON THE POSSIBILITY OF "TRADE-OFFS", UNDER UNICH THE UN HIGHT TRY TO PERSUADE THE PALESTINIAMS TO WITHDRAW THEIR HEAVY WEAPONRY OUT OF MANGE OF ISRAEL.

- 7. INTERNAL LEBANESE SITUATION: I SECURED CROWN PRINCE FAHO'S STRONG CONMITMENT TO STAY FULLY ENGAGED IN LEBANGN, AND TO WORK FOR THE STAGED WITHORAWAL OF SYRIAN TROOPS.
 SECRET
- I AN MORE THAN EVER CONVINCED THAT WE MUST HAVE AN ARAB FULCAUM TO APPLY LEVERAGE TO THE SYRIAMS. WHO REMAIN HARD AND UNYIELDING IN ALL MATTERS LEGAMESE.
- 8. SIMILARLY. I AN MORE THAN EVER CONVINCED THAT THE US MUST PURSUE -- WITHOUT VARIATION -- ITS POLICY OF

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PRESERVING AND STRENGTHENING A UNITED. INTEGRAL LEBANCH. SOVEREIGN UITHIN ITS TRADITIONAL DORDERS. WE SHOULD NOT ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE DIVERTED INTO POCALY THOUGHT THROUGH SCHEMES FOR PARTITIONING THE COUNTRY INTO THREE, FOUR. OR HORE AREAS OR WORKING FOR A FORM OF CANTONIZATION WHICH REDUCES TO IMPOTENCE THE ROLE OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

THE PORTHCOMING LEBRNESE ELECTIONS IMMERENTLY MAYE ELEMENTS UNICH COULS PRODUCE EITHER MAJOR MARCHITE-SYRIAN CLASMES, OR ANOTHER LEBRNESE CIVIL CONFLICT, OR ISRAELI MILITARY INTERVENTION, OR A CONSINATION OF ALL THREE. AGAIN, HOUSTER, I AN MORE THAN EVER CONVINCES THAT THE LEBANESE THEMSELVES MAYE THE CAPACITY TO MANDLE THE SITUATION, INCLUDING MEAVY SYRIAN INTINIDATION -- AND WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO BE SEYOND DEMONSTRATIONS OF OUR ALREADY PROHOUNCES INTEREST IN THE OUTCOME. THE STACE MAY BE SET FOR AN ELECTORAL IMPASSE, AND A LEBANESE FORM OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS, AT UNICH POINT THE LEBANESE GENIUS FOR COMPRODISE MAY MELP PRODUCE AN OUTCOME SATISFACTORY TO US INTERESTS. THERE IS PLENTY OF ROOM FOR CONTINGENCY PLANNING IN THE EVENT THINGS BESIN TO GET OUT OF MAMO.

10. SOME RELATED IMPRESSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS: ASSAU REMAINS CONVINCED BE ARE TRYING TO DESTABILIZE MIS REGIME, DESPITE MY CATEGORICAL BENIALS AUTHORIZED BY YOU AND COUNTY

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THE PRESIDENT.

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-- UNILE I PERSONALLY FAVOR CLOSER CONSULTATIONS WITH ISRAEL OVER CERTAIN CONTINGENCIES, INCLUDING HAJOR SYRIAM MILITARY ACTION IN LEBANON, WE SHOULD NOT AGREE TO ESTABLISHMENT OF A PORMAL US-ISRAELI COMMISSION OR COMMITTEE, AS PROPOSED BY BEGIN. IT IS NOT NECESSARY, GIVEN OUR ABILITY TO CONSULT IMPORMALLY AND REGULARLY WITH THE ISRAELIS. THE IMEVITABLE LEAK OF A PORMAL ARRANGEMENT COULD DANAGE US GREATLY IN THE ARAB WORLD. THE SAME THING APPLIES TO THE SUGGESTION THAT A TRIPARTITE MECHANISH BE ORGANIZED WITH ISRAEL AND FRANCE.

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-- I. THEREFORE. RECOMMEND THAT WE PUT TOGETHER A TEAM UNDER DRAPER FOR REGULAR, SYSTEMATIC CONSULTATIONS WITH THE ISRAELIS BEGINNING IN APRIL AND CONTINUING AT APPROXIMATELY TWO-MONTH INTERVALS THROUGH THIS PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT YEAR AHEAD.

-- WE SHOULD SIVE STRONG SUPPORT TO WE AND WHIFIL EFFORTS TO MAKE EFFECTIVE USE OF ITS EXPANDED FORCES, PARTICULARLY IN THE SO-CALLED "SAP", EVEN THOUGH THIS WILL ENCOUNTER STRONG ISRAELI RESISTANCE AND SUSPICION. THE SHI'A INHABITANTS ARE ANONG THE MOST RELIABLE AND STRONGEST SUPPORTERS OF A UNITED LEBANON AND THE CENTRAL SOVERNMENT;

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HOWEVER. THEY DESPERATELY NEED TO SEE PROGRESS TOWARDS AND EXTENSION OF LEBANESE SOVERMENTAL AUTHORITY IN THE AREA.

- -- UE SHOULD SEEK OPPORTUNITIES TO REAFFIRM OUR SUPPORT FOR LEBANON'S INTEGRITY; IN THIS CONNECTION. IT DOULD BE HELPFUL FOR YOU TO RECEIVE LEBANESE FOREIGN MINISTER BOUTROS IN WASHINGTON IN APRIL OR MAY.
- -- IF A STRONG PRESIDENT EMERGES PROM THE LEBANESE ELECTIONS, WE SHOULD CONSIDER SPECIAL LEGISLATION TO

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ALLEY .

SIVE LEBANON A REAL SHOT IN THE ARK ECONOMICALLY, AND THEREBY INDUCE SAUDI ARABIA AND THE GULF COUNTRIES TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL FUNDING CONTRIBUTIONS.

11. PUBLIC MANDLING OF OUR EFFORTS: THROUGHOUT THE TRIP I MAYE AVOIDED ANY PUBLIC STATEMENTS OR PRESS BACKGROUNDING. YOU MAY UISH TO CONSIDER THE UTILITY OF MY SAYING A FEW WORDS TO THE PRESS AFTER I MAYE REPORTED TO YOU AND THE PRESIDENT, AS WE MAYE DONE IN THE PAST. MARESCA

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HABID

E.O. 12065: RDS 1.3.4 6/8/02 (GROVE, BRANDON) OR-H TAGS: PEPR, PBOR. IS. LE. US. XF SUBJECT: LEBANON: SECOND HEETJING WITH BEGIN -- JUNE 8, 1982

I NET EVENING JUNE & WITH PH BEGIN AT KNESSET FOR APPROXIMATELY ONE AND A HALF HOURS. NOT COUNTING PERIOD WHEN HE ABSENTED MINSELF FOR KNESSET ACTION ON NO BEGIN WAS ACCOMPANIED BY FORMIN CONFIDENCE MOTION. SHAMIR AND SAN LEWIS AND HOWELL JOINED ME.

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I TOLD BEGIN I WOWLD LIKE TO TALK IN HORE DETAIL ENDING THE HOSTILITIES. BEGINNING WITH THE SERIOUS SITUATION IN THE CITY OF BEIRUT. WHERE I MAYE BEEN informed of the lack **of eas. Electricity and o**ther basic NEEDS. IS IT NECESSARY, I ASKED, TO CONTINUE TO BONS BEIRUT IN LIGHT OF BEGIN'S POINT THAT THE IDF MAD ACHIEVED ITS OBJECTI**VES. EXCEPT WITH REGARD TO PLO** ARTILLERY IN THE SOUTHERN BERAA? quite defensive, arbuing that he had not bonbed beirut BUT ONLY THE PLO HEADQUARTERS SHERE IT IS POSSIBLE ARAFAT WAS KILLED. SAYING IMAT I RECOGNIZED HIS STRONG FEELINGS ABOUT CIVILIAN CASUALTIES. I THEREFORE ASKED HIN TO CONSIDER ENDING AIR STRIKES THAT, UNATEVER THEIR TARGET, INEVITABLY CAUSED HEAVY CIVILIAN CASUALTIES IN A CITY OF 2 MILLION. AT THIS POINT. DEGIN WAS INTERRUPTED BY A PHONE CALL FROM SHARON TO REPORT THAT A STIFF FIGHT

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IS UNDER MAY IN SIDON WHERE THERE ARE 1800 PLO EFFECTIVES AND 30 TARKS. HE THEN ADDED THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED AN END TO THE BOMBING RAIDS AGAINST BEIRUT WITH SHARON AND ASSURED HE THAT MY REQUEST WILL BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT "WITH SYMPATHY AND UNDERSTANDING."

6. DESIN THEN RETURNED TO OUR CONVERSATION OF JUNE 7, PREFACING HIS REMARKS WITH THE CONHENT THAT THEY REFLECTED INTENSIVE CABINET DISCUSSIONS THE PREVIOUS HIGHT BUT REPRESENT ONLY ISRAELI "THOUGHTS" REGARDING CIRCUMSTANCES



UNDER WHICH THE IDF MIGHT BE WITHDRAWN-FROM LEBANGN. HE LISTED THREE POSSIBLE OPTIONS IN DESCENDING ORDER OF ISRAELI PREFERENCE:

- -- A W.S. FORCE WHICH WOULD BE IMMUNE TO PRESSURES FOR WITHDRAWAL WITH A SIGNED AGREEMENT REGARDING THE PROHIBITION OF PLO ENTRY INTO THE 40 KILOMETER AREA OF OPERATIONS:
- -- AN MFO ALONG THE LINES OF THAT IN THE SINAI, WITH A DIRECTOR-GENERAL AND OTHER APPARATUS BASED ON A SIGNED AGREEMENT.
- -- "LAST AND LEAST POSITIVE". AN ENGLARGED UNIFIL WITH A CLEAR AGREEMENT ON PREVENTING ANY PLO PRESENCE. BEGIN SAID UNIFIL HAD BEEN "USEFUL" BUT PERFORMANCE VARIED GREATLY AMONG MATIONAL CONTINGENTS.

BEGIN AGAIN STRESSED THAT THERE MUST BE A CLEAR AGREEMENT ON TERMS OF REFERENCE UNDER ANY OF THESE OPTIONS AND I REMINDED MIN THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT MUST ALSO HAVE ISRAELI COMMITMENTS AND AGREEMENTS.

7. RETURNING TO HIS COMMENTS DURING OUR FIRST MEETING ABOUT THE UNACCEPTABILITY OF A RETURN TO A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AGREEMENT, DECIR SOFTENED HIS APPROACH

PAGE 04 JERUSA 01781 01 QF 02 0820392 SOMEWHAT. HE INSISTED, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT,



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IF RE-ESTABLISHED, MUST INCLUDE A PROHIBITION AGAINST ATTACKS AGAINST JEUS ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. I WENT OVER WITH BEGIN THE REASONS WHY I HAD SAID LAST JULY THAT THIS WAS NOT A REASONABLE ARRANGEMENT. I TOLD HIN THAT WE CANNOT AFFORD TO MAKE QURSTLYES MOSTAGE TO THE ACTIONS OF EXTREMISTS SUCH AS THOSE WE BELIEVE WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTACK ON AMBASSADOR ARGOV. I WRGED THAT BEGIN THINK MORE ABOUT THIS PROPOSITION AND MOT RPT NOT MAKE IT A CONDITION AT THIS TIME. AMBASSADDR LEWIS ADDED THAT WE MUST BE PRACTICAL! WE CAN'T MOPE TO SOLVE EVERY ASPECT OF ISRAEL'S SECURITY PROBLEM WITH A SINGLE AGREEMENT OR ARRANGEMENT.

8. DEGIN SAID THAT THE PLO MAD STEADPASTLY MAINTAINED THAT THE ARRANGEMENT MEGGTIATED BY MADID MAD APPLIED ONLY TO THE LEGAMESE-ISRAELI SORDER. I REPLIED THAT, OMATEYER THEIR PUBLIC POSITION, THEY MAD NOT QUIDDLED WITH MY FORMULATION THAT IT ALSO APPLIED TO ATTACKS HOWNTED THROUGH THIRD COUNTRIES. I AGREED THAT, IF WE DO

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ACHIEVE A FURTHER CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT, WE WILL PERMAPS HAVE TO BE MORE PRECISE THAN WE WERE LAST JULY. I

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REMINDED REGIN THAT, AT THAT TIME, IT WAS ISRAELI OBJECTION TO THE CONCLUSION OF AN AGREEMENT WITH THE PLO THAT SHAPED TO SOME DEGREE THE VAGUENESS OF WHAT WAS ACHIEVED. MAYBE, I CONCLUDED, WE HAVE ALL LEARNED SOMETHING FROM THAT EXPERIENCE AND WILL HAVE TO BE MORE PRECISE IN THE AGREEMENT AND PROCEDURES SHOWLD ANOTHER ARRANGEMENT BE MEGOTIATED. IN THE END. DEGIN AGREED NOT TO MAKE HIS REQUIREMENT REGARDING ATTACKS AGAINST JEWS ANYWHERE A FORMAL POSITION AT THIS TIME. HE DID NOT CONNENT ON MY STATEMENT THAT ONE IMPORTANT QUESTION TO CONTEMPLATE IS MAT KIND OF RESPONSE IS APPROPRIATE IN CASES OF TERRORISM CARRIED OUT BY THE LUMATIC FRINGE.

9. COMMENTING ON THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH IN LONDON TODAY, BEGIN SAID THAT HE AGREED WITH THE PRESIDENT'S POINTS REGARDING ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON AND THE NEED TO STAMP OUT TERRORISM.

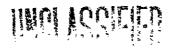
10. I ASKED BEGIN HOW WE WOULD DETERMINE THE AREA IN SOUTHERN LEBANON IN WHICH AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE MIGHT OPERATE? HE REPLIED THAT THE ISRAELIS WOULD BE BLAD TO DRAW A LINE 40 KILOMETERS FROM THE BORDER. WHEN I POINTED OUT THAT ISRAELI FORCES ARE MOW BEYOND THAT LINE, SHAMIR AND BEGIN SAID THESE ARE "TACTICAL" POSITIONS. BEGIN STATED STRONGLY THAT IT IS NOT AN ISRAELI OBJECTIVE TO PRESS MILITARY OPERATIONS WITH THE GOAL OF DOING AWAY WITH THE PLO ENTIRELY. IOF ELEMENTS ARE ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF DAMOUR, HE SAID, BUT ISRAEL DOES NOT RPT NOT INTEND TO TAKE DAMOUR EVEN THOUGH IT WAS ORIGINALLY A CHRISTIAN TOWN. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, BEGIN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IDF WOULD PULL BACK TO

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TO-KILOMETER LINE ASSIS FOR A CEASE-FIRE IN PLACE. ASKED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO HADDAD'S ENCLAVE WHOER NEW SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, SEGIN SAID THIS IS FOR THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT TO DECIDE.

11. DEFORE DEPARTING, I TOLD BEGIN THAT DEFORE THE CURRENT FIGHTING IT HAD BEEN MY INTENTION TO COME TO THE AREA TO DISCUSS LONG-TERM SOLUTIONS TO LEGANON'S PRODLEMS. IF WE ARE ABLE TO BRING THE CURRENT SITUATION WHOER CONTROL, THOSE LONG-RANGE PROBLEMS WILL STILL DE THERE AND WE WILL WANT TO DISCUSS THEN WITH ISRAEL AND OTHER



INTERESTED SOVERNMENTS. BEGIN MODDED.

12. WE AGREED THAT SHOULD A RESPONSE FROM THE SYRIANS BE RECEIVED OVERNIGHT. WE WOULD CONTACT FORMIN SHAMIR WHO WILL DECIDE WHETHER TO WAKE BEGIN. GROVE

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FROM HABIB

E.G. 12065: RDS-1 3/9/02 (LEWIS, SAMUEL W.) OR-M TAGS: IS, LE, SY, JG, SA, MILI, MOPS, PROR, PLG SUBJECT: HABIB MISSION ON LEBANON: MEETING WITH PRIME - MINISTER BESIN

1. CO ENTIRE TEXT?

2. SUMMARY: I NET WITH PRIME MINISTER DEGIN FOR ONE HOUR AND FIFTY MINUTES ON THE EVENING OF MARCH D. DECIM ATTEMPTED TO PROJECT A CHIPPER PROFILE MUT WAS DRAWN AND SHOWED EVIDENCE OF CONTINUED FATIONE.

BEGIN POSED A NUMBER OF DIFFICULT QUESTIONS.
THESE TROCKDED THE TRUE PLO POSITION WITH RESPECT TO THE DEFINITION OF THE CEASEFIRE, A SUGGESTION FOR A JOINT W.S.-ISRAEL COMMISSION TO PREPARE CONTINGENCY PLANS IN THE EVENT OF SYRIAN AGGRESSION AGAINST THE MARGNITES, A POINTED QUESTION ON AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PLO BUILDUP IN SOUTHERN LESANON AND OF COURSE THE INEVITABLE REQUEST FOR REMOVING THE SYRIAN MISSILES. DEFENSE MINISTER SMARON, WHO WAS IN A TRUCKLENT AND BULLYING MOOD, ALSO RAISED A NUMBER OF PROVOCATIVE QUESTIONS ABOUT AMERICAN POLICY IN AGGRET

PAGE 02 TEL AV 03676 01 OF 08 0917282 LEBANON AND SYRIA. THE CONVERSATION WAS OFTEN INTERRUPTED

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AND MEATED. THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES A REASONABLY DETAILED, CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THIS DISCUSSION. END SUMMARY.

J. I MET WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN FOR ONE MOUR AND FIFTY MINUTES IN AN UPPER ROOM AT HIS MOME ON THE EVENING OF MARCH B. BEGIN WAS ALERT AND ASSERTIVE, BUT OBVIOUSLY WAS PHYSICALLY UNCONFORTABLE AS HE SAT IN HIS WHEELCHAIR. ATTENDING ON THE ISRAELI SIDE WERE FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR, MFA DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL BAR-ON, PRIME MINISTER'S AIDE AVNER, AND INTELLIBENCE CHIEF GENERAL SAGI. THENTY HINUTES INTO OUR DISCUSSION, DEFENSE MINISTER SHARON, GENERAL TAMIR AND MFA DIRECTOR GENERAL KINCHE JOINED THE GROUP. I WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSAGOR LEWIS, DAS DRAPER, OCH GROWN AND POL/C HARE. A STENOTYPIST RECORDED THE CONVERSATION.

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11. DESIN THEN SPOKE ASAIN OF THE FACT THAT ISRAEL MAY HAVE A "WEAKNESS" IN THAT, WHILE ACCEPTING THE CEASEFIRE, ISRAEL HOULD NOW HAVE TO WAIT FOR ITS PEOPLE TO BE KILLED DEFORE RESPONDING. AFTER MAKING A SARCASTIC REFERENCE TO SECRET

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BRZEZINSKI'S BRNELPFUL CORNENT RE SMARON'S PERFORMANCE ON THE MARCH 7 ARC PROGRAM AND TO CONTRADICTORY U.S. STATE-HENTS ON THE PLO SUILBUP IN SOUTHERN LEBANON, DEBIN DANTED TO KNOW MY THE IMPRESSION AND SEING CREATED THAT THE OWITED STATES BELIEVED ISRAEL WAS THE COLPRIT, WANTED TO INVADE LEBANON, AND WAS INTERESTED IN KEEPING THE PLO, WHICH WAS AN AGENT OF THE SOVIET UNION, IN PLACE. BEGIN REPERBED TO HIS CONVERSATION WITH SENATOR PERCY IN UNION WE HAD EXPLAINED THAT THE ISRAELI ATTACK AGAINST THE TRACIS WAS NOT ACTUALLY AN ATTACK AGAINST IRAQI TERRITORY BUT RATHER WAS AIMED AT A SOURCE OF BANGER TO ISRAELI CHILDREN. BY THE

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SAME REASONING HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT AN ATTACK ASAINST THE PLO WOULD NOT REALLY BE AN ATTACK ASAINST LEBANON.

12. I EXPLAIRED THE AMERICAN POPULAR REVULSION OVER THE USE OF FORCE, ESPECIALLY DISPROPERTIONATE FORCE, AND OUR PREFERENCE FOR REGOTIATED SOLUTIONS INSTEAD OF CONFRONTATIONS. I SAID ALSO THAT THE CEASEFIRE HAD BEEN UIDELY APPAUDED SINCE IT HAD PRODUCED A CESSATION OF BLOODSHED AND KILLING. THE PRESS, I OBSERVED, HAD ALSO INTERSIFIED THE LEVEL OF CRITICISM OF ISRAELI INTENTIONS, SOMETIMES WITHOUT FOUNDATION, THOUGH OME COULD NOT IGNORE SOME OF THE TOUGH STATEMENTS WHICH COME FROM ISRAELI SPOKESMEN. FRANKLY, AS A DEMOCRACY AND ALLY, ISRAEL WAS JUDGED IN THE EXPECTATION OF HIGHER STANDARDS. AMBASSADOR LEWIS RODED THAT THE W.S. GOVERNMENT'S VIEW OF THE PLO HAD BEEN STATED CLEARLY, ON THE RECORD, BY PRESIDENT REAGAN. IT WAS CERTAINLY NOT U.S. POLICY TO ENCOURAGE A PLO ARMS BUILDUP IN LEBANOM; WE CATEGORICALLY OPPOSED IT. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, WE DID NOT REGARD THE DUILDUP PER SE AS A VIOLATION OF THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT HOR SOMETHING WHICH COULD JUSTIFY ANY PRE-

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EMPTIVE MILITARY ACTION BY ISRAEL. WE BO NOT WANT A WAR TO BREAK OUT IN LEBANON WHICH WOULD HAVE VERY DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES, NOT ONLY FOR OUR INTERESTS BUT ALSO THOSE OF ISRAEL. LEWIS STRESSED AGAIN THAT WE BID NOT LIKE THE BUILDUP AND HABIS WAS WORKING ON THIS PROBLEM BUT, ABSENT AN ATTACK ON ISRAEL, WE OPPOSED ANY ISRAEL! MILITARY ACTION. BESIN REPLIED BY ASKING HE TO TELL THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY HAID THAT ISRAEL SURELY BID NOT WANT WAR, BUT THAT WE SHOULD BE AWARE THAT, WHILE THIS ISSUE WAS OF POLITICAL IMPORTANCE TO THE WHITTO STATES, FOR ISRAEL IT WAS A "MATTER OF LIFE AND BEATH."

13. BEGIN THEM ASKED WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN IF THE CHRISTIANS AGAIN FACE ANNIHILATION BY THE SYRIAMS? HE TOLD ME HE MAD NET BASHIR GENATEL ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS AND MAD ALMAYS LEFT THESE CONVERSATIONS WITH A DEEP APPRECIATION OF THE CHRISTIANS' VULNERAGILITY TO THE SUPERIOR SYRIAM MILITARY FORCE IN LEBANGE, HE THEREFORE PROPOSED THAT WE ESTADLISH A "JOINT COMMISSION" POSSIBLY COMPOSED OF THREE PERSONS FROM EACH SIDE, TO MONITOR THE SITUATION CLOSELY AND TO DEVELOP CONTINUENCY PLANS IN THE EVENT THAT THE SYRIAMS AGAIN MOVES MILITARILY AGAINST THE MARGNITE COMMUNITY. I REPLIED THAT I PERSONALLY THOUGHT THAT HIS IDEA HAD MERIT AND WOULD BE A LOGICAL EXTENSION OF THE COUSULTATIONS WHICH WE MAD ALREADY SEGUN ON LEGANDA (BUT SEE MY LATER QUALIFYING COMPENTS BELOW WHEN WE RETURNED TO THE SUBJECT).

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I SAID. MODETER, THAT ISRAEL SHOULD BE TERY CAREFUL IN WHAT IT SAYS PUBLICLY ABOUT THE RARORITE CORRUNITY IN LEGATOR.

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SINCE THIS ONLY CREATES PROBLEMS FOR THAT COMMUNITY.

BESIN SAID THAT HE HAD TALKED TO PRESIDENT MITTERRAND ABOUT FRANCE'S MISTORICAL ROLE WITH THE MARCHITES AND THAT HITTERRAND HAS AGREED THAT THE ARMINILATION OF THE CHRISTIAN confusity could not be alleved. CAN SK TAKT CIAR MIDSO EXPLAINED, AS HE HAD DONE WITH US. ISRAEL'S "BEAKNESS" IN WALTING PASSIVELY IN THE PRESENT SITUATION TO BE ATTACKED: AND THAT, IF ISRAEL WERE ATTACKED AND SOME OF ITS PEOPLE WERE KILLED, "ISRAEL WOULD SNASH THE TERRORISTS. REPORTED THAT MITTERRAND DID NOT SAY ANYTHING UNICH EX-PRESSED OPPOSITION TO ISRAEL'S POSITION AND WAS ALSO INTERESTED IN FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON LEBAMESE ISSUES. Shamir would be coins to paris to pursue these discussions BEBIN EMPHASIZED THAT HE DOULD LIKE TO TELL Bashir the best time they met that the b.s. UAS INTERESTED IN HIS COMMUNITY'S SECURITY AND THAT DASHIR HAD NOTHING FEAR. "THE U.S. AND ISRAEL SHOULD REASON TOCETHER." I SAID AGAIN I WOULD REPORT HIS PROPOSAL AND MY PERSONAL VIEW WHICH FAVORED CONTINUED, INFORMAL, CONSULTATIONS SIMILAR TO THOSE WHICH MAD ALBEADY OCCUPACO, PROTIDED THAT SUCH TALKS WERE KEPT STRICTLY COMPIDENTIAL.





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MODIS TERMS OF THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT.

22. AT THIS POINT, BEGIN, ASSUMING THE MANTLE OF ELDER STATESHAM, TOOK CONTROL OF THE CONVERSATION. HE SAID HE ESTABLISHING A "JOINT COMMISSION." I REPLIED THAT I WOULD FAITHFULLY CONVEY HIS PROPOSAL BUT HAD TO POINT OUT FRANKLY THAT I PREFERRED A MORE INFORMAL MECHANISM. A FORMAL JOINT COMMISSION COULD HAVE A MEGATIVE EFFECT ON WHAT WE WERE TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH IN THE LIKELY EVENT THAT THERE WERE A LEAK. BEGIN SAID HE UNDERSTOOD EARLIER, HOWEVER, THAT I HAD SUPPORTED HIS IDEA OF PREPARING CONTINGENCY PLANS IN THE EVENT THAT THE SYRIAMS ATTACKED OR THREATENED THE CHRISTIAMS. I SAID THIS WAS CORRECT DUT EMPHASIZED THIS WAS ONLY MY PERSONAL VIEW AND THAT I COULD NOT COMMIT MY BOVERNMENT. BEGIN SAID HE WIDDERSTOOD AND OBSERVED THAT THE HECHANICS WERE LESS IMPORTANT THAN THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR CONSULTATIONS. (COMMENT: BEGIN'S LAST REMARKS SHOULD BE MELPFUL AS WE PREPARE TO AMSUER HIS PROPOSAL.)

23. BEGIN THEN REPEATED HIS STATEMENT THAT IF THERE WERE NO TERRORIST INCURSIONS ACROSS ISRAEL'S BORDERS. ISRAEL WOULD NOT ATTACK. MOUEVER, IF ISRAEL WERE ATTACKED, IT WOULD SHASH THE TERRORISTS, THOUGH THE ISRAELI PORCES DOULD THEN WITHDRAW; THEY WOULD NOT RETAIN ON LEBANESE SOIL. HE ONCE AGAIN REVIEWED HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH SECRETARY HAIS ON

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WHAT CONSTITUTED A "CLEAR PROVOCATION" AGAINST ISRAEL; I

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24. THIS MESSAGE CLEARED BY DRAPER BUT NOT REVIEWED BY HABIS BEFORE HIS BEPARTURE.

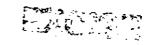
25. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TOPASS TO DAMASCUS, AMMAN, JIDDA, CAIRO, AMD JERUSALEM. LEWIS

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FROM HABIB FOR DISTRIBUTION BY 5/5 - HILL

E.C. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL MOPS, LE. US. SY, IS. XF

SUBJECT: HABIB MISSION: MEETI~ = ITH KINCHE AND MFA.

JUNE 30

SUMMARY: DURING A TWO-HOUR MEETING EVENING JUNE 30. I FIRST BRIEFED DAVID KIMCHE ON MY DISCUSSIONS IN SAUDI ARABIA AND LEBANON. WHILE EMPHASIZING THAT HIS QUESTION HAD NOT BEEN CLEARED, KIMCHE THEN ASKED SIGNIFICANTLY IF IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE UNDER THE CONCEPT -- WHICH I HAD SURFACED WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AND HIS COLLEAGUES LAST MONDAY -- THAT IT COULD BE WORKED IN A WAY FOR PLO WITHDRAWAL TO TAKE PLACE SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, WHILE THE SYRIAN/ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL SCHEDULE WOULD BE STAGGERED. KIMCHE EXPLAINED THAT PLO WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON WAS IN MANY WAYS MORE IMPORTANT TO ISRAEL THAN SYRIAN WITHDRAWAL AND THIS ELEMENT WOULD BE <u>IMPOR</u>TANT IN BEING ABLE TO SELL SUCH A CONCEPT POLITICALLY.

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I IMMEDIATELY REPLIED THAT I FOUND KINCHE'S APPROACH VERY

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INTERESTING AND WOULD BE PREPARED TO EXPLORE IT ENERGETICALLY IF APPROVED BY HIS MINISTERS. KIMCHE DID NOT
KNOW IF THIS IDEA WOULD BE FLOATED BY THE PRIME MINISTER
OR HIS TWO MINISTERS DURING MY MEETING WITH THEM EARLY
TOMORROW MORNING. IT MIGHT TAKE TIME TO GERMINATE, HE
SAID. IF IT DOES NOT COME UP, HE ADVISED THAT I SHOULD
REMAIN HERE FOR A BIT LONGER. THIS IS A FIRST INDICATION
THAT ISRAEL'S INITIALLY SHARP REJECTION OF THE CONCEPT MAY
BE CHANGING AFTER A PERIOD OF REFLECTION. I SUSPECT THAT
KIMCHE HAD AUTHORIZATION FROM SHAMIR TO FLOAT THIS VARIANT.
END SUMMARY.

3. JOINED BY AMBASSADORS LEWIS, DRAPER, AND FAIRBANKS, AND HARE, I MET WITH DAVID KINCHE FOR TWO HOURS THE EVENING OF JUNE 30. KINCHE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY HANON BAR-ON, YITZHAK ORON AND EITAN BENTSUR.

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FROM HABIB FOR DISTRIBUTION BY S/S - HILL

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL. MOPS, LE. US. SY. IS. XF

SUBJECT: HABIB MISSION: SETING WITH KINCHE AND MFA.





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7. KIMCHE AND HIS COLLEAGUES TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THIS EXPOSITION TO STATE THAT A MAJOR PROBLEM WAS GENAVEL'S UNWILLINGNESS TO TALK DIRECTLY TO THE ISRAELIS. THIS INEVITABLY LED TO CONFUSION AND HISUNDERSTANDINGS. KINCHE EXPLAINED THAT THE FACT THAT FATTAL WAS NOT PLUGGED IN UNDERMINED THE VALUE OF HIS NOW SCHEDULED BIWEEKLY MEETINGS WITH HIM. I SAID I UNDERSTOOD THE PROBLEM AND HAD URGED THE LEBANESE TO ESTABLISH MORE DIRECT CONTACT. I HAD RECEIVED A TEMPORIZING REPLY BUT I URGED KINCHE TO STAY IN TOUCH WITH FATTAL. HE WOULD NOT BE MISUSED AND HAD AFTER ALL NEGOTIATED THE AGREEMENT.

B. AFTER THIS [Minduction, kinche said he had something to say about the concept I had presented last monday to the ministers, though he stressed his questions had not been cleared around the circuit. (However, I believe he has speaking with Shamir's blessing.) kinche explained that in many mays plo mithdrawal from lebanon has hore important than syrian mithdrawal. Given this, he wondered if one could hake a deal which would provide

PAGE 03

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FOR SIMULTANEOUS PLO AND ISRAELI MITHDRAWAL, WHILE ISRAELI AND SYRIAN MITHDRAWALS MERE STAGGERED. I IMMEDIATELY REPLIED THAT THIS WAS AN INTERESTING VARIANT, AND RECALLED THAT IN PREVIOUS CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN THE LEBANESE AND THE SAUDIS AND THE PLO, INCLUDING WITH ARAFAT, THE PLO HAD STATED THEY WERE PREPARED TO LEAVE IN CONJUNCTION WITH A SYRIAN MITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON, AND MIGHT EVEN BEGIN THEIR MITHDRAWAL BEFORE THE SYRIAMS. THESE WERE, I CONTINUED, KNOWN POSITIONS: WHAT WAS UNKNOWN NOW WAS THE VALIDITY OF THESE STATEMENTS IN LIGHT OF THE CURRENT POWER STRUGGLE WITHIN THE PLO AND, EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY.



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SYRIAN ATTITUDES. NEVERTHELESS. IF WE HAD ISRAELI AGREE-MENT, I SAW NO REASON WHY THIS APPROACH COULD NOT BE EXPLORED AND WORKED ON.

9. BAR-ON ASKED A SECOND QUESTION. NAMELY. WHERE WOULD THE PLO GO? I SAID MUCH WOULD DEPEND ON THE CURRENT POWER STRUGGLE. A PERMANENT SPLIT IN THE PLO WAS POSSIBLE. ANOTHER OUTCOME COULD BE A PLO STILL NOMINALLY UNDER ARAFAT'S LEADERSHIP BUT MORE RESPONSIVE TO THE SYRIANS AND RADICAL ELEMENTS. IN THE EVENT. I ASSUMED A NUMBER OF THE PLO WOULD GO TO SYRIA FROM WHERE THEY HAD ORIGINALLY COME. TUNISIA HAD INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE THE PLO. THOUGH THEY UNDOUBTEDLY HAD A LIMIT. JORDAN WOULD PROBABLY ACCEPT ONLY A SMALL NUMBER OF FATAH LOYALISTS HAVING JORDANIAN CITIZENSHIP.

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SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 02390

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SECULE !

FROM HABIB FOR DISTRIBUTION BY S/S - HILL

E.O. 12356: DECL-GADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, LE. US. SY. IS. XF

SUBJECT: HABIB MISSION: MEETING WITH KINCHE AND MFA, JUNE 30

10. KINCHE SAID ONE ADVANTAGE OF THIS VARIANT WOULD BE TO MAKE IT MORE POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE DOMESTICALLY. GIVEN THE SECURITY THREAT WHICH THE PLO PRESENTED. I SAID THAT IF THE MINISTERS ASKED ME TO PURSUE THIS APPROACH. I WAS MORE THAN READY TO DO SO IN GREATEST SECRECY WITH FAND ALONE. I ASKED IF I SHOULD DROP THIS IDEA IN MY JULY I MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. KIMCHE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO LET THE MINISTERS INTRODUCE THE CONCEPT: IF THEY DID NOT HE THOUGHT WE SHOULD GET TOGETHER LATER. IN ANY EVENT IT COULD BE PURSUED FURTHER OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS. IT MIGHT TAKE A LITTLE TIME FOR THE IDEA TO TAKE ROOT, KIMCHE CRYPTICALLY EXPLAINED.

11. I THEN REHEARSED AGAIN THE CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF OBTAINING FULL WITHDRAWALS IF WE WERE TO OBTAIN A PEACEFUL

PAGE 02 JERUSA 02390 03 0F 03 302259Z

AND INTEGRAL LEBANON. I SAID THAT WHILE I WAS MAINTAINING A NON-COMMITTAL POSTURE ON PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL. IT SIMPLY

WOULD NOT BET THE SYRIANS OUT. THE LEBANESE WOULD BE ABLE TO RESPOND POSITIVELY. I SAID. IF GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY. WHATEVER MISGIVING THE ISRAELIS MIGHT HAVE. OUR AMBASSADOR IN DAMASCUS. WHO UNDERSTANDS THE SYRIANS VERY WELL. BELIEVED THAT THE SYRIANS WOULD WELCOME PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL AND WOULD NOT GET OUT. THEREBY LEADING EFFECTIVELY TO THE PARTITION OF LEBANON. ON THE OTHER HAND. AMBASSADOR PAGANELLI THOUGHT OUR APPROACH OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN FULL WITHDRAWALS. AT LEAST, IT WAS REALISTIC.

12. I THEN TOLD KINCHE THAT I HAD BROACHED THE CONCEPT WITH GEMAYEL. SALEM AND HADDAD, WHO HAD KEPT THE IDEA FROM WAZZAN. I HAD TWICE EMPHASIZED. HOWEVER, THAT THIS COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED A PROPOSAL -- SIMPLY AN IDEA WHICH NEEDED ISRAELI APPROAYL AND FURTHER REFINEMENT. THE LEBANESE HAD REACTED FAVORABLY AND HAD IMMEDIATELY RAISED A NUMBER OF TACTICAL QUESTIONS ON HOW THIS APPROACH MIGHT BE PURSUED; AND, I ADDED, GEMAYEL HAD GIVEN THE CONCEPT HIS OFFICIAL APPROVAL.

 $(P)^{(1)}$

14. I EXPANDED ON THIS THEME BY SUGGESTING THAT WHILE SYRIA WANTED TO HAVE HEGEMONY IN LEBANON. THIS DID NOT NECESSARILY REQUIRE A PHYSICAL PRESENCE. THIS SYRIAN



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INTEREST ALSO HAD TO BE PLACED AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF THE DANGER THAN ISRAEL! "MORTH BANK" WOULD POSE TO SYRIA. AS THIS DISCUSSION DREW TO A CLOSE. I IMPRESSED UPON KIMCHE THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING SOME LATITUDE TO PURSUE THIS APPROACH. I REALIZED I HAD PLACED A HEAVY LOAD ON THE TABLE LAST MONDAY BUT I WAS GRATIFIED THAT THERE NOW APPEARED TO BE SOME OPENING ON THE ISRAELI SIDE.

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Department of State



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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HABIS

SUBJECT: HABIB-DRAPER MISSION: ISRAEL-LEBANON NEGOTIATIONS

I BELIEVE WE ARE AT A POINT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WHERE WE CAN EITHER MAKE AN EFFORT TO BRING THEM TO AN EARLY CON-CLUSION OR FACE THE PROSPECT OF AN IMPASSE FOLLOWED BY PROTRACTED NEGOTIATIONS. CB/ICUSLY. I PREFER THE FIRST OPTION. I DO NOT BELIEVE IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO ACCEPT PROTRACTED AFFAIR WITH WHAT WOULD PROBABLY BE AN UNSAT-I SUGGEST. THEREFORE, THAT IT IS ISFACTORY CONCLUSION. TIME WE MADE OUR OWN DECISION AS TO A REASONABLE SOLUTION TO THE REMAINING PROBLEMS. I WISH TO AVOID AN UNSATIS-FACTORY AND UNPRODUCTIVE COURSE BASED UPON THE FAINT HOPE THAT THE ISRAELIS AND LEBANESE WILL EACH MAKE THE NECES-SARY COMPROMISES TO REACH JUTIMATE AGREEMENT WITHOUT A MAJOR PUSH FROM US.

3. THE COURSE I PROPOSE WILL DEMAND THE MOST RETREAT FROM PRESENT POSITIONS ON THE PART OF THE ISRAELIS. THIS IS NOT SURPRISING GIVEN THE EXTENT TO WHICH ISRAELI DEMANDS

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HAVE GONE BEYOND PURELY SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS AND THE

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CHVICUS DESIRE OF THE ISRAELIS TO DOMINATE THE SOUTHERN PART OF LEHANCH, INCLUDING A SUBSTANTIAL MEASURE OF DIRECT CONTROL OVER THAT REGION. THE LEHANESE MEANWHILE HAVE BEEN ANXIOUS TO ASSERT THEIR SOVEREIGNTY AND TO LIMIT THEIR CONCESSIONS TO AVOID JEOPARDIZING THEIR INTERNAL CONSENSUS OR THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB MATIONS AND ADVERSELY AFFECT THE MORALE OF THE ARMY.

CVER THE PAST FEW DAYS WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING UNRESCLIED ISSUES WITH THE TWO SIDES. ON THE BASIS OF THESE DISCUSSIONS. WE HAVE PRODUCED A DRAFT AGREEMENT I BELIEVE IS REASONABLE. WITH SCHE EXCEPTIONS IT IS EPTABLE TO THE LEGANESE. IF WE CANNOT RESOLVE THE RE-INING ISSUES BETWEEN US. WE WILL AT THAT POINT. WHICH SHOULD BE REACHED ON APRIL I WOULD PROPOSE TO GO TO ISRAEL AND INFORM THEM WHERE THEN. ON APRIL 20 I WOULD PROPOSE TO HAVE THE LEBANESE TABLE THE PACKAGE AGREEMENT. WHICH I WOULD SUPPORT TO THE FULLEST EXTENT POSSIBLE IN THE TRIPARTITE MEETING AT KHALDE.

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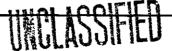
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Department of State

TELEGRAM





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NODIS

JERUSALEM FOR AMB. HABIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: GADR

TAGS: PREL. LE. IS

SUBJECT: HABIB/DRAPER MISSION: CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT AMIN GENAVEL MARCH 26 RE POSSIBLE PEETINGS BETWEEN SENIOR GOL AND GOI OFFICIALS

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2. SUMMARY. AMBASSADORS HABIB AND DILLOR MET ALONE WITH PRESIDENT AMIN GENAYEL MORNING OF MARCH 26. DURING DISCUSSION OF STATUS OF CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS (SEPTEL), GENAYEL WOULD NOT AGREE TO A MEAR TERM SALIM/SHANIR MEETING. ON THE OTHER HAND, A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING WAS REACHED THAT HABIB WOULD SET UP A TANKUS/LEVY MEETING AND THAT QUASSIS WOULD BE MEETING WITH BEN-TOY. THERE WAS NO CONCLUSION REGARDING A BUSTANI/BEN-TOY MEETING, ALTHOUGH THAT POSSIBILITY WAS NOT ADAMANTLY RULED OUT.

3. HABIB BROACHED POSSIBLE MEETING BETWEEN SOL FORMIN SALIH AND GOI FORMIN SHAMIR. GEMAYEL REPLIED THAT HABIB

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KNEW HIS POSITION: HE DID NOT WISH TO AGREE TO SUCH A

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MEETING WITHOUT KNOWING THE RESULTS IN ADVANCE. HABIS PERSISTED THAT THE MEETING MIGHT BE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT. THERE WERE UNDOUBTEDLY THINGS THAT COULD BE SETTLED FACETO-FACE BETWEEN THE TWO MINISTERS THAT COULD NOT OTHERWISE BE SETTLED. HE ASKED GENAYEL TO CONTINUE TO CONSIDER MEETING. EMPHASIZING HE BELIEVED THERE WAS A GOOD CHANCE THE MEETING COULD BE KEPT SECRET.

GENAYEL CAME BACK THAT HE WAS SURE THE ISRAELIS WOULD NOT KEEP SUCH A MEETING SECRET. HABIB REPLIED THAT ONE COULD NOT BE 100 PERCENT SURE BUT THAT SHAMIR WAS FAR BETTER THAN SHARON IN THAT RESPECT. NOT ONLY WAS HE DIPLOMATICALLY MORE PROFESSIONAL. HE WAS A BORN CONSPIRATOR WHO BELIEVED IN SECRECY. GENAVEL RECALLED HIS BROTHER BASHIR'S EXPERIENCE WITH THE ISRAELIS. AFTER BASHIR HAD AGREED TO MEET WITH BEGIN LATE LAST AUGUST IN ISRAEL ON A PROMISE OF ABSOLUTE SECRECY. THE ISRAELIS HAD NOT ONLY LEAKED THE FACT OF THE MEETING TO THE PRESS. THEY HAD GIVEN THE PRESS THE COMPLETE MINUTES OF THE MEETING. SHOULD THERE BE A SALIMISMAMIR MEETING AND DID THE SAME THING. IT WOULD CAUSE MANY PROBLEMS: IT HIGHT DESTROY EVERYTHING THAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE MEETING WERE A FINAL STEP, GOOD RESULTS COULD COUNTER BAD EFFECTS. BUT TO DO IT TODAY WAS DANGEROUS. GEMAYEL ALSO MITALLED HIS OWN PROBLEMS IN ATTEMPTING TO MEGOTIATE SECRETLY WITH SHARON AND BEING EMBARRASSED WHEN SHARON PUBLICLY RELEASED A "MON-PAPER." FURTHERMORE, GENAYEL SAID. "THE ISRAELIS WILL TAKE CARE NOT TO FINALIZE THINGS AT THAT MEETING. THEY WILL MANAGE A SITUATION IN WHICH THERE MUST BE A NEXT STEP -- A MEETING BETWEEN ME AND BEGIN."



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S. HABIB RETURNED TO THE ARGUMENT, POINTING OUT THAT IF THE LEBANESE KNEW IN.ADVANCE THAT EVERYTHING WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL, THERE WOULD BE NO REASON TO HAVE THE MEETING. THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WAS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS. FURTHERMORE, HABIB SAID, "I WOULD BE THERE. IF THE MEETING LEAKS, I CAN TAKE THE BLAME. YOU COULD SAY I PRESSURED YOU. I WOULD BE YOUR FIG LEAF."

6. GEMAYEL REPLIED THAT HE WAS "AFRAID OF BLACKMAIL." HE CLARIFIED THAT IT WAS NOT BLACKMAIL VIS A VIS THE



ARABS OR EVEN LEBARON'S OWN MUSLIMS THAT WORRIED HIM. HE WAS WORRIED THAT THE ISRAELIS WOULD INCREASE THEIR DEMANDS. THEY WOULD NOT BE CONTENT TO SETTLE WITH SALIR. THEY WOULD RAISE EVEN BIGGER PROBLEMS -- PROBLEMS THAT COULD ONLY BE SETTLED WITH A GENAVEL/BEGIN MEETING.

7. MABIS THEN SHIFTED GROWND. SUGGESTING IT WAS TIME TO LET GENERAL TANNUS TALK TO THE NEW ISRAELI CHIEF OF STAFF. HE DESCRIBED GEN. LEVY AS HORE REASONABLE THAN EITAM. GENAYEL REPLIED THAT THE ISRAELIS HAD ALREADY ASKED FOR A TANNUS/LEVY MEETING. HE HAD TOLD THEN THAT IF IT SHOWED GOOD FAITH ON THE LEBANESE PART, HE WOULD APPROVE THE MEETING. TURNING DIRECTLY TO HABIS, GENAYEL SAID, "OKAY, YOU CAN ORGANIZE THE MEETING." HASIS AGREED, SAYING THE GOL COULD RATIONALIZE ITS DECISION BY SAYING THAT SUCH A MEETING WAS MERELY AN EXTENSION OF TALKS NOW GOING ON. FURTHERMORE, IF THINGS THRNED SOWN, THE LEBANESE COULD BLAME MIM. HE ALSO TOLD GENAYEL HE HAD CONTINUED TO BUILD UP TANNUS IN HIS TALKS WITH THE ISRAELIS (AS WELL AS ATTEMPTING TO BUILD UP THE LEBANESE ARMY).

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9. AMB. MABIE DID NOT SEE THIS TELEGRAM BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE FOR JERUSALEM. DILLOM

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION:

SUBJECT: MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENTS

TIME

DATE AND

APRIL 25, 1983 at 4:30 P.M.

PLACE: AL-SALAM HYATT HOTEL, CAIRO

PARTICIPANTS:

SECRETARY SHULTZ

AMBASSADOR ATHERTON

AMBASSADOR CLUVERIUS

AMBASSADOR CUTLER

AMBASSADOR DILLON

AMBASSADOR FAIRBANKS

MR. BRANDON GROVE

AMBASSADOR HABIB

MR. WILLIAM KIRBY

AMBASSADOR LEWIS

AMBASSADOR MURPHY

MR. KEN MCKUNE (NOTETAKER)

PELLETREAU

AMBASSADOR NEWLIN

AMBASSADOR PAGANELLI DAS

^

MR. PETER RODMAN

MR. RAY SEITZ

MR. HOWARD TEICHER

AMBASSADOR VIETS

ASSIST**A**NT SECRETARY VELICTES

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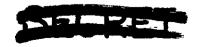


Secretary Shultz introduced his remarks by saying that the reasons for his meeting with the Chiefs of Mission were twofold: first, to get the benefit of their experience and wise counsel, and second, to set out how the our policy will be proceeding during the coming period that as things begin to happen, we can continue to make use of the built-in communications network which has been in use during the past month.

Speaking of the Lebanese negotiations, the Secretary said that he was impressed by what has been accomplished, and this in spite of the sense of discouragement that can arise if one gets too preoccupied with the details of problems. He said that he had been following Phil's and Maury's efforts closely, had recently had a chance to review the situation in Washington with the NSC group, and believes that the amount of progress to date has been substantial. If the remaining issues are difficult, it is also true that some difficult things have been resolved.

Referring to his own travels, the Secretary said that there seems to be perpetual discussion about "trips" and that he had resisted being too quick on the trigger in travelling to the Middle East. Nevertheless, he said, now appears to be a good time to help Phil and his colleagues; and maybe at least we can get Lebanon and Israel to come to an agreement.

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With respect to the peace process, the Secretary said that here too a great deal has taken place. If one compares General Arab attitudes today with those of a year ago--particula in the case of Jordan--it seems that the Arabs, despite their terrible disappointment that it has not been possible to move to negotiations yet, nevertheless feel that they can no longer entertain the hope of moving Israel by force. Thus, some form of negotiation will be necessary. Of course, the strength of this feeling varies from country to country and from time to time, according to circumstances.

The Secretary said that he recognizes that the Chiefs of Mission have put in a lot of effort, and have done much. It is amusing, he said, that the papers always give the impression that unless the Secretary of State is travelling, nothing is happening. Of course, a lot is happening, and relying on one's Ambassadors is an effective way to proceed.

Overall, the Secretary said, one can describe what we have accomplished as a huge surge which we must now try to keep from moving back. In terms of this trip, said the Secretary we will be meeting the Egyptians, then having another session with the Chiefs of Mission, then going on to Israel. Fairly early on, we will be then going to Beirut in line with our first priority to work out the Lebanese situation. As it becomes necessary, trips may have take place to Syria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan. As this take place, it will be important for all of the Chiefs of Mission to keep the Secretary posted on what is



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onward itinerary will depend upon what there is to talk about and how much time is available. Fahd and King Hussein have both agreed that the US should give priority to the Lebanon negotiati and that the Socretary would be welcome in their countriestics are waiting to see what happens. We don't know what Damascus is thinking.

On timing, the Secretary must go to the OECD meetings on May 8 and 9. While he does not wish to place any artifical constant on this process, it is relatively importated that he go to Paris because that meeting will be preparation for the Williamsburg economic summit and for the NATO meetings.

The Skcretary mentioned his recent interview with Meg Gree field of the Washington Post and recommended that everyone take a look at it for a good general idea of the present US view of the ME situation.

In many conclusion, the Secretary and said that President REagan is very determined, very current on latest developments, and absolutely will not fall off of his position one way or the other. This does not mean that the President is inflexible, but that his Initiative represents a considered judgment of what is necessary to get a negotiation going. The President is not going to give up or lose heart. He will push on with determination.



AMBASSADOR PAGANELLI referred to the possibility of the Secretary visiting Damascus, emphasizing that Syria, together with Israele and Lebanon, serves as "the tirde leg of the triangle," and thus is crucial to the ongoing process. He expressed the view that it is in our interest to informate the Syrian Government of the Secretary's interest in visiting Damascus, so as to explore the possibility of securing an agreement-in-principle for such a visit.

is important and that there are tactical issues involved:
how would discussion of a Syrian trip interplay with
the Israeli-Lebanese negotiations? Would this inject undule
Syrian influence into the talks, so that they could say that
unless so-and-so is acceptable, there would be no (Syrian)
withdrawal. Another question that arises is that of the growing
Soviet presence inside Syria, and what is this doing to the
Syrian position?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY VELICIES, referring to what Ambassador Paganelli had told the Syrian Government about the Secretary's travels in the region, said that Paganelli had carried out his instuctions exactly. He said that from a tactical point of view, it would be best if the Syrians asked if the Secretary would like to come to Damascus.

is that the Syrians won't ask. If you ask, they will agree.

But If the Secretary goes to Saudi Arabia-and/or Jordan, he must





also go to Syria.

THE SECRETARY jested that in foresting to a possible Demonstrate perhaps Phil was raising an incentive not to reach an Israeli-Lebanese agreement.

AMBASSADOR LEWIS said that the Secretary can expect to be asked by the Israelis if he planned to go to Damascus. The Israelis are uncomfortable with the fact that the secretary can expect to be asked by the Israelis if he planned to go to Damascus. The Israelis are uncomfortable with the fact that the secretary can expect to be asked by the Israelis if he planned to go to Damascus.

AMBASSADOR MURPHY said that the Saudis would also be likely to encourage the Secretary to visit Syria, said that the Saudi Arabia.

THE SECRETARY mentioned that perhaps he could visit Jubail and see how it was coming along.

AMBASSADOR PAGANELLI asked whether the Secretary would agree in principle to making a visit to Damascus, or would he agree that the Ambassador should ask the Syrian government for their reaction to such a suggestion.

THE SECRETARY responded that he would prefer to return to that question at a later point.

ASSISTANT SECREATRY VELICITES suggested that Ambassado:
Newlin and Cutler speak about Algerian and Tunisian perceptions
at this time, and when they see themselves involved.

AMBASSADOR NEWLIN SAID THAT with respect to Lebanon, the Algerian government has taken the position that it supports



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an independent Lebanese government that has sovereignty over all its territory, will support any deal that the Lebanese government supports. Benjedid has sent his adviser to the Saudis, to King Hussein, and to the Symans. The Algerians realize that the situation is very defficult, and they are prepared to play a role behind the sceness to the extent possible. They have no hang-ups about Amin Gemayel as the head of the Lebanese government. As they told Eagleburger, they agree totally with US objectives in Lebanon. As for the peace process, it is difficult to know exactly what they are up to. They appear to be trying to nudge Arafat into finding a way to give King Hussein the green light. There are also some signs that the Algerians want us to amend the September initiative.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY VELICITES seid that suggested that Bill Kirby could draft up some talking points on Lebanon and the peace process for all the Ambassadors to use on their host governments.

AMBASSADOR LEWIS asked what would happen if the IsraeliLebanese negotiations came out without a resolution that was
clear cut: would this reinforce the standard Arab approach:to
resort to the lowest common denominator for a unified position?
Would there be another Arab League meeting with adopting unhelpful
positions so that Lebanon would be unable to move?

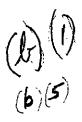
AMBASSADOR HABIB SXID That Amin Gemayel believes that if he can come up with an agreement that is consistent with maintaini



an internal Lebanese consensus, under those circumstances his biggest concern would be the Syrians, and what their reaction would be. As for the process, Gemayel needs the support of the Lebanese cabinet, which means the Muslim element in it. Assuming that, the Parliament would be the next stage. At the process, Gemayel believes that with fairly good internal support, he can tell the Arabs "This is what we are going to do." Gemayel would not go for anything having to do with the Arab League.

AMBASSADOR DILLON said that Gemayel appears to be concerned that his negotiaters may have gone too far already in terms of what domestic Lebanese politics will bear.

AMBASSADOR HABIB said that Gemayel is also worried about his internal consensus, and that he do something to demonstrate his awareness of its necessity.





ASSISTANT SECRETARY VELIOTES said that any Lebanese-Israeli agreement would promptly enter into the public domain, and he asked what would be the schedule for parliamentary action on this?

AMBASSADOR DILLON said that on May 15, the government's 6-months grant of emergency powers would lapse and parliamentary rule would resume.

AMBASSADOR HABIB said that Amin Gemayel had told him that he would forward to Parliament any agreement within a period of ten days from signing.

AMBASSADOR DILLON said that when any agreement becomes public knowledge, it is likely that political pressures of various sorts would come into play.

AMBASSADOR CUTLER said that as far as the Tunisians are concerned, the Lebanon negotiations—both of themselves and as they relate to the lagger peace proces—are an earnest of US intentions vis-a-vis the Middle East, and also are a test of





whether the US will show that it is serious about Israel.

In the event of a Lebanese-Israeli agreement, it will be important to see what kind of reaction there will be from Syria and from the PLO. If there are Syrian reservations, backed up by these from the PLO, this will mean trouble for the moderate Arabs and another split in the Arab ranks.

Tunisians do not want this to happen. So, Syria is key.

AMBASSADOR PAGANELLI said that this underscores the fact of the role of Syria as bell-wether.

AMBASSADOR HABIB said that we should not overlook that Syria could be opposed to any agreement whatsoever. It may choose to oppose and agreement. The question is: is the Syrian position that there is a line that they will accept and another they will reject, or is it the case that they will not accept anything?

AMBASSADOR LEWIS asked if we are being realistic in the discussion. Are there any Arab that will help push Syria if it is recalcitrant? The Saudis? The Algerians?

AMBASSADOR NEWLIN said that the pushing and working has to take place before an agreement is made public.

AMBASSADOR VELIETES referred to an earlier statement by Ambassador Newlin and wondered whether the Algerians would be prepared to say publicly that they will support an agreement that the Lebanese government accepts.

AMBASSADOR VIETS said that the test for the validity of any agreement will begin when movement statts between Jerusalem in the Arab world and Beirut. If the perception is that Lebanon has been pressured





harder than Israel, then it will not make much difference what Gemayel and the Lebanese Parliament do.

THE SECRETARY asked Ambassador Newlin if the Algerian issues people know what are the bears of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement

AMBASSADOR NEWLIN responded affirmatively, saying that the (Algerian) Secretary-General could give an exposition of the negotiations similar in most respects to that given earlier this morning by Ambassador Habib.

AMBASSDOR PAGANELLI said that at this point, we can

only guess where the Syrians are seize vis-a-vis an agreement since there hasn't been any discussion with them for six months. The position as spelled out to the Europeans and others who talk with them is that Syria will accept nothing that derogartes Lebanese sovereignty or poses a threat to Syrian security. Theoretically, there are a lot of things that could fit th two critical: joint patrols, Haddad's role, open borders, aerial surveillance, reconnaissance, etc. If we go to the Syraans with a package that incorporates a Lebanese tilt, then it will be up to the Syrians to decide how much they really want to get Israel out of Lebanon. As for the question of Soviet influence in Lebanon, that is something we don; t know very much The Soviets gave them the material support they needed, and there has been and to some extent continues to be a lot of hot rhetoric that has tended to re-build Syrian confidence that was battered last fall. But, after all, Gromyko too has said that all foreign forces should get out of Lebanon. At any rate, the Ambassador said, he does not believe that Assad is

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or is likely to become beholden to the Soviets to the extent that they can control his policies.

THE SECRETARY asked the Syrians consult the Saudis about withdrawal from Lebanon, would be seeking payment for this?

AMBASSADOR PAGANELLI responded that the pattern exists, it has been done before.

THE SECRETARY commented that that is why Khaddam is in Saudi Arabia today.

AMBASSADOR MURPHY replied that perhaps it hasn't reached that point yet, but it may be building up to it.

AMBASSADOR ATHERTON said that in Egypt, the perception is that obtaining a Syrian withdrawal will be more difficult that an Israeli one. One of the notions current here is that Israel is in no particular hurry to withdraw from Lebanon; without granting the idea, perhaps there is similar reasoning with respect to the Syrians.

AMBASSADOR LEWIS said that if Syria blocks an agreement and Israel stays in Lebanon, then US-Israeli relations will stage and this may work to the advantage of the Syrians. Antipher thing perhaps working in the Syrians' favor bee was the removal of Sharon from the Defence Ministry.

AMBASSADOR PAGANELLI replied that the Israeli presence in Lebanon is awfully close and not something to be ignored, regardless of who is Israeli Defence Minister.



assistant SECRETARY VELIOTES asked Ambassador Lewis to repeat his earlier comments on how Israelis see the situation in Lebanon.

AMBASSADOR LEWIS responded by saying that Israeli society is sick of the war and Israeli presence in Lebanon. army, which is built on reserves, is perforce doing continual rotations to boost morale. There are storels everywhere to the effect that Lebanon is a losing game and the boys should People believe they shouldn't have taken the Phalang. seriously in the first place. At the same time, the Israeli military believe that the Lebanese army is untested, unreliable; and therefore, they need Haddad and his boys plus Israeli advice Protecting Israel's northern towns against shelling has become a political desideration for the Begin government. Begin will tell the Secretary that he realizes that there is no such thing as a 100% quarantee, but he will want maximum assurances before withdrawing. Another thing is that Israelis generally believe that within a short time the PLO will come back: within weeks or months of withdrawal there would be small unit operations against Israel from south Le $\frac{b}{\lambda}$ anon. Therefore, thefe must be an Israeli role in the region. In the event that the Secretary's visit and Habib's efforts fail, the Israelis are likely to withdr to the Awali river line, which will the Vietnam syndrome. And so the Cabinet is doing a lot of soul-searching at present.

AMBASSADOR DILLON said that if anything is clear, it is that the Lebanese do not want the PLO back doing what it did.



Another point is that we need to be careful who we call the PLO: in south Lebanon, there are a lot of people operating—some local people, some Shias, some Palestinians, some Druze—and we should not lump them together as PLO. As for the Lebanese army, it won't be strong enough for years to fight the Syrians or the Israelis, it can undertake details to fight militias and guerillas and what have you.

army has such capability now. The Israelis really want to

do the job themselves. When they say Haddad, they don't mean

Haddad or Haddad and his 1500 ragamuffins. They mean Israeli

leadership and Israeli patrols on top of that. They reason

that Lebanese inability to do the job equals the necessity

for Israel to do it. They sopen to question. Amin Gemayel

says that the Lebanese are in a better position that the Israelis

to play this role—because they will get the cooperation which

is needed to do it.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY VELICITES said that if we don't succeed, perhaps we can have another change in six months as far as Israel is concerned. Is this realistic for Lebanon? Could the Lebanese hang together, consolidate their authority around Beirut or north of the Awali?

AMBASSADOR HABIB responded that first we have to describe the situation accurately. If there is no agreement, the Israelis will withdraw to the Awali and the Syrians stay in the Bekaa. This will not guarantee that the Israelis will be safe from attack,



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There will be organized resistance, some of it organized wodule probables by the Syrians, the PLO will come back, there will be renewed fighting between the various groups, the Lebanese government will erode away at Amin Gemayel successful in second pulling together a unified Lebanon.

AMBASSADOR DILLON said that one reason Gemay has wide, if thin support is the perception that he is a clever fellow who has garnered US support, including from President Parada.

Reagan and the Secretary Delay, failure, the US leaning on Lebanon and not on Israel—these will destroy a lot of that attraction. On the other hand, a little success could strengthen Gemayel's position and support his efforts for a unified Lebar

AMBASSAODR HABIB said strongly that what the US cannot do is support any kind of solution that means partition. The US should resist that with # all the means at its disposal.

THE SECRETARY said that what is means that we have a one-time set of factors, and if it doesn't work, there may not be a government of Lebanon to work with. If the deal falls through, it won't be possible to put it back together and the variables will be change beyond control.

AMBASSAODR HABIB added that if there is no resolution, the Syrians will begin supporting guerilla activities.

AMBASSACIR DILLON said that the traditional reasons for the success of the Israeli Derfence Forces will not work in southern Lebanon: southern consolidation for Israeli forces will not solve theri problem.



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THE SECRETARY said that we should get a statement together for our Ambassadors to communicate to their governments let them know what the situation is. This will be the groundwor for subsequent reports and can be used to win their support for an agreement when it is reached.

THE SECRETARY then asked for reactions to the Jordanina announcement re their non-participation in negotiations and Palestinian reaction to the Hassein/Arafat failure to agree.

CONSUL-GENERAL GROVE said to take after the September 1 initiative, there was a rising curve of Palestinian expectations and a general welcoming of the possibility of a Jordanian role. West Bankers in general hoped that King Hussein would come into negotiations and that with PLO approval, probably overt, it would be possible for them to get in as well. Thus, King Hussein's announcement caused widespread disappointment. Since then, two schools of though t seem to have been developing. majority, despite their disappointment, do not belive that the initiative is dead and have not given up hope that the King may yet come in. The newer line of thinking, however, is that maybe the moment was not ripe: King Hussein would have negohahmu; said he s In, but the Israelis would have stood him up; and even if they did not, the US would not have exerted its influence sufficiently to advance their interest, In this light, King Hown, Mr. Erre wat. Hussein was saved from a mistake at the last moment. This is not to say that all is lost. The West Bankers are watching the US like 🖚 hawks, and view us as the only actor with possible



influence.



AMBASSADOR FAIRBANKS asked whether this meant that the Palestinians were not raising their vocies to ask the PLO to change its position.

CONSUL-GENERAL GROVE replied that they were doing so behind the scense, but it is becoming progressively harder to do

ASSISTANT SECRETARY VELIOTES observed that it may be getting to the point that we have to wonder if there really is a peace process. Is it relevant to ask if a Lebanese agreement can give any impetus to the peace process? What is King Hussein thinking and doing?

AMBASSADOR VIETS replied that the failure of the Secretary visit would mean the end of the game.

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AMBASSADOR CUTLER said that the Tunisians' thesis runs that Arafat has to get tough on the PLO radicals, and in order to do so he needs some help, some gesture from the US.

AMBASSADOR VIETS said that whereas King Hussein used to take the view that the US long ago should have made its opening to the PLO, his current view is that to do so under present circumstances would be to court an endless series of demands from the PLO.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY VELICIES referred to a question that the Algerians had relayed to the US through the Saudis (and which subsequently proved to have come from the PLO), namely, would the US accept a statement to the effect that "The future of the residents of the West Bank and Gaza will not be imposed upon them." The interesting thing is that Saudi Prince Bandar (who relayed the message) that mad no mention of the PLO. Speaking to Ambassador Murphy, Assistnat Secretary Velictes

asked whether he could add anything on this matter.

AMBASSADOR MURPHY said that when Saudi oreign Minister....
Saud saw the reply to the question, he acted as if he had
never seen a text of the Camp David accords. He had
read the response most carefully.

THE SECRETARY observed that it seems that people don't read that they don't like. Another example was how few people in the Israelli government had read the text of president Reagan

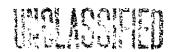
[winder]

AMBASSADOR HABIB said that it is clear that the Arabs remain concerned about "what the US will do on the Palestini question." They are all looking to the US to solve the Lebanese and Palestinian questions. If the negotiating process does not appear to be resolveing those issues, there will be a trend toward radicalism in the region.

CONSUL-GENERAL GROVE said that more than radicalism, the region will face renewed Soviet mammentum and activity. Thus, we cannot not have a peace process.

MR. TEICHER, referring to the Palestinian/PLO and Syrian/Soviet connections—and specifically to current Syrian strength and PLO weakness, asked what are the prospects for any real change by the PLO or Arafat in their positions.

AMBASSADOR PAGANELLI SAID THAT as far as the PLO is concerned, Arafat is liable to continue to hold back unless there is a quid prop quo such as participation in negotiations. For any President Carter had advised Assad to restrain Syria's



Palestinian friends so as to let Arafat and company have a go. Assad's response: that's all bunk, Israel does not want peace, it is an expansionist power, this initiative is false and we will not support it.

Referring to the Secretary's earlier remark, AMBASSADOR PAGANELLI said that Arab perceptions have indeed changed, and they believe that since September 1 they have stepped forward with more flexible positions only to find that the US has done nothing and that Israel has totally resisted.

THE SECRETARY said that that is our position. At this point, it is exactly what we want--not movement by the US, not in either direction.

AMBASSADOR PAGANELLI said that the perception is that the US states its principles, but does nothing to back them up. Settlement policy is a good example.

THE SECRETARY said that it is the only example. As for Lebanon, we're struggling with that.

AMBASSADOR LEWIS said that the situation may be that the Syrians and Soviets are determined to block the Ryagan initiative. Add to that Arafat's weakness. In all frankness, it is very difficult to say that the peace process is going anywhere. If we assume that King Hussein got to the negotiating table—with Begin as Prime Minister, it would never be possible to negotiate final status agreement. That's what Camp David is all about. We all thought that after five years, Begin would no longer be in power.

AMBASSADOR ATHERTON said that Begin himself had said the



same thing himself to Secretary Vance at the time.

AMBASSADOR LEWIS said that we may be kidding ourselves if we think that askeone is going to do the thing to help Arafat help Hussein get into the peace process.

AMBASSADOR HABIB said that that was his very point this morning in asking whether the peace process is viable. The funny thing is that everyone wanted to say it is, but their reasons all manual in the other direction.

AMBASSADOR VIETS said that he had just spent five minutes explaining with it is possible to have a peace process.

AMBASSADOR ATHERTON SXID that Egypt too believes that the process is still alive, although are beginning to get anxious about it. He asked whether it is possible to split the PLO. Palestinians are needed to participate in the process, the Syrians have no incentive to let their Palestinians get in, but are there any others to split away. Perhaps US policy over the last five years or so has worked to drive the PLO together, instead of working to further inherent splitting tendencies in the organization.

AMBASSADOR HABIB said that the only Palestinians are those who have the name PLO or Arafat. No one is willing to refute the Rabat Conference decision.





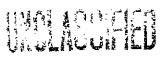
AMBASSADOR VIETS said that it would be interesting to speculate what would have happened if--when King Hussein arrived in Washington last December, saying that he was ready to negotiate with Israel giving peace in exchange for withdrawl from the West Bank--the reply had been different. What would Israel have done?

AMBASSADOR LEWIS said that he had only heard about this offer by Hussein earlier in the day. As he understood it, for what have been encount by him saying Hussein's position had been that he could not join Camp David, but he was prepared to go beyond Camp David. The impact of such a statement upon Israel would, over time, have been volcanic. It would have caused an extraordinary upheaval in Israel.

AMBASSADOR VELIOTES said that the had been relayed to Foreign Minister Shamir in New York. He had responded only that Israel would want to ensure that Camp David wantable would be followed.

AMBASSADOR NEWLIN said that as far as the Arabs are concerned, the Fes resolution means peace.

THE SECRETARY Asked whether King Husseins comments meant



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ASSISTANT SECRETARY VELIOTES wondered if King Hussein 3931 mmight come round to the same position if an agreement could be reached in Lebanon.

AMBASSADOR VIEWTS said that Hussein, more than anyone else in the Arab world, wants and needs peace with Israel.

AMBASSADOR HABIB said that the next time he makes an offer, then, don't turn him down.

THE SECRETARY said that we did not turn him down.

Chat it would be better

We advised him to negotiate transition arrangements first, and thereby be far ahead of the game. He eventually agreed with this position.

AMBASSADOR HABIB asked what would have happened if we had said that to Sadat when he was ready to negotiate.

AMSSISTANT SECRETARY VELIOTES said that if King Hussein was willing to go to Jerusalem, he would be very glad to take the King's offer at value.

AMBASSADOR ATHERTON said that it should be remembered that the reason we came up with Camp David was that there was no way to get Israel to talk about final status.

AMBASSADOR LEWIS said that it makes a big difference is the goal is to get negotiations started or if the aim is to leap over the (Begin) government to the Israeli people and to negotiate beyond Camp David.



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AMBASSADOR MURPHY said that if King Hussein did not ask for moderate Arab government support, he may not have been serious.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY said that a lot of time had been spent talking about guarantees.

AMBASSADOR VIETS said that that was not in the context Hussein's of his original offer.

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AMBASSADOR LEWIS wondered whether there might be another change after a Lebanese settlement. Could we go back to King Hussein and try again?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY VELIOTES said that it depends on the circumstances.

AMBASSADOR LEWIS said that for Israel, peace is the goal For the Arabs, it's territory.

AMBASSADOR HABIB said that Israel loves peace as long as they can keep all the territory they've got. The Begin government wants to keep the territoy.

AMBASSADOR FAIRBANKS said that some indicate don't want only to get back the territory.

SARAJSADOR LEWIS said fort Ismel had would proce before it held en territories.

And speaking of territory, if the Maronite government in Lebanon gets control of its territory, there is likely to follow a new

AMBASSADOR DILLON said that some Arabs want justice.

wave of Palestinian refugees to somewhere.

CONSUL-GENERAL GROVE said that he was not aware of a single West Banker for whom Camp David represented a viable process or vehicle. This pulses sandly ive The US passe.

THE SECRETARY said that in his experience, people usually don't read things they don't like. Many top Israeli leaders had not read the President's September 1 speech. And many West Bankers had not read the Camp David accords.

AMBASSADOR HABIB said that the Arabs had carefully read the President's Initiave, and are no doubt asking if they are really certain it is dead or not. They may also be having second thoughts about Hussein and his approach to getting into th negotiations.

AMBASSADOR VIETS said that from the Arab perspective, the one way to begin a reflyew of the REagan initiative and for it to attract support is for the US to be seen as getting its relationship with Israel under control.

AMBASSADOR HABIB said that Lebanon agreement would be a good indication.

AMBASSADOR MURPHY SAID THAT is the only thing we can do. We have already shown that it is impossible to deal with Israel and with the Palestinian question, Lebanon is all that is left.



AMBASSADOR ATHERTON said that we can try to split the PLO, by talking to some members of Fatah, for example--but not in their capacity as members of the PLO.

MR TEICHER said that we had Walid Khalidi in the situation room; and Qawasmeh and Milhem came and talked to the Secretary, but they couldn't do anything except report back to the PLO and ARafat.

AMBASSADOR ATHERTONs We can talk to some of these individuals without recognizing the PLO. Kissinger recently confirmed during a Cairo trip that the US commitment (to Israel re the PLO) always was meant to reserve the right to have contact In fact, there were technical dealings with the PLO in Lebanon.

AMBASSADOR HABIB said that what is necessary is to keep working on the process which already has validity.

AMBASSADOR LEWIS said that any move by the US re the The would also take years to develop develop consequence. The Ambrid PLO would scare off the Begin government. The Ambrid He also that Arafat had told Hussein that there would be voting at the Algiers PNC, but it did not happen that way. Arafat wants to be the head of a movement, not the head of a rump group.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY VELIOTES said that he was not discarding the possibility that Arafat (deliberately) had himself outflanked on the talks with Hussein--because he did not want to accept the results.



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In summation

THE SECRETARY said that he did not know what to take from all the preceding except that everyone was feeling defeated. Getting more stability should be important to Saudi Arabia: Syria may not care; it should be important to Jordan.

A lot of Palestinians live in the West Bank and Gaza, in Lebanon, in Jordan, in Syria. Their plight is pretty miserable, they have no prospects. This seems worthy of drawing to the attention of people, including the Israelis for the Valertinian cilcuma perhaps. A good part of the reason is the PLO. Maybe some people are having second thoughts about Saudi Arabia ey are counselling a policy of freezing out the PLO--are they doing it themselves? In our own have been bying the difficulties public statements, we caused by the PLO, that they are not helping the Palestinian people.

But as for our meeting, I don't sense any direction coming out of our discussions, there's disagreement.

AMBASSADOR HABIB said that there is general agreement that we ought to focus on Lebanon.

THE SECRETARY said that as for the peace process, the general feeling seems to be "bolder, not milder." In our discussion with King Hussein about the Camp David process, we told him that if you want to talk about the full peace issues, it is useful to change the environment first by getting a quick agreement on transition arrangements. This will set Assistant Secretary Velicities Said that as a group we are spherical by make



up a different structure in the area, then it would be possible to proceed with full peace process discussions. I think this was good advice, and I won't second guess it at this time.

The US has proposals on the table which represent progress for the Palestinians, and til we see process something better we should stick with what we have. Tomorrow, perhaps we can focus on what we want to tell the governments about Lebanon and the peace process. We shall also talk and to Imp. Transic

AMBASSADOR HABIB said that in his opinion, if there is to be an agreement on Lebanon, it will be necessary for the US to tilt to Lebanon on the big issues. There are also dozens of little issues, all of which could cause unforesten difficulties. The package of all these little details is what has to be accomplished. It will not be easy, and success is not assured.

THE SECRETARY said that we have to push hard to get to recomplished in the period of time that we have. If that is not done, the word for it is "US failure." And the consequences for US and others are unpleasant. So, we have to work on our general principles and the details. Let's not be defeated before we get started.

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BANESE CONCEPT OF SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS
IN SOUTHERN LEBANON

. THE SETTING

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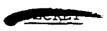
II. SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS IN THE SECURITY REGION

Lebanon's commitment to the security of Israel is demonstrated by:

--Agreement to a Security Region that encompasses over onethird of Lebanese territory where extraordinary security measures and reasonable equipment limitations in the two Lebanese army brigades will be applied.

--The Lebanese Armed Forces will establish special security measures to prevent the infiltration of hostile forces in Lebanon into the Security Region, by coordinating the efforts of forces both in and on the border of the Security Region to prevent these acts.

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--Methods include rapid, practical and direct communications links between respective Lebanese and Israeli military commanders in the border region and Tannous will make this happen.

--Lebanon has established a Territorial Brigade under its command structure operating from the Israeli-Lebanese border to the Zahrani River. The core of the brigade will be Haddad's forces in which functional and capable combat units will be integrated intact. Tannous has even provided Israel with the names of commanders and officers designated for this brigade. This, coupled with the integration of the existing Civil Guard into an ANSAR organization and subordination of the police and the ISF to this brigade should ensure that the security situation as you know it now will not only remain intact, but will be enhanced. There will be more forces totally dedicated to the security of Israel than you have now.

- --A review of all security measures and procedures after the first three months, but this will be an ongoing effort.
- --An Israeli-Lebanese Security Arrangements Committee to oversee security arrangements.
- --Up to eight Joint Supervisory Teams operating daily to verify violations but with permission to observe Lebanese techniques in this regard. A carte blanche to the Committee to determine areas, composition and equipment for the teams.
- --Full cooperation with Israeli covert and overt intelligence collection activities in the Security Region.
- -- Lebanese acquiescence on Israeli aerial surveillance.
- --Contact between commanders in border area with Committee approval and direct contacts between GOI/GOL representatives through Joint Teams, and the Committee's office.
- -- Two Joint Supervisory Centers in the Security Region.
- --Joint Command Post Exercises (with forces on their own side of the border) to determine procedures to respond to potential urgent hostile threats along the border.
- --Lebanese commitment to act quickly and effectively in response to unauthorized activities, including reaction to Israeli intelligence alerts. (The U.S. training is designed to emphasize this capability.)
- --Use of UNIFIL to quiet the inhabitants of Palestinian refugee camps.
- --Full consultation with the Security Arrangements Committee on any changes to the Territorial Brigade.

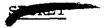


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The sum total of these arrangements is that one-third of Lebanon plus one regular LAF brigade and the dedicated Territorial Brigade, civil guard, ISF and police, with strong popular support will be dedicated to the security of Israel. The above security arrangements constitute a reasonable balance between Lebanese sovereignty and the real security requirements of Israel. Taken as a total concept, they provide an attainable and visible security structure and a means for closer cooperation between the IDF and the LAF. The proof of the effectiveness of the total system in the Security Region will be the willingness of the IDF to allow the Lebanese to grow within the system and as a result achieve a viable military structure which, based upon popular support, will benefit both sides. A short term view of restriction and of supervision will not build the relationships you want. But a long term view of confidence in the Lebanese army and its leaders, coupled with the coordination and contact outlined above, will provide the incentive for a closer relationship between your countries.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INFORMATION MEMORANDUM

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January 19, 1983

TO

The Secretary

The Deputy Secretary (17)

FROM

NEA - David T. Schneider, Acting

SUBJECT

Habib Readout on his January 19 Talks with

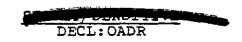
the Israelis

Phil Habib called at midday on January 19 to report on the state of play in the wake of his talks with the Israelis today. He continues to see a real uphill battle ahead. has drafted a cable which soon should be in the Department.

The Israelis have stood fast today. Their present demands would cause a fundamental break between Lebanon and the Arab League. At this point it is difficult to see where we will be a week from now, Phil said. To date, it has not been possible to convince Israel to accept our draft over the Israeli draft. Nevertheless, Phil and Sam Lewis feel very strongly that he should be allowed to have the next few days to do what he can

Phil believes he should complete discussions with the Israelis, including a meeting tomorrow with Shamir and one with Sharon, as well as meeting on Friday with Begin. He then anticipates the need to go to Lebanon to talk with Gemayel. With Gemayel's reaction in hand, Phil would make a quick trip to Riyadh to see King Fahd in an effort to maintain the support of the moderate Arabs. He also foresees spending several hours in Cairo with Mubarak, as Roy Atherton has urged him to do. that point he would return to Jerusalem to see what could be achieved in the wake of his discussions in Lebanon and elsewhere.

If Phil then does not get enough to take back to Gemayeland pursue, he would plan to return immediately to Washington 25 to meet with the President and the Secretary, as well as to $\hat{\mathbf{b}}_{\mathbf{c}}^{\mathbf{b}_{\mathbf{c}}}$ present at the time of the Mubarak visit. He would plan to 🖁 🕏 arrive on Tuesday, January 25.



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Phil feels confident he now knows what the Israelis want and intends to turn up the pressure considerably when he sees Shamir tomorrow and Begin on Friday.

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we need to be perceived in Jerusalem as having gone the extra mile. In that regard, it is important that Phil be permitted to finish the present sequence.

We are working on instructions to Phil to go out overnight but will hold up sending them forward until we have been able to digest the cable he has enroute.

Drafted:NEA/IAI:MSPendleton/gp // 1/19/83 x23672 Wang #3447B

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

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April 11, 1983

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Habib/Lewis-Veliotes Telecon, April 11, 1983

Ambasadors Habib and Lewis called Assistant Secretary
Veliotes secure on the morning of April 11, in particular to
report on Lewis' meetings earlier in the day with Prime
Minister Begin and Defense Minister Arens. The peace process
was not the item most on their minds. Lewis said the thing
that has struck him most was that the combination of the
President's statement on F-16s and the press spokesman's
__mments on settlements last Friday has produced a great deal
of anger and annoyance in Israel. This anger is being
suppressed, although it overflowed in Sunday's Cabinet meeting
where Arens, Shamir and Sharon all were vehement about standing
firm against U.S. pressure. Lewis expects the reaction to be
psychological rigidity that will complicate the Lebanon
negotiations.

Lewis' meeting with Begin:

Lewis spent an hour and a half with Begin this morning. He described the conversation as a good one, both quiet and frank. Lewis used the guidance he received yesterday in the Sierra cable and gave a "good but careful" reading on how we got where we are on the peace process. Lewis stressed the President's determination to persevere and said we remain convinced that Jordan is the only viable partner for Israel in the process.

Begin was skeptical about the peace process but continues to say that he would like to see Hussein enter within the Camp David framework. Begin clearly manifested distaste about what he considered to be the wooing of Arafat by the U.S. Lewis said that he noted no great sense of celebration about yesterday's events. What appears to be most on Begin's mind is the overall continued bad state of the U.S.-Israel bilateral relationship. Lewis drew on the Sierra cable to discuss F-16s, what the President's statement means and what it does not. In Lewis' view, this helped somewhat. He is not certain that Begin himself had the story straight prior to this conversation.

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Begin asked about possible plans by the Secretary's to visit the Middle East. Lewis told Begin that the President is interested in having the Secretary visit the region at an appropriate time, but no final decision has been made and no dates have been set.

When Begin returned to the nature of the U.S.-Israeli relationship, Lewis stressed that we would continue to face problems until an agreement on Lebanon is hammered out. Begin suggested that the recent Lebanese proposals that Haddad become Deputy Brigade Commander responsible for G-2 had been rejected by Arens.

Lewis describes Begin in a serene but deeply concerned mood. He was not strident and is clearly attempting to figure out what to do about the relationship with the U.S. (4)(4)

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On Lebanon, Begin would welcome new ideas we

Lewis' meeting with Arens:

Lewis also spent an hour and a half with Arens reviewing a series of bilateral issues. Much of the conversation reflected Arens' acute but controlled anger regarding the F-16 statement and its implication on the LAVI aircraft issue.

Arens is still pressing hard for answers on the technical -- rather than the financial -- aspects of the LAVI program.

With regard to the peace process, Lewis notes that Arens' view of the Reagan initiative has not changed; even if Hussein joined, there is no prospect that anything useful would come out of the negotiations.



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Habib's Plans:

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Habib and Draper will be meeting with Kimche and others later today to review the bidding on Lebanon. Habib will meet with Arens and Shamir on Tuesday, and a meeting with Tiline Minister Begin is scheduled for 8:30 a.m. Jerusalen time on the Wednesday. Phil tentatively plans to leave for Bell tentality Wednesday afternoon or Thursday morning. He hopes that if we have suggestions for him on the negotiations, they have suggestions for him on the negotiations, they have transmitted to him Tuesday night prior to his meeting with Begin on Wednesday morning. Barring further guidaloc, he will plan to persevere along the track we have been following.

With regard to the proposals on assurances to Israel that Eli Rubinstein had floated last Thursday, Habib said ut was hi tentative belief that we should be prepared to give the Israelis a letter indicating our willingness to do our best regarding implementation of the final agreement. He promised Veliotes that he and Sam Lewis would send in a preliminary draft within the next 24 hours. With regard to the apposal that Haddad become Deputy Brigade Commander for G-2, hubib sat that Draper has been told that this proposal is being modified. It apparently was not an approved Lebansse position. Lewis observed that the Israeli Cabinet and not formally decided about the proposal, although the luna came in for a good deal of ridicule at the Sunday Cabinet session. To upshot is that it is still on the table, but that the Israeli reaction has been quite negative. Draper is telling the Lebanese not to see the proposal as rejected as of year.

cc: NEA:Amb. Veliotes NEA:RPelletreau WAKirby DMack S/S:CHill

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Drafted:NEA/IAI:MSPendleton/gp X23672 4/11/83 #4396B



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THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

Unit ASSITILL

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au July

July 2, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

From:

Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., Acting Secretary

Subject:

Habib Mission: An International Force

for Beirut

Phil Habib's negotiations are now at the point where specific decisions are required. The PLO generally accepts that its headquarters, leadership, and the bulk of its fighters (estimated between 3,000 and 5,000) must leave Beirut and Lebanon. They are also aware that time is of the esserce.

Phil stresses that he has not yet achieved a breakthrough. But, he emphasizes, he must now have the answers to two specific questions before a breakthrough will be possiblesory

- 1. Where will the PLO go when they leave Beirut?
- 2. Can an international force be put into Beirut?

On the first question, we have examined all possibili- 5 ties: none are fully desirable. Despite a number of draw- backs Egypt seems to be the best choice. It is large enough, or strong enough, and moderate enough to handle the problem.

Related to this, and even more urgent, is the Lebanese insistence that an international force be put into Beirut. The Lebanese are not confident in their own capability to handle a situation in which the PLO would give up their heavy weapons at specified locations, go through a departure processing (probably with Red Cross involvement), and board ships at Beirut port. Symbolically and psychologically, the Lebanese require an international presence to bolster their morale as





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they reestablish control over their capital. They want a force of from 1,500 to 2,000 for a limited period (up to thirty days) to monitor the laying down of arms, process the PLO into ships, and facilitate the establishment of authority in Beirut by the Lebanese army. They want France and the U.S. to provide the force. They do not want it to be under UN auspices.

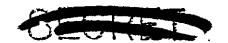
The French have given their agreement in principle (Cheysson to Haig), providing that all parties want such a force and that the Lebanese government makes a specific request. At this point it appears that the Palestinians (who fear for their safety once they have laid down their heavy arms) would welcome such a force; they reportedly also would like a U.S. Navy escort for the ships taking them to their destination.

Thus we are seeking your decision--in principle--at this point, on whether the United States would join France in this international effort.

The Department of State is in favor of a U.S.-French International Force. Phil Habib believes that a positive response is needed as soon as possible; without it, the negotiations cannot proceed. Habib also believes that U.S. participation is essential to ease Lebanese fears. Even more significantly, U.S. participation is essential to get the Israelis to keep the ceasefire strictly, to refrain from assaulting West Beirut, and to accept the terms of the package deal. Without U.S. participation, Habib points out, the French are unlikely to go it alone; an attempt by us to set up a force without our own participation could take weeks and such a delay would kill any hope of agreement and put us back into the UN to face another veto situation. In sum, while a U.S. role cannot guarantee success, the absence of U.S. participation would doom it. In Habib's words, U.S. participation is "the clincher."

Beyond this, we believe that a U.S. role in helping the Palestinians emerge from this crisis with some semblance of dignity could gain us credit with the Arab world and bring benefits to the peace process, particularly if combined with an evolution of Palestinian thinking, under Egyptian tutelage, toward a moderate political stance.

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Although Habib says the danger to U.S. personnel will be minimal and the time of deployment limited, the War Powers Resolution requires us to file a report to Congress. Consultations would also be needed for a number of practical reasons—to explain the limited nature of the operation, and to explain that we would not be going into a situation involving imminent hostilities.

DOD can concur with the use of U.S. forces to help evacuate the PLO leadership and fighters from Beirut if no other alternative can be found. DOD is very concerned about the strong possibility of U.S. involvement in hostilities. Defense believes a number of alternative sources of troops should be urgently explored, e.g., Tunisia, Egypt, India, Indonesia, and Norway. If you approve in principle the use of U.S. forces, the following questions should be answered before U.S. forces are committed:

- A. Do all concerned forces in the conflict provide assurances of safety, e.g., Syria, IDF, Lebanese forces, PLO, PLA?
- B. Do Palestinians agree to hand in all armaments including small arms, side arms, grenades, etc? If not, specifically what is permitted? Disposition of these weapons?
- C. What is exact role of U.S. forces? For example, can they leave immediately after PLO are evacuated? Will we set a definite time limit?
- D. What are the rules of engagement for U.S. forces, and who shall command the international force?

Finally, if U.S. forces must be used as a result of a State determination that no other alternative is feasible, then Israel must be advised in the strongest terms (including hints we would withdraw support and hold up weapons deliveries) that further moves forward by them are absolutely unacceptable. We must be given sufficient time after an agreement is reached to organize and conduct an effective evacuation operation.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize State and DOD to proceed with plans aimed at providing a U.S. role in a temporary force to assist the Lebanese Government in maintaining peace in Beirut,

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recognizing that the implementation of such plans would necessarily be contingent upon successful completion of negotiations, any required statutory procedures for funding, and Congressional consultations. (DOD concurs with reservations as stated above.)

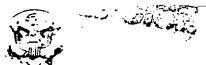
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Attachment:

Tab== U.S. Support for PLO Withdrawal from Beirut

cc:SecDef
Chairman JCS





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 30430

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STATUS OF LEBANON NEGOTIATIONS

Phil Habib and Morris Draper have completed a round of talks in Beirut, Damascus and Jerusalem. Prime Minister Begin was very negative about Phil's proposals for starting direct Lebanese-Israeli talks. He insists the negotiations be at ministerial level with alternate sessions in Jerusalem. Although Begin agreed to submit Phil's proposals to Sunday's cabinet meeting, the outlook is for continued stalemate.

In the course of wide-ranging discussions in Beirut, Phil found Lebanese leaders eager for discussions with Israel and ready for far-reaching compromises intended to satisfy Israel's interest in the security of its northern border. To get talks started, Gemayel would be willing to seek his government's approval for starting substantive negotiations on political and military matters with a delegation headed by a senior Lebanese civilian. The Lebanese feel unable to meet Israel's other procedural demands.

Phil also urged the Lebznese to accelerate their contacts with the PLO and Syria. Gemayel assured him that he would but stressed that it would greatly strengthen his hand if he could begin negotiations with Israel.

Phil's talks in Damascus were less encouraging. President Assad made himself unavailable, and Foreign Minister shaddam did not reveal any new positions. Khaddam confirmed Syrian readiness to begin negotiations with Lebanon on Syrian withdrawal, making clear that Syria would only leave after Israel.

During his meeting with Foreign Minister Shamir, Phil advanced a compromise calling for an initial Lebanese-Israeli meeting at the sub-ministerial political level which would proceed right away to substance. The venue of the negotiations would alternate between Israel and Lebanon but would be outside the two capitals. Subsequently, Defense Minister Sharon alleged we were preventing Gemayel from improving relations with Israel and asserted that Israel had created strategic opportunities for the U.S. which we were neglecting.





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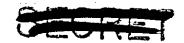
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THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON



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Junë 26, 1982

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

NEA $Z \setminus Z$ From:

I-2\2 Subject:

THE PRESIDENT

Alexander M. Haig,

Situation in Lebanon, June 26

We have been in touch with Phil Habib several times today. Sarkis has told him that the Lebanese government will hold together and that Wazzan, the Muslim Prime Minister, will come back into the government after a day or two more of cooling off. _

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Lebanese want to work with us next week on a proper resolution (that some third country would introduce) after they see what develops from the Arab League meeting in Tunis this weekeng.

So far today, the ceasefire around Beirut continues in effect. Sharon believes, however, that yesterday's shelling has brought the PLO almost to its knees; Sharon will certainly press tomorrow in the Cabinet for authority to resume shelling on Monday, when the "48 hours of quiet" the Israelis promised us runs out. There are other indications that Arafat may be confused, alarmed, and seeking a way out with safety. radio today said that they are studying our two points (PLO to hand over arms to Lebanese; PLO leaders depart Lebanon safely) and may respond soon. Phil believes their answer will be negative, but he recognizes as well that we should not pass up o this moment to press for a breakthrough.

Thus, at this point, we want to move on two tracks: (a) to press the Israelis to keep the ceasefire; and (b) use the current tension and fear of renewed Israeli shelling to presso the PLO to a decision.

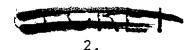
Therefore, Phil will go to Sarkis again to ask him urgenta v. to get the Lebanese to convey the sense that time is just about running out and that an Israeli move is imminent.

At the same time, however, it is important to weigh in with! Begin before the Israeli cabinet meeting Sunday morning. I have, therefore, called Arens to insist that Israel give us 24

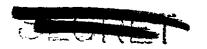


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more hours -- until Monday noon -- so that Phil can capitalize on the current state of apprehension in West Beirut to get the PLO to come to terms. In this regard, Phil will ask the Lebanese not only to convey a sense of urgency to the PLO, but also assure them that their safety will be guaranteed as they depart, and that ship passage from Beirut can be arranged for this purpose.



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D - Ambassador Stoessel

FROM:

NEA - Nicholas A. Veliotes

SUBJECT:

Situation on the Lebanon Crisis

Situation on the Ground

Our efforts to achieve a political solution continue to be hung up on our inability to achieve an effective and lasting cease-fire on either the Syrian or Beirut fronts.

On the Beirut front, the entire area of west Beirut has now been subjected to aerial bombardment and artillery shelling. Both the American University of Beirut and the American Community School are reported to have been hit. Israeli forces are positioned to undertake an assault on the city as early as June 26. The latest in a series of cease-fires was holding as of 2000 Washington time June 25.

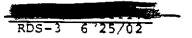
city as early as June 26. The latest in a series of cease-fires was holding as of 2000 Washington time June 25.

Although our main attention has been focussed on Beirut, April the Syrian front continues to hold the potential of wider war. The last 48 hours, the Israelis have engaged in major military operations against Syrian forces along the Beirut-Damascus road. The Syrians have now been forced back to within eight to nine kilometers of the pass into the Bekaa Valley. The Israeli objective is probably to take the pass and secure the ridge line from north to south overlooking the Bekaa?

Evacuation of Americans

We successfully completed the withdrawal of 597 people from Lebanon on June 24. Sixth fleet ships took off 250 American citizens, 171 green card holders and 211 Third Country nationals from the port of Juniyah without incident. The Chancery in west Beirut has been closed. Ambassador Dillon and the embassy staff are carrying out embassy functions, including support for Phil Habib, from the Ambassador's residence in Yarze.

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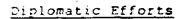
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Our present diplomatic efforts are focussed on two main objectives: getting a complete cease-fire on all fronts and getting the PLO to lay down its arms and put itself under the authority of the Government of Lebanon. Within the last 24 hours, we have taken the following staps:

-- prepared a Security Council resolution which would support the above two objectives for possible use in New York.

In addition to these actions, Phil Habib continues to work hard on the Lebanese to get from them a consensus on objectives and the decisions necessary to implement a takeover of west Beirut. Phil's efforts have been complicated by Israel's unremitting military action against Beirut and by the inability of the Lebanese to get their act together. His efforts in Beirut were complicated even further on June 25 when the Lebanese Prime Minister resigned, followed by further defections from the Cabinet and/or National Salvation Committee. Phil has deferred going to Israel believing that he must have solid proposals from the Lebanese and PLO to discuss with the Israelis if the Israeli military option is to be turned off.

International Reactions

International reaction against the Israeli invasion has been sharpening in intensity. The Saudis in particular, as well as the Egyptians, have taken an increasingly firm line, and King Fahd has written the President personally warning of serious complications for U.S.-Saudi relations if Israel attacks west Beirut. We also face an increasing divergency between our policy and that of the west Europeans. The French have been out in front in Europe and yesterday Mitterand issued a call for Security Council action to halt the fighting in Beirut and proposing the UN Observers to support the Lebanese



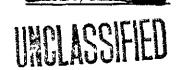
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in taking over the city. Other Europeans have been increasingly uncomfortable with Israel's actions and with our inability so far to gain Israeli agreement to stop the fighting. The Soviets have been relatively quiet following their stiff statement last week.

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50) (a) (3) 26 year BEGIN AND FOREIGN MI:NISTER SHAMIR WITH PHILIP HABI ETING BETWEEN PRIME THE PRIME MINISTER'S RESIDENCE. JERUSALEM, ON JULY 21

DRAPER, BROWN, HILL, PORAN , BAR-ON, AVNER RESENT:

1: I owe you an answer. I have it and I shall read it to you. I utside that I will read to them when the meeting is over. I would ver, like, if ossible, that you first dispatch it to Washington, may be from tonsulate here. woul not like the Secretary to hear about it from the media e he receives it imself.

abib:Perhaps we can do that but let me hear the states at rst. I am a natural born ptimist so I presume the statement will be welcome secretary and also the mersage 1 g ot in which I read out the last letter from We had a detailed discussion in the Cabinet rom 9 a.m. VMr. Brown he statement (PM reads):

- "1. The Government agrees that Mark upon contacts with the President of Lebanon, Mr. Sarkiss, and the nament of Lebanon with the aim of establishing poaceful relation where the terrorist organizations it that the territory of Israel and murder and maim its citizens
- The government el will under no circumstances conduct negotiations. directly or indiwith the Arab terrorist organizations whose destruction of Israel and its people, and who intentionally turn their supplied to them in large quantities by the Soviet Union, a, against the Jewish civilian population. Likewise, the government ces not authorize anybody to conduct negotiations with the aforementioned lions.

e government will continue to defend the citizens of Israel; this is, right and duty. "DEPARTMENT OF STATE 9302566 IS/FPC/CDR

Exemptions

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bib: My optimism is not misplaced. I believe I can work on the basis of cision. I won't promise anything. It takes the proper responses. I do beleit wever, that I owe you some degree of specifity as to what I will be trying a Cabinet decision speaks of my discussions with the government of Lebar with rkiss. It does not preclude bringing others into the issue. And by do not an the PLO. I shall not negotiate with the PLO.

The language of our statement is not negative. We purpose that it vague.

***bib*: Let me tell you what I will do. Anticipating a positive inset I implement to see Sart increw. I am going to bave to make it very clear that I am proceeding on my ctions originally rovided to seek a cease-fire. In my discussions I are to define the cease-fire is a defacto one in the sense that there will be the case from Lebanon on Israel and from Israel on Lebanon. That will include ad enclave - that there should be a stacks on and from the enclave of Major. I would hope that my understanding if the cease-fire includes this. As I recent text of the Cabinet statement it describes the aim of establishing peace. That is a see-fire.

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Government of Israel presented to me by the Primary cor I will proceed with my mission as directed by President Reagan to see the ecure a cease-fire along the Israeli-Lebanese border as a first step to the statement of the stat

2.M.: That is acceptable (it is decided that the Minister and Habib will appear before the Press outside together. The Minister reads the Government's statement and then bids farewell to whereupon Habib reads his statement.

Neither the Prime Minister nor there to entertain any questions).

Habib: One crucial point - what dependent out for as a target date - what date should I shoot for?

P.M.: As the beginning or the

labib: The cease-fire is ded.

P.M. Then, the sooner ter.

dabib: That's all

ling ajourned at 19.40.

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Radio communication between Habib and Veliotes

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You have a good point, but the only trouble is...what I am concerned about is by you fellows telling them to come 4 later they will just sit and wait until later. It isn't that the 5 Palestinians don't think they have a new lease on life. They do in the sense that they don't think that the Israelis dare come in after them yet. Despite all the pressure. You know you had 80,000 people demonstrating against the Israeli policy in Israel today. That is not a unimportant number of people. Moreover, the Labor party is already on record that they don't come in Beirut. There is some opinion around here that the Palestinians don't ever intend to get out of Beigut. They will just sit and wait it out. They got all the supplied they need. If the rest of the population in there gets cholera and dysentery and die they don't care.... They have their water, they got their food, they are nice and closed in, they got their guns and ammunition, and they will wait The only way we can get them out is through negotiation in my opinion or to blow them out. If you blow them out, you are



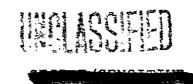
you are going to have extended a mess on your hands. As it is we are getting a mess on our hands because of the way the Israelis are behaving about people going in and out.

the way, Mr. Ambassador. Alright, I am going to go back to work to otherwise save your faltering mission one more time. See if we can get these messages out to the Syrians and so forth. I just want you to know, Sir, that we are doing our very best to support you

Habib: My faltering mission could have been a success, at least two weeks ago, if we had been doing what I wanted to do. It is quite obvious that we had a vague solution sitting on our doorstep now for about two weeks and nobody wants to grasp it. But I must say the one thing you have done which completes my day is when you got the President to agree to put in the U.S. troops. Of course, the subsequent difficulties we are going to have with that are going to be so immense that I will let Morris Draper take care of them.

Welicits: Before Draper, there will be a few other of us who will take those things on here. Phil, what would you have Paganelli say in Damascus? Should he follow up with someone there and explain why we don't think this is a good time for Khaddam and Saud to come and use that as an occasion for an exchange of views at which point he would talk about the possibility of the PLO coming to Syria in the first tranch? Explore again of the requirements from the Syrian perspective on their withdrawal? What are your ideas?

Habib:



things. They think they are important. I don't know, give them a little leeway, is the way I would put it or Morris puts it and see what they can do. But I certainly would get something out of the Saudis before I would send them into the fray. You may have it resolved or you may not.

Velocs: Ok, that is a good suggestion. It is not a question of leeway, it is a question of what is helpful. I think we have something now that we can send off to Dick. Then we can get his replies on both the vist and question of moving the Palestinians to Syria and then we will frame a good one for Paganelli to go in, which will turn into a review. He is a good man, he knows how to handle these things.

While you are at it, tell Larry that I am not worried that these negotiations would interfere with what I am doing, What I am doing is already set. The package is there. What we have to do now if anybody raises the question, we just tell them about the package, this is the package, that's it. No, we are not getting any more. The package is clear but it has got to be a package and it has to have all its parts together. No one part separate from the other part. So, what ! Larry is concerned about -- crossing our wires -- doesn't bother me anymore because we have got to have a package and we have got to know what it is. Of course, the package is not yet equally agreed by everybody. We are agreed as to what the package is. The Lebanese seem to buy it. I am getting sort of glimpses that the PLO are approaching it. Whether I believe it or not -- allegedly they are. So I would just use the package as the basis if anybody asked me what is going on -- have they got other suggestions. Just say, no, no, those don't flush anymore. The package is as follows, this is what the package is and this resolves the issue of everybody getting out, they save face, they can claim victory, and the Israelis don't clean them out, and etc. Morris suggests that y might massage when you are in Washington, you know Morris suggests that you the Ambassador there is Washington, he might have something to say, too. I don't know. You could judge that best......Not to make a pitch just to show that you are paying a little attention to him. Let somebody call him in, maybe you or somebody else.

We haven't paid too much attention to the Ambassadors, in part because I just haven't been here. Everyone else has been flat out. Let me say a word about the Saud/Khaddam visit. If they wanted to come the 10th or 11th, there is no reason they couldn't come on the 13th or 14th. Now, Schultz is going to have his confirmation hearings on the 12th. Once those are out of the way, I am sure they will immediately put the nomination to the Senate. He, then, would feel in a position — either confirmed or that far along to be able to be conducting business. It would be terribly embarrasing to him to be hiding in corners around this place with the Saudi Foreign Minister walking around Washington. So,

there is also the fact that they asked about a period which is just a few days before when the new Secretary of State would be functioning. I think that is an important consider-

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ation, particularly if you are going to talk about the long term since he, himself, is not at all sure that, based on my very brief discussions with him that what we see as the long term necessarily is going to fly.

Habib:I think they should understand they should walk a few days I haven't heard.....I don't think Murphy is going to get much negative reaction to that. But meanwhile we got to settle the thing in Beirut. And the first place if we settle the thing in Beirut and the package is pretty well put together. That will make a much better atmosphere and then we can really talk about the future.

Velions: I know, and I'm glad you said "we".

Habib: When they come to California they come and visit me. That is about the way it is going to be. What else is on your mind?

Whiles: That's about it.

Over and Out.

Remember what I said about these check points. I don't know what Eric means when he says he is going to take care of it so the Prime Minister can come. His idea of how the Prime Minister can come, may not be similar to the Prime Minister's. The Prime Minister has announced very clearly that he will not come out of West Beirut and he will not continue to conduct his efforts for a settlement unless the citizens can go back and forth across those checkpoints, and that means the Israelis have to get out of there. Go around the corner or down the road. Look, there are lots of ways and the Israelis know it. We have told them that this morning. There are lots of ways they can open those cross roads and still control the basic entrance in and out of Beirut without appearing to tell people they can't move. I don't know, but frankly I think cutting off water and cutting off food, cutting off electricity is inhumane. But I guess you guys don't want to seem to take that up. I think it is bloody inhumane. It is not the Middle Ages, it is not the Duke of Burgundy's Castle under seize by the Visigoths.

Yelick: You know, the water is in charge of the Phalange I am told. The word we got on the crossings is that the Israelis presence would be neither obvious nor direct. I don't know what that means, but Larry did make a very strong pitch and he got a phone call back in half an hour.

Habib: Did you hear what I said? I said that anybody who said those things are in charge of the Phalange are full of ----.

Bashir, himself, has told me he has nothing to do with it. It is completely an Israeli operation, cutting off water and electricity. I am getting tired of this ----. You can not cut off the water and electricity for very much more time. There may be as many as 500,000 people in there. It isn't the PLO that are suffering. They got water, they got food, they got everything, they know how

to take care of themselves. They got reserves. It is the kind of people that the French Ambassador was talking about this morning -- where his Nuns and his Priests have got kids with diarrhea and the kids are going to die and you are going to get disease in there. That's the places I am worried about.

-- Ok, Phil, understand. I will do what I can. Have you sent this in a telegram?

Habib: Yes, we have put this in a telegram. And, moreover, I must say that the next time some Israeli tells Sam that I am panicking, I wish that Sam would tell them that I have been sitting here cool as a cucumber for weeks, but that doesn't necessarily mean that my anger is completely subdued. I'm not panicking about anything, but if you had heard the stories the French Ambassador came this morning and told us about his visit to the French mini-camps as he calls them. Where they are trying women and children...where the Nuns are crying because the kids are sick in front of them, they have no way to take care of them, they have no water. He says the stench is unbearable. Does anybody realize what that means? The PLO isn't suffering. Don't worry about the PLO; they are relaxed. They got all their stuff.

I guess people understand what that means, but I hope; you have put your facts and your views into a communication that can be given more general distribution.

Habib: We have sent it this morning. We have sent stuff, We have sent communications. We have been saying for at least 5 days, ever since they turned off the water, that it is inhumane, that it isn't really necessary, that we have other things that we have to deal with besides this. But nevertheless nobody pays any attention because it is too nasty. Nobody wants to handle anything that is nasty. Only we have to live with it.

-- Ok, I understand. Over and out.

Habib: Ok, I am hoping to get word soon that the roads are open and that Wazzan has come out. So at least I can find out what he has been negotiating so that maybe we can finish this thing off, at least in terms of an agreed package. Then we got to decide how we are going to implement it. That is going to take us...that isn't so easy either. Ok, over and out, go to work.

Out



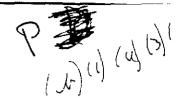


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PAGE 01 DAMASC 05211 01 OF 02 071220Z ACTION NODS-00

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T SECTION 01 OF 02 DAMASCUS 05211

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PLEASE PASS USUEL SECRETARY FROM MURPHY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OAOR

TAGS: PREL. IS. SY. US. LE. SA

PROPOSED TALKING POINTS FOR SAUDIS ON SECRETARY'S

MEETINGS IN DAMASCUS

REF: A) DAMASCUS \$204

8). DAMESCUS 5210

- I WILL SEEK MEETINGS WITH BANDAR AND/OR SAUD FRIDAY, JULY 5 AND MEETING WITH FAHD ON EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE NEXT WEEK FOLLOWING KING'S DEPARTURE FROM MECCA CEREMONIES.
- WHILE PREPARED TO DRAW FULLY ON REFTEL REPORTS OF SECRETARY'S MEETINGS WITH KHADDAM AND ASSAD. I WOULD HIGHLIGHT FOLLOWING:
- ATMOSPHERICS: SECRETARY WAS WELL RECEIVED AND CORDIALLY INVITED TO RETURN TO DAMASCUS AT ANY TIME. T PERSONAL LINK BETWEEN HIM AND ASSAD WAS STRENGTHENED BY THE THIS VISIT.

PAGE 02

DAMASC 05211 01 OF 02 9712202

THE SECRETARY PROPOSED A FIVE-POINT AGENDA FOR HIS ٠5.



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TALKS. IN THE EVENT ALL DISCUSSION FOCUSSED ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE LEBAMESE-ISRAELI AGREEMENT.

6. THE AGREEMENT: BOTH MEETINGS PROVIDED USEFUL OPPORTUNITIES TO POINT OUT WHERE SYRIAN INTERPRETATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT WERE OFF BASE. KHADDAM, IN HIS FAMILIAR ROLE OF PROSECUTING ATTORNEY, WOULD NOT YIELD AN INCH IN TERMS OF ACKNOWLEDGING SYRIAN VIEWS MIGHT BE INCORRECT (NOR, FOR THAT MATTER, DID ASSAO), BUT THIS EXCHANGE MAY HAVE SPARKED THEIR RESTUDY OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE TEXT. (COMMENT: PERHAPS WE SHOULD CONSIDER OFFERING VISIT BY DRAPER TO SIT WITH KHADDAM FOR DETAILED REVIEW OF MEGOTIATING HISTORY AND REALITY OF ALLEGED RESTRICTIONS ON LEBANON'S FUTURE IN TERMS OF ITS AIR DEFENSE ARRANGE-HENTS, INNOCENT PASSAGE, ETC. END COMMENT.)

(w) () (a)

- -- SECRETARY STRESSED ELEMENTS OF FLEXIBILITY,

ADMINISTRABILITY AND THE ROOM FOR INTERPRETATION OF THE

AGREEMENT. (COMMENT: I WOULD SAY AS MY PERSONAL

IMPRESSION THAT THIS CAUGHT ASSAD'S ATTENTION, BUT HE MADE

NO SPECIFIC RESPONSE. END COMMENT)

7.

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SECTION 02 OF 02 DAMASCUS 05211

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PLEASE PASS USDEL SECRETARY FROM MURPHY

E.O. 12356: DECL: DADR TAGS: PREL. IS, SY, US. LE, SA SUBJECT: PROPOSED TALKING POINTS FOR SAUDIS ON SECRETARY'S

(it) (i)

10. WORKING GROUP. THE MEETING CONCLUDED WITH AGREEMENT ONLY ON THE OBJECTIVE OF RESTORING AN INDEPENDENT. SOVEREIGN LEBANON. ASSAD AGREED WITH THE SECRETARY SHARED NO AGREEMENT ON HOW TO ATTAIN THIS OBJECTIVE. DID NOT PICK UP ON SEVERAL SUGGESTIONS BY THE SECRETARY THAT THERE SHOULD BE A SYRIAN-LEBAMESE DIALOGUE. THE WORKING GROUP WILL START AS A U.S.-SYRIAN AFFAIR AN BEGIN BY REFINING THE AGENDA FOR OUR DISCUSSIONS. MADE NO RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY'S SUGGESTION THAT IT HIGHT PROVE USEFUL LATER TO ADD BOTH LEBANESE AND SAUDI PARTICIPATION. ASSAD SAID THAT ANY FORMULA TO CONTINUE THE U.S. - SYRIAN DIALOGUE WILL BE ACCEPTABLE. HE BELIEVES THE "ROAD IS CLOSED." BUT NEVERTHELESS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PERHAPS SOME USEFUL PROCEDURE CAN BE DEVELOPED BY US TO WORK TOGETHER. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WOULD MEET WITH KHADDAM AT UNGA OR BEFORE.

11. I WOULD CONCLUDE WITH THE VIEW THAT SYRIA IS

PAGE 03

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MAINTIANING AN EXTREMELY HARD LINE. WE HEARD NOTHING TO SUGGEST ANY GREATER SYRIAN FLEXIBILITY SINCE ASSAUTALKED TO PRINCE BANDAR. CLEARLY THE SYRIAN COURSE IS ONE WHICH, IF PURSUED AS RIGOROUSLY AS OUTLINED TO THE SECRETARY, PROMISES ONLY POLITICAL STALEMATE AND A LIKELY FURTHER OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES.

(A) (D)

12. FOR JIDDA: PLEASE ATTEMPT SET UP BANDAR AND SAUD

FOR FRIDAY AND ADVISE MUHAMMAD SULAYMAN THAT SECRETARY HAS ASKED HE TO BRIEF KING AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY ON HIS OVERALL VISIT TO AREA.

13. FOR SECDEL: AS ABOVE BEING TYPED IN-FINAL, I WAS TOLD BY EMBASSY JIDDA I SHOULD BE READY FOR MEETING WITH BANDAR ON ARRIVAL JIDDA TONIGHT (1730 ZULU). WOULD APPRECIATE QUICK REACTION TO ABOVE TALKING POINTS AND ANYTHING I SHOULD ADD RE SECRETARY'S TALKS IN ISRAEL. PAGANELLI

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July 20, 1982

Dist.

TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH THE PRESIDENT

7/20

THE STATUS OF THE HABIB NEGOTIATIONS

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-- THE DEPARTURE OF THE PLO FROM LEBANON IS CENTRAL TO THE NEA SUCCESS OF PHIL HABIB'S NEGOTIATIONS. s/s

S/S-I

- -- IN SPITE OF OUR EFFORTS, HOWEVER, NO ARAB STATE HAS BEEN WILLING TO RECEIVE THEM, EVEN TEMPORARILY.
- -- THE PROCESS HAS GONE AS FAR AS PHIL CAN TAKE IT UNTIL THIS ISSUE IS RESOLVED.
- -- THANKS TO YOUR LAST MESSAGE TO BEGIN, HE NOW SEEMS TO RECOGNIZE THE QUANDARY ISRAEL IS IN.
- -- IF THEY ASSAULT WEST BEIRUT, THE PROBABLE DAMAGE TO OU RELATIONSHIP WOULD CAUSE HIM SERIOUS DOMESTIC PROBLEMS.
- -- IF THEY DON'T, AND HABIB'S NEGOTIATIONS DRAG ON WITHOUT SUCCESS, BEGIN WILL PAY A HEAVY DOMESTIC PRICE FOR LAUNCHING A MAJOR OPERATION WITH HEAVY ISRAELI CASUALTIES WITHOUT ACCOMPLISHING THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE.
- -- THE FACT IS THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE CURRENTLY IN THE DOLDRUMS WITH NO BREAKTHROUGH IN SIGHT.
- -- THE ISRAELIS APPARENTLY FEEL IT IS IN THEIR OWN INTEREST TO GIVE US MORE TIME TO FIND A PLACE FOR THE PLO TO GO.
- -- BUT BEGIN'S SENSE OF FRUSTRATION WITH THE SITUATION COULD RESULT IN AN ATTACK ORDER BEFORE VERY LONG.
- -- AT THE VERY LEAST THERE COULD BE A BREAKDOWN IN THE CEASEFIRE AT ALMOST ANY TIME AND WE COULD BE HARD PRESSED TO KEEP IT FROM GETTING OUT OF HAND.





- 2 -

BREAKING THE IMPASSE

- -- YOUR MEETING TODAY WITH KHADDAM AND SAUD PROVIDES
 ANOTHER CHANCE TO URGE THEM TO FIND A STATE TO RECEIVE THE PLO.
- -- I PRESSED THEM HARD YESTERDAY. I STRESSED THAT TIME IS RUNNING OUT. WE MUST AVOID AN ISRAELI ASSAULT ON THE CITY.

 THE CONTINUING LACK OF AN ARAB COUNTRY TO TAKE THE PLO IS

 DELEGITIMIZING THE PLO AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE.

(A)(4) (W)



(in) (a) (e)

- O THE IDEA HAS ALREADY BEEN FLOATED WITH THE
 GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON, WHICH CANNOT AGREE TO IT.
 THE LEBANESE WANT THE PLO TO LEAVE THEIR COUNTRY.
- o AND IF THE 6,000 PLO FROM WEST BEIRUT ONLY MOVE ELSEWHERE IN LEBANON, THE ISRAELIS WILL HAVE AN EXCUSE NOT TO WITHDRAW. IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO BUDGE THEM.
- -- THUS I LEFT THEM LAST NIGHT WITH A PLEA THAT THEY COME TO YOU TODAY WITH SOME WAY OF QUICKLY GETTING THE PLO FIGHTERS OUT OF WEST BEIRUT TO ANOTHER COUNTRY.

YOUR APPROACH TODAY

-- I SUGGEST THAT YOU STICK TO OUR LINE IN YOUR MEETING TODAY. YOU MIGHT TRY TO EASE THEIR CONCERNS IN GENERAL BY





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STRESSING THAT:

- O THE US BELIEVES ISRAEL MUST WITHDRAW FROM LEBANON
 COMPLETELY AND THAT SUCH WITHDRAWAL SHOULD START
 AS SOON AS CONDITIONS PERMIT.
- o THE US RECOGNIZES THAT THE REAL ISSUE IS NOT WEST
 BEIRUT OR LEBANON BUT THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE. WE
 INTEND TO WORK HARD AND CREATIVELY TO SOLVE IT.
- O AND THAT THE FIRST STEP TOWARD THESE GOALS WE SHARE IS THE DEPARTURE OF THE PLO FIGHTERS FROM WEST BEIRUT TO A COUNTRY OTHER THAN LEBANON. WE WILL DO ALL WE CAN TO FURTHER THE SAFETY AND 'DIGNITY BOTH OF THOSE WHO DEPART AND THOSE PALESTINIANS WHO REMAIN. YOUR DECISION TO COMMIT US FORCES IS EVIDENCE THAT WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE SAFETY OF THE PALESTINIANS INVOLVED. THE INTERNATIONAL FORCE WILL WORK TO HELP THE LEBANESE FORCES ESTABLISH LAW AND STABILITY IN THE CAPITAL.
- -- AFTER THESE ASSURANCES, I RECOMMEND THAT YOU MAKE A VERY STRONG PRESENTATION TO THEM ABOUT THE ARABS' SHOULDERING THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES.
- -- YOU SHOULD POINT OUT THAT THE US HAS DONE ITS PART, AND MORE. THE HABIB MISSION HAS BEEN A SUCCESS AS FAR AS IT HAS BEEN ALLOWED TO GO. THE PLO IS WILLING TO DEPART. WE HAVE SET UP AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE IN PRINCIPLE.
 - -- I HOPE YOU WILL MAKE IT CLEAR THAT NOTHING MORE CAN BE



DONE UNTIL AN ARAB STATE COMES FORWARD TO DO ITS PART, AT LEAST AS A "WAY STATION" FOR THE PLO PRIOR TO DISPERSAL TO SEVERAL ARAB STATES.

- -- THE FAILURE OF THE ARABS TO ACCEPT THE PLO IS IN FACT
 DELEGITIMIZING THE PLO AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN
 PEOPLE.
- -- THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS MIGHT POSSIBLY PUSH FOR US TO GRANT SOME POLITICAL CONCESSIONS OR RECOGNITION TO THE PLO TO COMPENSATE FOR THEIR MILITARY DEFEAT. WE MUST TAKE CARE NOT TO BE STAMPEDED INTO THIS, EITHER DIRECTLY OR AT THE UN. WE SHOULD NOT PLAY OUR PALESTINIAN CARD OVER A TACTICAL ISSUE LIKE THE WEST BEIRUT CRISIS ALONE. WE SHOULD HUSBAND THIS LEVERAGE UNTIL THE OPPORTUNITY ARISES TO USE IT TO INFLUENCE THE PEACE PROCESS.
- -- YOU SHOULD ALSO, I BELIEVE, LET OUR VISITORS KNOW THAT WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO CAMP DAVID -- BUT THAT WE DO NOT ACCEPT ISRAEL'S CONCEPT OF AUTONOMY OR OF THE OUTCOME OF THE FINAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS.

THE ARABS' RESPONSE

- -- I EXPECT THAT TODAY WITH YOU THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL REPLY MUCH AS THEY DID TO ME -- BUT VERY LIKELY WITH A NEW WRINKLE OR TWO. THEY WILL ASSERT THAT NO ARAB STATE IS NOW READY TO TAKE THE 6,000 PLO FROM WEST BEIRUT AND THAT SOME "PROVISIONAL" OR TRANSIT STOP ELSEWHERE IN LEBANON IS A NECESSARY INTERIM STEP.
- -- YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT WE WOULD NOT EXPECT EITHER LEBANON
 OR ISRAEL TO AGREE TO THIS -- AND THAT IT WOULD MAKE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL HARDER, NOT EASIER TO ACHIEVE.

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- -- NONETHELESS, I DO NOT RULE OUT THIS ALTERNATIVE AND IT IS WORTH EXPLORING FURTHER:
 - OBJECT.
 - O WHILE THE LEBANESE LEADERS CANNOT POLITICALLY SUPPORT A MOVE OF THE PLO TO ANOTHER LOCATION IN LEBANON, HABIB THINKS THEY PERSONALLY ARE NOT OPPOSED TO THE IDEA, AND IF ASKED BY THE ARABS TO ACCEPT IT, COULD DO SO AS A FAIT ACCOMPLI.
 - O WERE WE TO AGREE TO THIS ARAB ALTERNATIVE, WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO SHIFT THE BURDEN TO THEM OF GETTING THE PLO FIGHTERS DISPERSED RAPIDLY TO SEVERAL ARAB STATES. THIS WOULD HELP TAKE PRESSURE OFF THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANOM.

 CHOOSING THIS OPTION MIGHT ALSO SET UP A MECHANISM FOR THE ULTIMATE REMOVAL OF ALL PLOFORCES FROM LEBANON IN THE CONTEXT OF FINAL SYRIAN AND ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL.
 - O AN AGREEMENT OF THIS SORT -- ALTHOUGH ONLY A

 "FALLBACK" -- WOULD GIVE SOME MUCH-NEEDED MOMENTUM

 TO A SITUATION NOW STALEMATED.



- 7 -

- -- I SUGGEST THAT TODAY YOU NOTE THE ARABS WILLINGNESS TO MEET TO DETERMINE WHICH OF SEVERAL STATES WILL TAKE THE PLO. YOU COULD SAY THAT YOU AGREE THAT A SINGLE STATE DOES NOT NOW SEEM POSSIBLE.
- -- YOU SHOULD STRESS, HOWEVER, THAT TIME IS CRUCIAL. YOU CANNOT EMPHASIZE THIS TOO MUCH. YOU SHOULD SAY WE EXPECT THE ARABS TO SET A DEFINITE DEADLINE FOR SELECTING THE STATES (A FEW DAYS FROM NOW) AND A DEADLINE AS WELL FOR MOVING THE PLO OUT OF BEIRUT.
- -- TO THIS END YOU SHOULD SAY THAT, AS A RESULT OF TODAY'S MEETINGS YOU WILL SEND <u>HABIB</u> TO SAUDI ARABIA AND SYRIA (AND JORDAN AND EGYPT) TO HELP WORK OUT A <u>TIMETABLE</u>. HE WILL TRAVEL EVEN THOUGH WE ARE COMING INTO THE HOLIDAY MARKING THE END OF RAMADAN.

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TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH THE PRESIDENT

THE STATUS OF THE HABIB NEGOTIATIONS

- S/S-I -- THE DEPARTURE OF THE PLO FROM LEBANON IS CENTRAL TO THE SUCCESS OF PHIL HABIB'S NEGOTIATIONS.
 - -- IN SPITE OF OUR EFFORTS, HOWEVER, NO ARAB STATE HAS BEEN WILLING TO RECEIVE THEM, EVEN TEMPORARILY.
 - -- THE PROCESS HAS GONE AS FAR AS PHIL CAN TAKE IT UNTIL THIS ISSUE IS RESOLVED.
 - -- THANKS TO YOUR MESSAGE OF LAST WEEK TO BEGIN, HE NOW SEEMS TO RECOGNIZE THE QUANDARY ISRAEL IS IN.
 - -- IF THEY ASSAULT WEST BEIRUT, THE PROBABLE DAMAGE TO OUR RELATIONSHIP WOULD CAUSE HIM SERIOUS DOMESTIC PROBLEMS.
 - -- IF THEY DON'T AND HABIB'S NEGOTIATIONS DRAG ON WITHOUT SUCCESS, BEGIN WILL PAY A HEAVY DOMESTIC PRICE FOR LAUNCHING A MAJOR OPERATION WITH HEAVY ISRAELI CASUALTIES WITHOUT ACCOMPLISHING THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE.
 - -- THE FACT IS THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE CURRENTLY IN THE DOLDRUMS WITH NO BREAKTHROUGH IN SIGHT.
 - THE ISRAELIS APPARENTLY FEEL THEY HAVE NO CHOICE BUTES TO GIVE US MORE TIME TO FIND A PLACE FOR THE PLO TO GO.
 - -- BUT BEGIN'S SENSE OF FRUSTRATION WITH THE SITUATION COULD RESULT IN AN ATTACK ORDER BEFORE VERY LONG.
 - -- AT THE VERY LEAST THERE COULD BE A BREAKDOWN IN THE CEASE-FIRE AT ALMOST ANY TIME AND WE COULD BE HARD PRESSED TO KEEP IT FROM GETTING OUT OF HAND.

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BREAKING THE IMPASSE

-- YOUR MEETING TUESDAY WITH KHADDAM AND SAUD WOULD BE A GOOD TIME TO TRY ONCE MORE TO FIND A STATE TO RECEIVE THE PLO.

(M)(1)

- -- I MET YESTERDAY WITH BOTH THE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND HAD SEPARATE SESSIONS WITH EACH.
- -- I RECOMMEND THAT YOU MAKE A VERY STRONG PRESENTATION TO THEM ABOUT THE ARABS' SHOULDERING THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES.
- -- YOU SHOULD POINT OUT THAT THE U.S. HAS DONE ITS PART, AND MORE. THE HABIB MISSION HAS BEEN A SUCCESS AS FAR AS IT HAS BEEN ALLOWED TO GO. THE PLO IS WILLING TO DEPART. WE HAVE SET UP AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE IN PRINCIPLE.
- -- I HOPE YOU WILL MAKE IT CLEAR THAT NOTHING MORE CAN BE DONE UNTIL AN ARAB STATE COMES FORWARD TO DO ITS PART, AT LEAST AS A WAY STATION FOR THE PLO PRIOR TO DISPERSAL TO SEVERAL ARAB STATES.





- -- THE FAILURE OF THE ARABS TO ACCEPT THE PLO IS IN FACT DELEGITIMIZING THE PLO AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE.
- THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL PROBABLY PUSH FOR US
 TO GRANT SOME POLITICAL CONCESSIONS OR RECOGNITION TO THE PLO
 TO COMPENSATE FOR THEIR MILITARY DEFEAT. WE MUST TAKE CARE NOT
 TO BE STAMPEDED INTO THIS, EITHER DIRECTLY OR AT THE UN. WE
 SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO PLAY OUR PALESTINIAN CARD OVER A
 TACTICAL ISSUE LIKE THE WEST BEIRUT CRISIS ALONE. WE SHOULD
 HUSBAND SUCH A TOOL UNTIL THE OPPORTUNITY IS CLEAR TO USE IT
 TO INFLUENCE THE PEACE PROCESS.
- -- YOU SHOULD ALSO, I BELIEVE, LET OUR VISITORS KNOW THAT WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO CAMP DAVID -- BUT THAT WE DO NOT ACCEPT ISRAEL'S CONCEPT OF AUTONOMY OR OF THE OUTCOME OF THE FINAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS.
- -- THE SAUDI FOREIGN MINISTER WILL BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE

 NEW IRANIAN OFFENSIVE. WE NEED TO GIVE HIM THE SENSE THAT WE

 WILL BE RESPONSIVE TO THE SECURITY NEEDS OF THE GULF ARAB STATES

 AGAINST THIS THREAT.
- -- THE SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER REPRESENTS A COUNTRY WITH WHICH WE HAVE FAR LESS THAN CORDIAL RELATIONS. IT MAY BE, HOWEVER, THAT SYRIA IS DISILLUSIONED WITH ITS SOVIET FRIENDS; WE SHOULD CONVEY THE SENSE OF HAVING AN OPEN MIND ABOUT U.S.-SYRIAN RELATIONS IF THE SYRIANS APPEAR SERIOUS ABOUT SHIFTING THEIR ORIENTATION AWAY FROM MOSCOW AND SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM.





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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR LEWIS

E.O. 12065: RDS-1.2.3 2/4/02 (LEWIS, SANUEL W.) OR-M

TAGS: IS, LE, JO, SY, PLO, MARR

DECAPE

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE ISRAELI MOVE ARRINST PLO IN LEBANON

REF: STATE 30130 J

AT 1030 HOURS LOCAL, FEBRUARY 4, I REACHED HEAD DIRECTOR GENERAL KINCHE (WHO HAD JUST ARRIVED AT HIS JERUSALEH OFFICE IN THE SNOW STORM WHICH HAS ENVELOPED THAT CITY), STATING THAT I WAS UNDER URGENT INSTRUCTIONS FROM SECRETARY HAIG STIMULATED BY THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH DHI SAGI. I ASKED KINCHE TO WRITE DOWN CAREFULLY THE SECRETARY'S REPLY AND CONVEY IT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND OTHER KEY CABINET MINISTERS. I THEN READ AT DICTATION SPEED THE RELEVANT PORTIONS OF PARAFIYE AND SIX OF REFTEL, NOTING THAT WHILE THIS WAS NOT A FORMAL MESSAGE IN THE PRECISE SENSE OF THE WORD, THE MATTER WAS SO SERIOUS AS TO WARRANT PASSING THESE POINTS TO THE PRIME MINISTER ET AL AS I HAD READ THEM.

3. IN THIS CONNECTION I MADE THO PARENTHETICAL OBSERVA-

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A. TO MY CERTAIN KNOWLEDGE WHAT I HAD JUST CONVEYED TO KINCHE CLOSELY PARALLELED THE REMARKS HADE BY SECRETARY HAIS TO THE PRIME MINISTER IN THEIR TETE-A-TETE OF JANUARY 27-28. PARTICULARLY THE FORMULATION THAT WE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND OR ACCEPT ANY ISRAELI MILITARY MOVE UNLESS IN RESPONSE TO AN ATTACK THAT WOULD BE AN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED PROVOCATION.

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- 4. FULLY AWARE OF THE GRAVE IMPORT OF OUR MESSAGE, KINCHE SAID HE WOULD CONVEY THE SECRETARY'S VIEWS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND OF COURSE OTHERS. HE HAD JUST RECEIVED A LENGTHY READ-OUT FROF MEMUSHTAN BUT HAD NOT YET DIGESTED IT.
- S. COMMENT: CENTRAL AND NORTHERN ISRAEL AND. WE ASSUME, SOUTHERN LEBANON. ARE NOW UNDER STORM CONDITIONS WITH HEAVY WINDS AND SEAS AND FREQUENT RAIN DOWNPOURS. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE ISRAELIS WOULD SERIOUSLY CONSIDER LAUNCHING A LARGE-SCALE MILITARY OPERATION INTO LEBANON

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WHILE THESE CONDITIONS PERSIST. WE KNOW THEY HAVE CALLED OFF MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE PAST BECAUSE OF BAD WEATHER. THOUGH ONCE THE WEATHER CLEARS, THIS COULD CHANGE. MOWEVER, I BELIEVE BEGIN'S MESSAGE TO YOU IS ESSENTIALLY POLITICAL AND HAS A THREEFOLD PURPOSE: FIRST, IT IS DESIGNED TO ELIMINATE POSSIBLE ANBIGUITY IN THE CEASEFIRE TERMS WITH RESPECT TO PLO OPERATIONS ACROSS ISRAEL'S EASTERN BORDERS, OPERATIONS WHICH THEY BELIEVE ARE PLANMED, ORGANIZED, AND DIRECTED FROM THE PLO'S LEBANESE SANCTWARY. BY PUTTING DOWN THIS MARKER, BESIN EXPECTS THAT WE WILL GET



THIS MESSAGE. WHICH WAS ALREADY BEEN CONVEYED PUBLICLY BY SHAMIR AND OTHER ISRAELI SPOKESMEN OVER THE MEEKEND. ACROSS TO THE PLO AND JORDANIANS FORCEFULLY. SECONDLY. BEGIN AND HIS COLLEAGUES ARE DEEPLY DISTURBED BY DEVELOPMENTS IN LEBANON ITSELF. THEY PERCEIVED HABIO'S LAST MISSION TO THE AREA AS A FAILURE, I.E., THE SYRIAM HISSILES ARE STILL IN PLACE. HEAVY BEAPONRY CONTINUES TO FLOW INTO THE HANDS OF THE PLO. AND THE SYRIAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN LEGANON REHAINS UNCHANGED. NEITHER DO THEY SEE ANY POSITIVE MOVE-HENT ON THE POLITICAL FRONT. THEY SAUDIS APPEAR TO HAVE DROPPED OUT OF THE PICTURE AND THE WORK OF THE ARAB FOLLOW-COMMITTEE IS STALLED. THEY FEAR THE WORSE ON THE WP-COMING LEBANESE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND VIEW THE PHALANGE AS BEING PRESSED MORE AND MORE TO THE WALL. BEGIN HOPES TO INDUCE A MORE ENERGETIC AMERICAN RESPONSE TO THE HOST OF LEBANESE PROBLEMS BY DRAWING THE LIME MORE CLEARLY ON WHAT COULD TRIGGER AN ISRAELI MILITARY MOVE INTO LEBANON, AND NOTCHING UP THE PRESSURE ON US. WANTS TO PRECLUDE ANY MORE U.S. ACCUSATIONS THAT WE WERE "SURPRISED" IF AND WHEN PLO INCURSIONS TRIGGEN AN ISRAELI

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MILITARY RESPONSE. SINCE I WILL BE SEEING BEGIN BRIEFLY ON FRIDAY MORNING (FEBRUARY #), I ANTICIPATE THAT HE WILL RESPOND TO OUR MESSAGE AT THAT, TIME, MOST LIKELY BY RESTATING WHAT SAGI HAS ALREADY SAID TO YOU.

6. RECOMMEND THAT THIS MESSAGE BE REPEATED TO AMMAN, BEI-RUT, CAIRO, DAMASCUS AND JIDGA, OR AMBASSADORS ONLY. LEWIS

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Department of State

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DRAFTED BY NEA: MORAPER: GCB APPROVED BY S: THE SECRETARY

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AMMAN FOR AMBASSADOR LEWIS

E.O. 12065: RDS 1.3.4 2/5/02 (DRAPER, K.)

TAGS:

MOPS. PEPR. XF. LE. IS. JO. SY. PLO

SUBJECT:

S NESSAGE TO THE

SECRETARY

- ISRAELI CHARGE MEHUSTAN MET WITH S-CRETARY LATE AFTERMOON ON FEB. 5 TO PROVIDE A MESSAGE TO HIM FROM PRIME MINISTER BEGIN (TEXT BELOW). VELICTES AND DRAPER WERE PRESENT.
- AFTER READING THE MESSAGE, THE SECRETARY SAID HE MAD

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ONLY A FEW IMMEDIATE COMMENTS. HE HAD HIS OWN

DOWNER OF ÷ :

FORMULATION -- "AN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED PROVOCATION" -- WHILE THE PRIME MINISTER HAD ANOTHER -- "CLEAR PROVOCATION". HE HAD MEVER AGREED TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S FORMULATION. CONTINUING, THE SECRETARY SAID THAT A SUBJECTIVE DEFINITION OF PROVOCATION WOULD

REFLECT THE CONCERNS OF ISRAEL. HOWEVER, THERE WAS ALSO A NEED FOR AN OBJECTIVE DEFINITION OF PROVOCATION. IN THIS REGARD, NO MERE WORDS CAN ADEQUATELY COVER THE PROBLEM. HIS OWN MEANING WAS THAT THE WORLD WOULD CLEARLY HAVE TO SEE THAT ISRAEL HAD TRULY BEEN PROVOKED IN A MAJOR WAY. BY "WORLD", HE INDICATED HE MEANT THOSE COUNTRIES WE RESPECT; SOME WOULD NEVER AGREE ISRAEL HAD BEEN PROVOKED. WHEN MEMUSTAN ASKED WHETHER THE SECRETARY THEM STOOD BY THE FORMULATION IN HIS MESSAGE, THE SECRETARY REPLIED YES.

4. THE SECRETARY WENT ON TO SAY THAT WE HAD ALREADY TAKEN ACTION -- AS PROMISED PREVIOUSLY -- WITH THE SANDIS AND JORDANIANS TO FORESTALL FURTHER TERRORIST ATTEMPTS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW-UP. WE WILL DO MORE. WE DO NOT REGARD THE SITUATION AS PEYOND CONTROL. ABOVE ALL, THE SECRETARY SAID WE DO NOT WANT TO HAVE A "PROBLEM" WITH ISRAEL.

S. BEGIN TEXT OF PRIME MINISTER'S FEBRUARY S MESSAGE CLASSIFIED ISRAELI TOP SECRET:

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:



SECRET.

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FROM HABIS/DRAPER

E.O. 12386: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PEPR, PINT, PINS, HOPS, MILI, SY, LE, US, IS
SUBJECT: MABIB/ORAPER MISSION: MEETING WITH PRINE
- MINISTER BEGIN, DECEMBER :6

2. SUMMARY: AT OUR MEETING TONIGHT, THURSDAY, DEC. 16, WITH BEGIN, SHARON, AND THEIR COLLEAGUES, I OUTLINED IN DETAIL WHAT I CONSIDERED A REASONABLE POSITION ON THE ISRAEL! OCTOBER PROPOSAL, POINT BY POINT, COVERING WITHDRAWAL, SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, NORMALIZATION, ETC. I MADE THIS PRESENTATION IN THE CONTEXT OF AN APPROACH CALLING FOR THE WIDEST POSSIBLE COMMON UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE TWO SOVERMMENTS RELEVANT TO A SOLUTION FOR THE SITUATION IR LEBARON. I STRESSED THE NEED FOR WREENCY AND SET THE STAGE TO GO INTO DETAIL ON A "COURSE OF ACTION" ALONG THE LINES WE DISCUSSED IN WASHINGTON.

J. BEFORE MOVING TO SPECIFICS, MONEYER, I ASKED FOR THE ISRAELI REACTION. AT THIS POINT SHARON -- ENJOYING THE DRAMA OF THE SITUATION -- REPORTED THAT THROUGH SECRET DISCUSSIONS, ISRAEL AND LEBANON HAD CONE TO AN AGREEMENT ON A "WORKING PAPER" WHICH CONSISTED OF SUIDE-

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LINES FOR DIRECT ISRAELI-LEBANGAE MERBYLATIONS. THE

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AND IF IT IS ACCEPTED BY THE ISRAEL! CABINET. IF THIS IS POSSIBLE, THEN THERE MAY BE A BREAKTHROUGH -- SUBSTANTIAL ISRAEL/LEBANON AGREEMENT ON THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES -- WITHOUT MAYING MAD TO PRESENT AN AMERICAN "PLAN."

22. THE ABSENCE OF AN INTERNATIONAL PORCE IN THE SECURITY ZONE IS A MAJOR DIFFERENCE COMPARED TO PREVIOUS PROPOSALS. BUT THIS DOES NOT APPEAR A FATAL FLAU IF OTHER ARRANGEMENTS ARE SATISFACTORY. THE DIFFICULTIES RESARDING THE PHASING OF PLG. SYRIAM AND ISRAELI DITHORAVAL WILL HAVE TO BE RESOLVED. PRIMARILY THROUGH LEBANESE NEGOTIATION WITH THE SYRIAMS AND THE PLG.

23. AN UNANSUERED QUESTION OF GREAT IMPORTANCE CONCERNS THE TIMING AND DURATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE UITH-DRAWAL PROCESS. WE STRESSED AT EVERY POINT THE NEED FOR RAPID AND CLEAR AGREEMENT. WHILE SHARON SPOKE OF MOVING QUICKLY TO NEGOTIATION. ME AVOIDED BEING PINNED DOWN ON THE DURATION OF NEGOTIATIONS OR A SPECIFIC TIRE-TABLE FOR WITHDRAWAL. END COMMENT. GROVE

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COMMITTED TO EACH OF THESE GOALS AND WANTED TO KNOW WHERE THINGS STOOD. HE WAS ESPECIALLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE TIMING. LEWIS ADDED THAT A QUICK ISRAEL/LEBANON ASREEMENT WAS IMPORTANT SO THAT THE ONUS COULD BE PUT ON SYRIA TO ACCEPT A SCHEDULE OF WITHDRAWAL. SHARON THEN AGREED THAT I SHOULD DISCUSS THE PAPER IN A REETING SITH GAMAYEL ALONE.

19. FOLLOWING OUR MEETING, I MET PRIVATELY WITH BESIN AND DELIVERED THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER, WHICH BEGIN READ AND CHARACTERIZED AS WARM. I REPEATED THE NEED FOR CLEAR, VISIBLE AND EARLY PROGRESS, AND THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES. HE DID NOT TAKE ISSUE. BEGIN AGREED THAT WE WOULD REET AFTER THE CASINET SESSION ON SUNDAY SO THAT I COULD HAVE A FULL READ-OUT FOR THE PRESIDENT ON WHERE WE STOOD AND WHAT NEXT STEPS WERE CONTEMPLATED.

20. WHILE I WAS MEETING PRIVATELY WITH BEGIN, TAMIR TOLD KRECZKO THAT THE ISRAELI CABINET WOULD BE ASKED TO APPROVE DIRECT MEGOTIATIONS IN EUROPE. KINCHE SEPARATELY TOLD LEWIS THAT GENEVA WAS THE PREFERRED SITE, BUT THAT ROME WAS A POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE. IN RESPONSE TO KRECZKO'S QUESTION, TAMIR SAID THAT HE DID NOT THINK THAT EITHER TUENI OR SALIM KNEW ABOUT THE SECRET MEGOTIATIONS OR THE AGREED WORKING PAPER. (TAMIR SAID THAT HE HAD MEGOTIATED THE TEXTS: KINCHE SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN PRESENT AT MOST OF THE SESSIONS. SHARON SAID THAT THE WORKING PAPER HAD GONE THROUGH FOUR DRAFTS.) TAMIR SAID THAT HE WAS NOT SURE. BUT THAT HE BELIEVED THAT FATTAL KNEW ABOUT THE TEXTS. TAMIR ALSO SAID THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT DIRECT

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MEGOTIATIONS WOULD BESIN WITHOUT THE WORKING PAPER BEING MADE PUBLIC. HE THOUGHT THAT PERHAPS ONLY FATTAL WOULD KNOW ABOUT ITS CONTENTS, BUT THAT IT WOULD NEVERTHELESS "QUIDE THE NEGOTIATIONS."

CONCLUSIONS. FIRST AND FOREHOST, I WILL NEED TO COMPIRM WITH SENAYEL PERSONALLY WHETHER OR NOT SENAYEL ACCEPTS THE WORKING PAPER, AND THE EXTENT OF THE "CLARIFICATIONS" WHICH HE HAT REQUIFF CONCERNANT IT. THEN, WE WILL WEED TO SEE IF SENAFEL CAN SOLL THE HOCHMENT TO RIS OWN CADINET

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FROM HABIB/DRAPER

HOVEMENTS, WHICH IS APPARENTLY INCORPORATED IN THE LEBANESE/ISRAELI WORKING PAPER. IS IDENTICAL TO THE SEQUENCE OF MOVEMENTS PRESENTED IN THE ISRAELI CABINET DECISION OF OCT. 10).

17. I THEN OUTLINED FOR BEGIN MY NEXT STEPS. I SAID THAT I WOULD GO TO LEBANON TOMORROW AND MEET WITH SAMAYEL. I WOULD DISCUSS THE WORKINS PAPER, BUT EMPHASIZED THAT I WOULD NOT COJECT TO ANYTHINS WHICH LEBANON HAD ACCEPTED. I SAID THAT IT WOULD COME BACK SUNDAY TO LEARN OF THE ISRAELI CABINET DECISION, OR EARLIER IF NECESSITATED BY MY TALKS WITH GAMAYEL. AT THIS POINT, SHARON INTERRUPTED TO SAY THAT THERE MAS A PROBLEM IN MY SOINS OVER THE SPECIFICS OF THE BOCKMENT WITH BAMAYEL. HE STRESSED THAT GAMAYEL BID NOT KNOW THAT ISRAEL WAS SHARING THE PAPER WITH US, AND CAUTIONED US ABOUT BOING OVER THE BETAILS WITH BAMAYEL SINCE BAMAYEL STILL NEEDED "CLARIFICATIONS" ON SEVERAL POINTS.

18. I RE-EMPHASIZED THAT WE HAD NO INTEREST IN INTER-FERING WITH WHAT ISRAEL HAD ACMIEVED. HOWEVER, IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN UNDERSTOOD FULLY WHERE THINGS STOOD. PRESIDENT REAGAN HAD INDICATED PUBLICLY

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MIS SUPPORT FOR LEBACESE ROVEREIGHTY. THE DITHORADAL OF FOREIGN FORCES, AND ISCAELI RECORYTY. THE PRESIDENT WAS

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REFUSED TO SPECULATE ON THE LENGTH OF REGOTIATIONS, SAYING THAT IT WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAT THE DOCUMENT BE SOUND AND FORESTALL ANY NEED FOR ISRAEL TO ENTER LEBANON AGAIN. asked sharon how long usthorawal would take once agreehent WERE REACHED, AND AGAIN MENTIONED OUR IDEA OF A 30-DAY WITHDRAUAL PERSON. SHARON SAID THIS WAS A TECHNICAL MATTER WHICH DEPENDED ON LOGISTICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND I ASKED SHARON WHETHER HE ENVISAGED AN INITIAL DISengagement as part of the package, and whether he foresau AN INTERPOSITION ROLE FOR THE MMF. SHARON SAID THAT AFTER THE LEBANESE HAD SIGNED THE AGREEMENT. AFTER ISBAELI AND MIA'S AND FALLEN SOCIES HAD BEEN RETURNED. AND AFTER THE PLO HAD COMPLETELY WITHDRAWN. A SIMULTAMEOUS ISRAEL/ SYRIA DISENBAGEMENT WAS CONTEMPLATED. THE ISRAEL! DIS-ENGAGEMENT LINE WOULD RUN FROM SOUTH OF DAHOUR. THROUGH YT-A-DIN, NORTH OF JANNIN, CROSSING JABUL BARUK, AND THE SYRIAMS WOULD LEAVE THE HOURT LEBANON RANGE TO THE BEKAA. INTERPOSITION FORCE. THEREAFTER, SIMULTANEOUS ISRAEL/ LEBANON WITHDRAWAL WOULD PROCEED IN ACCORDANCE WITH AN



ALREADY AGREED SCHEDULE.

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(COMMENT: THIS SEQUENCE OF



THE TWO IN REACHING ACCOMMODATIONS WHICH WOULD PERHIT THE RAPIO VITHORAWAL OF EXTERNAL FORCES.

13. I ASKED SHARON WHAT THE NEXT STEPS WERE. HE SAID THAT THE FIRST WAS FOR THE ISRAEL! CASINET TO APPROVE THE WORKING PAPER, AND TO DECIDE ON HOW (AND WHERE) DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS COULD BEGIN. (FOLLOWING THE MEETING, KINCHE TOLD LEWIS THAT GENEVA WAS THE LIKELY SITE, WITH ROME A SECOND CHOICE). IF THE CABINET AGREED, NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BEGIN "SHORTLY", WHICH SHARON SAID COULD BE AS EARLY AS NEXT WEEK. AT THOSE MEGOTIATIONS, ISRAEL WOULD PRESENT A DRAFT AGREEMENT ON SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AND NORMALIZATION, WHICH WOULD BE BASED ON THE OCT. 10 ISRAELI CABINET DECISION AND THE AGREED WORKING PAPER.

I ASKED SHARON WHETHER THE WORKING PAPER HAD BEEN APPROVED BY THE LEBANESE CABINET. SHARON SAID IT HAD NOT. AND SAID THAT HE EXPECTED GEMAYEL TO PUT IT TO THE CABINET SHORTLY. SAN LEWIS AND I PRESSED SHARON ON WHETHER GENAYEL HAD IN FACT REALLY ACCEPTED THE DOCUMENT SHARON SAID THAT SENAYEL HAD READ THE DOCUMENT AND ACCEPTED IT, BUT WANTED CLARIFICATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE. gemayel had asked what would happen if an israeli jeep WERE AMBUSHED ON THE WAY TO RESUPPLY ONE OF THE ISRAELI-MANNED EARLY-WARNING STATIONS. (SAM PURSUED THE EXTENT OF GENAYEL'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE WORKING PAPER AGAIN FOLLOWING THE MEETING. TO PROVE THAT SEMAYEL MAD ACCEPT-ED THE PAPER. SHARON SHOWED LEWIS THE ORISINAL DRAFT. WHICH HAD LINES DRAWN THROUGH A PROVISION INDICATING THAT. LEBANON WOULD BECOME A NEUTRAL COUNTRY. SHARON SAID THAT THE REFERENCE TO LEBANON'S NEUTRALITY HAD BEEN INCLUDED.

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BUT THAT GENAYEL HAD SUBSEQUENTLY CHANGED HIS WIND AND ASKED FOR ITS DELETION.)

15. I SAID WE WERE PLEASED THAT THE ISRAELIS AND LEBANESE HAD APPEARED TO ACCOMPLISH SO MUCH, BUT CAUTION-ED THAT IT REMAINED WROENT THAT WE COMPLETE WEBOTIATIONS AND DEGIN THE WITHDRAWAL. I ASKED SHARON HOW LONG WE THOUGHT IT WOULD TAKE TO COMPLETE MEGOTIATIONS. SHARON SAID THAT ISRAEL IS PREPARING A DRAFT AGREEMENT, WHICH WE EXPECTED TO REVIEW TOMORROW. HE SAID THAT THE DRAFT WOULD BE PRESENTED AT THE OPENIES OF THE MEGOTIATIONS. WE



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FROM HABIS/DRAPER

ISRAELI FORCES WILL WITHDRAW AFTER THE FOLLOWING:

- -- PLO TERRORISTS WILL FIRST COMPLETE THEIR DEPARTURE FROM LEBANON.
- -- ISRAELI PRISOMERS IN THE MANDS OF SYRIA AND THE PLO, AS WELL AS THE BODIES OF DEAD ISRAELI PERSONNEL, WILL BE RETURNED, AND ISRAELI PERSONNEL MISSING IN ACTION WILL BE ACCOUNTED FOR.
- -- AN AGREEMENT WILL HAVE DEER REACHED BETWEEN LEBANON AND SYRIA CALLING FOR THE SIMULTANEOUS WITHDRAWAL OF SYRIAN FORCES IN LEBANON WITH THOSE OF ISRAEL.
- -- THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES WILL BE SIMULTANEOUS WITH SYRIAM FORCES.
- -- THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES WILL TAKE PLACE IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SECURITY AND MORMALIZATION AGREEMENT IS CONCLUDED AND SIGNED.

 12. WHEN SHARON COMPLETED HIS PRESENTATION, I GOSERVED THAT THEIR SECRET TALKS HAD APPARENTLY PRODUCED SUBSTANTIALLY THE SAME CONCEPTS WHICH I HAD JUST SUPPORTED, A FEW EXCEPTIONS ASIDE. I SAID THAT THE W.S. BOULD NEVER

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CREATE ANY PROPLEMS CONCERNING DIRECT AGREEMENTS PREELY REACHED BETWEEN INVALA AND LEGAROR: NO MOPED TO ASSIST



- -- (8) IN THE SECURITY ZONE, ONLY LEBANESE ARRY FORCES AND LOCAL POLICE FORCES WILL BE PRESENT.
- -- (C) LOCAL FORCES PRESENT IN SOUTHERN LEBANON WILL BE INTEGRATED INTO A MATIONAL MILITARY STRUCTURE AND WILL FORM ONE OF THE LAF ELEMENTS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON.
- -- (D) ISRAEL WILL RESERVE THE RIGHT TO PERFORM RECON-MAISSANCE FLIGHTS AND MAYAL PATROLS FOR A PERIOD TO BE AGREED BY THE JOINT COMMISSION.
- -- (E) THERE WILL BE SOME LIMITATIONS ON FORTIFICATIONS AND HEAVY BEAPONS IN THE SECURITY ZONE.
- -- (F) A JOINT LEBAMESE/ISRAELI COMMITTEE WILL BE ESTABLISHED FOR SUPERVISION OF THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS.
- -- (G) LESANON AND ISRAEL WILL NOT ALLOW ANY ARAS FORCES OR ANY FORCES FROM COUNTRIES WITHOUT DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH EITHER OF THE TWO STATES TO BE STATIONED IN THE TWO COUNTRIES.
- -- (H) THE ABOVE WILL BE FULLY ELABORATED IN THE FINAL AGREEMENT.

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WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES

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NORMALIZATION ARRANGEMENTS WILL INCLUDE:

- -- (A) A DECLARATION THAT NO STATE OF WAR EXISTS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LEBANON.
- -- (8) OPEN SORBERS FOR PASSAGE OF PEOPLE AND SOODS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR RESULATIONS. (FOOTNOTE: THE LEBANESE SIDE REQUESTED TO HAVE A SHALL MUNGER OF UN OBSERVERS ON THE LEBANESE SIDE OF THE BORDER AT ONE POINT AND FOR A LIMITED PERIOD OF TIME. THE ISRAELI SIDE REJECTED THIS. THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT IS FREE TO RAISE THIS ISSUE IN MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEE.)
- -- (C) IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN CONTINUED DISCUSSIONS, ISRAEL WILL MAINTAIN A LIAISON OFFICE IN THE BEIRUT AREA. THE JOINT COMMITTEE WILL MAVE ITS MEETINGS THERE AND WILL DEAL WITH ALL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES WITH A PEACE TREATY IS SIGNED.
- -- (D) NO HOSTILE PROPAGANDA AND TERMINATION OF THE ECONOMIC SOYCOTT.
- -- (E) THE TWO SIDES WILL PROMPTLY ENTER INTO -- NESOTIATIONS FOR AGREEMENT IN VARIOUS FIELDS OF NORMALIZATION, TRADE, ETC.).
- -- (F) THE ABOVE ELEMENTS WILL BE ELABORATED IN A FINAL AGREEMENT.

SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS



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LEBAMON WILL MEYER BE USED AS A BASE FOR HOSTILE AND TERRORIST ACTIVITIES AGAINST ISRAEL. NO OFFICES, BASES OR IMPRASTRUCTURE FOR TERRORIST ACTS WILL BE MAINTAINED IN LEBAMON. NO ORGANIZATION WITH SUCH AIMS WILL BE ALLOWED TO FUNCTION IN LEBAMON. THE PRINCIPAL POINTS:

-- (A) TO ASCERTAIN THAT THERE ARE NO HOSTILE ELEMENTS IN THE 45-50 KM. SECURITY ZONE, THREE EARLY VARNING THETALLA-TIONS NILL OF OPERATED BY ISRAEL FOR A PERIOD TO BE AGREED BY THE JOINT COMMITTES.

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FROM HABIB/DRAPER

SENERAL PRINCIPLES

BOTH SIDES AGREE THAT EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO ACHIEVE RESULTS AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE ON THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS, TO BE CORSIDERED AS A PACKAGE DEAL:

- -- NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS
- -- SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS
- -- WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES

TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT, DISCUSSIONS WILL BE HELD IN THE FOLLOWING MARKER:

- -- TWO OFFICIAL DELEGATIONS WILL MEET. THE LEDAMESE DELEGATION WILL CONSIST OF THREE CIVILIANS AND THREE MILITARY OFFICERS AND WILL BE MEADED BY A CIVILIAN.
- -- THE FINAL AGREEMENT WILL BE RATIFIED BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS.
- -- THESE DELEGATIONS, WHICH WILL FORM A COMMITTEE, WILL

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CONTINUE TO MEET AFTER THE PACKAGE DEAL IS IMPLEMENTED AND AFTER THE USTHERAMAL HAS TAKED PLACE. HEN A COLUMN



USEFULNESS OF AMERICAN "GOOD OFFICES." AND THE NEGOTIATION OF SECURITY AND NORMALIZATION ARRANGEMENTS, UMERE HE STRESSED THAT DIRECT LEBANESE-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS WERE THE ONLY WAY TO GO. HE THEN REVEALED POINTEBLY THAT HE HAD BEEN WORKING ON THIS FOR SOME 60 DAYS, NEETING WITH "REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT AND PRESIDENT GENAYEL." AT THE DIRECTION OF SEGIN AND SHAHIR. TWO DAYS AGO (DECEMBER 14), THE TWO PARTIES HAD MANAGED TO ARRIVE AT A COMMON WORKING PAPER INCORPORATING THE HAIN POINTS THAT WOULD ALLOW THE INITIATION OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. US PARTICIPATION WOULD BE WELCOME, AND ISRAEL WOULD BE HAPPY IF THE US WERE PREPARED TO SIGN OR PROVIDE GUARANTEES. SOME POINTS REQUIRED FURTHER CLARIFICATION, BUT BASIC AGREEMENT HAD SEEN REACHED.

11. SHARON THEN READ THE FOLLOWING PAPER. WHICH HE AGREED TO GIVE US AT A FUTURE TIME (THE TEXT BELOW IS AN AMALGRAM OF OUR NOTES, AND THE ACTUAL PAPER MAY VARY SLIGHTLY):

BASIC ELEMENTS AND GUIDELINES

HORKING PAPER

DECEMBER 14. 1982



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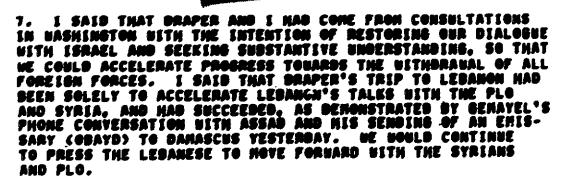
IN THE LAF OR INCORPORATED IN A BORDER POLICE FORCE.
THERE WILL BE A LEBANESE SOLUTION REGARDING MAJOR HADDAD MINSELF. UNIFIL MAY MAVE A ROLE IN THE NORTHERN PARTS OF THE ZONE AND IN THE PROTECTION OF THE PALESTINIAN CAMPS IN SIDON AND TYRE. WE DO NOT RULE OUT AN MAF ROLE IN THE SECURITY ZONE.

-- AS FOR AGREED SUPERVISORY AND EARLY-WARNING ARRANGEMENTS, WE DO NOT BELIEVE ISRAELI-MARNED EARLY WARNING
STATIONS ARE WARRANTED, BUT ISRAELI AND LEBANESE MILITARY
LIAISON OFFICES SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED WITH DIRECT COMMUMICATIONS, MEETINGS AT REGULAR INTERVALS, AND ALTERNATION
OF HEETINGS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LEBANON. HIGH-ALTITUDE
ISRAELI RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHTS SHALL NOT BE CONSTRUED AS
HOSTILE ACTIVITIES. ISRAELI MAYAL PATROLS SHALL BE
CONDUCTED OUTSIDE TERRITORIAL WATERS. WHISO SHOULD
CONTINUE TO HAVE A ROLE.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT PEOPLE AND GOODS SHOULD HOVE ACROSS THE BORDER IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NATIONAL LEGISLATION OF EACH COUNTRY AND ON THE BASIS OF CONTINUING LEBAMESE-ISRAELI CONSULTATIONS.

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6. I STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF MOVING FORWARD RAPIDLY ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES, AND AROUSD THAT DELAY WOULD ONLY LEAD TO INCREASED DISORDER IN LEBANON AND PLAY INTO THE MANOS OF FOREIGN ELEMENTS OPPOSED TO A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF LEBANON'S PROBLEMS. I SAID THAT WE WERE AWARE OF THE LEBANESE AND ISRAELI POSITIONS, AND THAT THE ISRAELIS AND LEBANESE ALSO KNEW EACH OTHER'S POSITIONS VERY WELL. I SAID THAT THE TIME HAD NOW COME TO TRY TO WRAP UP SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS ON EVERY ISSUE. WE DID NOT HAVE A WE GLUEPRINT, BUT WE WANTED TO DISCUSS EACH ELEMENT TOGETHER AND SEE WHERE

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SUSPELINES COVERED ARRANGEMENTS FOR USTNORAUAL OF PLO, SYRIAN AND ISRAELI FORCES FROM LEBANON, SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN LEBANON AND ISRAEL, AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR FUTURE RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM. ACCORDING TO SHARON, THESE GUIDELINES MAD BEEN WORKED OUT IN EXTENDED MEGATIATIONS AND MAYE BEEN APPROVED BY PRESIDENT GENAYEL, SUBJECT TO CERTAIN CLARIFICATIONS, ALTHOUGH NOT SHARED USTN HIS CABINET. THE WORKING PAPER IS TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE ISRAELI CABINET ON DECEMBER 19, AFTER WHICH MEGATIATIONS FOR A FORMAL AGREEMENT COULD THEOMETICALLY BEGIN USTNIN A FEW DAYS. THE WORKING PAPER REFLECTS KEY POSITIONS WHICH THE ISRAELIS HAD PUT FORTH IN PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS AND THERE SEEMS LITTLE DOUBT THAT IT WILL BE APPROVED BY THE ISRAELI CABINET.

DESPITE THE ASSERTION THAT SENAYEL HAD APPROVED THE PAPER. WE WILL MEED TO CONFIRM THIS OURSELVES BY SGINS TO BEIRUT TOMORROW. IF GEMAYEL IS ON BOARD, A BREAK-THROUGH OF SORTS WILL HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED. EVER SO THERE WILL BE DIFFICULTIES. GERAYEL WILL NEED CASINET APPROVAL. THE UITHDRAWAL SCHEME CALLS FOR PLO DEPARTURE TO BE complete before israel beging uithdrawing. Furtherhore. THERE WILL REMAIN THE NEED TO CONVINCE THE SYMIAMS TO AGREE TO SINULTANEOUS WITHDRAWAL WITH THE ISRAELIS. OTHER COMPLICATIONS COULD ARISE BECAUSE OF THE FACT THAT GENAYEL MAY MAYE AGREED TO CERTAIN ISRAELI DEMANDS THE SYRIAMS (AND PERHAPS OTHER ARABS) WILL FIND DIFFICULT TO ACCEPT. THUS, UNTIL WE HAVE HET WITH SEMAYEL WE SHOULD RESERVE JUDGEMENT AS TO THE EXTENT OF PROGRESS. IT IS ALSO OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE THAT THIS REPORT BE ON A CLOSE-HOLD BASIS: PARTICULARLY PENDING ISRAELI CABINET CONSIDERATION.

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s. PLEASE NOTE THAT AT THE END OF THE MEETING, I MET ALONE WITH BEGIN TO BELIVER THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER AND TO STRESS THE NEED FOR CLEAR AND RAPID PROGRESS. END SUMMARY.

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6. Joined by Ambassador Leuis and Braper, Plus Staff, I het for two Hours with Degin the Evening of Dec. 15. Begin was Jainez by Smaran, acting foreign minister hisbin and a full panglet of kilitant amb cittlean abvisers.



CONCERNED ABOUT WHO WOULD TALK TO THE SYRIAMS AND THE PLO. I REVIEWED OUR EFFORTS TO URSE THE LEBANESE TO INTENSIFY CONTACTS WITH BOTH PARTIES. ON THE PLO. THE LEBANESE HAD ALREADY TAKEN THE FIRST STEP. WE ENVISABED THE SAME PROCEDURES AS THIS SUMMER, WITH THE LEBANESE MEGOTIATING WITH THE PLO AND THE US BEING MELPFUL WHENEVER IT COULD, PARTICULARLY (** SUCH ISSUES AS DESTINATIONS, FINANCING OF DEPARTURES, EIC.

-- PRIORITY OF PLO DEPARTURE. BEGIN STRESSED THE REMAINED ISRAEL'S POSITION THAT ARY HOVE BY ISRAE! FORCES SHOULD BEGIN AFTER THE PLO HAD LEFT. I PRSSED HIM TO ACCEPT OUR IDEA THAT ISRAELI FORCES COULD ESIN TO DEPART WHEN THE PLO FORCES HAD STARTED TO LEAVE, DUT HE CAME BACK WITH A VEHEMENT "NO." HARNING THAT IT WE NECESSARY TO GUARANTEE THAT THE TRAGEDIES AND AGEREPATE acts of the past would not occur again. I arever that THE PLO WOULD CERTAINLY NOT STAY IN LEBANON WITHOUT Syrian protection and that in any case it was desirable TO SIVE THE LEBAMESE SOME PLEXIBILITY AND ROOM TO MANEUVER ON THIS ISSUE. BESIN WAS UNNOVED. SO I LEFT IT THAT HE WOULD SEE HON THINGS DEVELOPED. DRAPER LATER REMARKED THAT THE STRAELS CONDITION LEFT THE PLO WITH A "VETO" OVER PROGRESS. RESARDING MESOTIATIONS WITH THE SYRIAMS. I REPEATED

-- REGARDING MEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SYRIAMS, I REPEATED THAT THE PROCESS HAD STARTED, BUT WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE LEBANESE HAD TO BRING THEMSELVES TO DENAND A SYRIAN WITHDRAWAL IN EXPLICIT TERMS, PERMAPS WITH A DATE CERTAIN. THIS I KNEW, FROM MY TALKS WITH ARAB LEADERS, WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY OTHER ARAB STATES, AND SYRIA WAS MAYE TO HONOR THE LEBANESE DENAND. HOWEVER, SYRIA WAS

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A DIFFICULT PARTNER AND MIGHT WELL WPSET THE BEST OF PLANS. FOR THIS REASON, IT MIGHT BE BEST TO SPEAK OF "CONCURRENT." NOT "SIMULTANEOUS" DEPARTURES. BENAYEL HAD CALLED ASSAD YESTERDAY TMANKS TO DRAPER'S EFFORTS.

10. AFTER THE ISRAELIS MAD POSED THEIR FEW QUESTIONS, SHARON EXPRESSED HIS MAPPINESS AT MY REFERENCE TO CO-OPERATION BETWEEN US ON LEDANON, SINCE, ME SAID, ALL THREE PARTIES, INCLUDING LEDANON, MAVE THE SAME DASIC INTERESTS THERE. ME WENT ON TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN THE DEPARTURE OF FORTION FARCEN, WHERE WE ARCOGNIZED THE



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SECTION 03 OF 06 JERUSALEN 03815

MODIS

FROM HABIB/DRAPER

- -- WE AGREE THERE WILL BE ARRANGEMENTS FOR NEGOTIATING FUTURE DETAILS OF NORMALIZATION SETWEN ISRAEL AND LEGAMON: WE AGREE THAT THE FULLEST POSSIBLE NORMALIZATION SHOULD BE STATED AS A GOAL.
- -- THERE WILL BE REPRISENTATION OF EACH STATE IN THE TERRITORY OF THE OTHER: HOW THIS IS MANAGED SHOULD BE RESOLVED BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LEBANON. WE BELIEVE IN THE MECESSITY OF MECHANISMS TO DISCUSS A FULLER AND GREATER MORMALIZATION. ENDING, WE HOPE, IN A PEACE TREATY. THE LEBANESE TOO SEE THIS AS AN EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS.
 -- IN LIEW OF FORMAL PROCEDURES FOR MEGOTIATING A PEACE AGREEMENT, WE BELIEVE THERE SHOULD BE A COMFORMATION OF THE TERMINATION OF BELLIGERENCY AND THE ABSENCE OF A STATE OF WAR. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE IT IS TOO EARLY TO ESTABLISH A MECHANISH FOR MEGOTIATING A PEACE TREATY. THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO EVOLVE.
- 9. THE ISRAELIS HAD VERY FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT MY PRESENTATION OF OUR IDEAS. WHY THIS WAS SO BETAME APPARENT ONLY LATER. THEIR MAJOR QUESTIONS FOCUSED ON THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

PASE 62

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-- NATURE OF TALKS MITH SPACE AND PLO. DEGIR DAS VERY

ORAWAL WITHIN SO DAYS OF THE BEGINNING OR END OF THE INITIAL DISENGACEMENT OPERATION (EXPECTED TO REQUIRE ONLY 3-4 BAYS). AS WITHORAWAL OCCURS, COORDINATION AHONG THE LAF. MNF. AND INTERNATIONAL FORCES WILL BE NECESSARY.

- -- B. PRINCIPLES OF SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS
 -- PREVENTION OF ALL ACTS OF HOSTILITY FROM THE TERRITORY OF EITHER SIDE: NE AGREE, AND FEEL THIS SHOULD BE
 EXPANDED TO INCLUDE RECIPROCAL UNDERTAKINGS TO PROHIBIT
 ALL HOSTILE ACTS. THE UNAUTHORIZED CROSSING OF BORDER BY
 ARMED INDIVIDUALS OR MILITARY EQUIPMENT, HOSTILE PROPAGANDA, AND INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL APPAIRS. IN ADDITION,
 THERE WOULD BE A CONFIRMATION OF THE TERMINATION OF
 BELLIGERENCY.
- -- PREVENTION OF STATIONING OF OR ENTRY BY ANY FOREIGN FORCES INTO LEBANESE TERRITORY UNLESS AGREED TO BY BOTH PARTIES: WE AGREE IF THIS MEANS A RECIPROCAL PROHIBITION ON THE STATIONING OF HOSTILE RPT HOSTILE FOREIGN FORCES. IT COULD NOT COVER SOMETHINS LIKE THE NUF. BEYOND THIS, THERE HAS TO BE SOME WAY OF DEPINING WHAT IS HOSTILE AND WHAT IS NOT. IN THIS CASE, WE WOULD PROPOSE THAT THE TWO PARTIES ACCEPT THE JUDGMENT OF THE S.S.
- -- PREVENTION OF ACTIVITY BY PLO AND OTHER TERRORIST GROUPS: YES, WE WOULD SUPPORT RECIPROCAL UNDERTAKINGS TO REFRAIN FROM SUPPORTING OR ACQUIESCING IN SUCH ACTIVITIES. THERE WOULD BE NO EXTRATERRITORIAL RIGHTS FOR THE PLO OR OTHER TERRORIST GROUPS, AND THERE COULD BE NO CONTINUATION OF THE STATUS QUO ANTE.

PAGE 03 JERUSA 03815 02 07 06 1623412

- -- SECURITY ZONE ENSURING THAT NO ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS ARE WITHIN ARTILLERY OR ROCKET RANGE: YES, EXCEPT FOR SELIEVING THAT LIGHT ARTILLERY SHOULD REHAIN IN THE HARDS OF THE LAF, WE ASREE THAT THE SECURITY ZONE WILL BE BOUNDED ON THE MORTH BY A LINE ABOUT 40 KMS FROM THE BORDER.
- -- WE AGREE THAT THE LAF SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ENSURING SECURITY WITHIN THE SECURITY ZONE. LOCAL HILLYTR CURRENTLY OPERATING IN THE ZONE SHALL BE INCORPORATED IN AUTHORIZED LERAMESE GREANIZATIONS OR DISDAMBED. MADDAD'S FORCES SHALL BE RIVER THE SPROTUNITY TO BE REINTEGRATED



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MODIS

FROM HABIS/DRAPER

WE ARE TOGETHER. 'WE WERE NOT DOING THIS AS A SWESTITUTE FOR ISRAELI/LEBANON DIRECT TALKS, WHICH WE CONTINUED TO SUPPORT, BUT IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT WHEN THOSE TALKS BEBAN THERE WAS A SOLID BASIS OF COMMON UNDERSTANDINGS WHICH WOULD FACILITATE THEIR RAPID CONCLUSION. I SAID THAT WE COULD NOT ACCEPT A PROTRACTED PROCESS, AND THAT I BELIEVED LEBANON AND ISRAEL AGREED WITH THIS ASSESSMENT. I THEN PROCEEDED TO TAKE EACH OF THE POINTS IN THE ISRAELI CABINET DECISION OF OCTOBER 10, BEGINNING WITH THE SCHEDULE OF WITHDRAWAL, AND PRESENTED "WE IDEAS" ON EACH:

-- A) SCHEDULE OF WITHDRAWAL! WE AGREE THAT, AS A FIRST STEP, ALL PU'S, MIR'S AND BODIES SHOULD BE RETURNED, BUT ASK WHAT HAPPENS TO THOSE INDSVIDUALS WHON ISRAEL HAS TAKEN INTO CUSTODY FOR ACTS HOSTILE TO ITS SECURITY?

-- AS A SECOND STEP, WE BELIEVE THAT THE PLO SHOULD "BEGIN TO LEAVE LEBANON," AND THAT WE SHOULD NOT BE TIED TO THE ORIGINAL ISRAEL! CONDITION THAT ALL THE PLO MUST LEAVE.

-- THIRD STEP -- SYRIAN/ISRAELI DISENGAGEMENT, WITH MAP AS INTERPOSITION PORCE -- SIVES US NO PROBLEM. IN CONTRAST TO THE ISRAELI POSITION, HE WOULD PORESEE THE COMPLETION OF PLO WITHDRAWAL AT ABOUT THIS STAGE. THIS

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WOULD BE PART OF A PACKAGE PLAN FOR FULL WITHDRAWAL.

-- FOURTH STEP -- STRIA AND CHRACK CONFLICTE THEIR BETN-

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ACHIEVING U.S. GOALS IN LEBANON

We have two main problems in Lebanon. The first, covered here, is achieving U.S. political goals in Lebanon, on our own and with the contact group. The second, the PLO and encircled West Beirut, you will be discussing with the President tomorrow.

Phil Habib has found, and in some cases created, among Lebanese leaders a large degree of consensus in support of our goals in Lebanon. The following checklist lists each major U.S. goal and our best judgment right now as to what first steps we will need to take to achieve it. We are seeking Phil's views on each of these steps and his suggestions for any others we might take.

A. STRENGTHENING LEBANESE AUTHORITY:

- -- Use contact group (Lebanon, France, Saudi Arabia and the U.S.) and other means to rally support for national unity
 qovernment.
- -- Urge Israeli government to pull IDF away from Palace and other critical points to give Lebanese some breathing room and to avoid appearance it is acting under Israeli duress.
- -- Encourage rapid Lebanese Army deployment throughout West Beirut in conjunction with "normalization" of city, including re-opening of access in port, by road, etc..
 - -- Urge Lebanese to continue to plan for elections.
- -- As soon as way is clear, urge other governments to reestablish diplomatic presences in Beirut in order to give visible and active support to Lebanese.

B. "DRAMATIC REDUCTION" OF SYRIAN PRESENCE IN CONTEXT OF ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL.

- -- Urge Begin to cease public linkage between Syrian and Israeli withdrawal.
- -- Urge Syrians to be flexible, particularly in taking early steps (with Israel) and separating their forces at critical flash points, (with LAF units replacing Syrians at disengagement points).

C. END TO PALESTINIAN STATE WITHIN A STATE:

- -- Capitalize on consensus for disarming Palestinians by having Lebanese authorities start early discussions with PLO to this end.
- -- Be prepared to urge flamibility on Began if the tradeoff for Plo disarmament has to be continued presence in Beirut of PLO leaders.
- -- Work with contact group and others to help assure that once disarmed, the PLO stays that way.

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- -- Simultaneously, work to have Phalange (and possibly others) militia place their forces under central Lebanese Government command and place heavy equipment under Lebanese Army control.
- -- Lebanese are prepared to deal generously with Haddad; we will have to obtain Begin's acceptance that Haddad will have to go, particularly since his "enclave" makes no sense under envisaged security arrangements in the South.
- -- You would begin soon to discuss this with Israelis and get details from Lebanese about future reabsorption of Haddad's men into Lebanese society.

E. STRENGTHENING THE PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS:

- -- Move quickly with Lebanese leaders and Begin to nail down Lebanese acceptance of 40 kilometer zone and outside peacekeeping force in exchange for end to Haddad zone in south (above).
- -- Begin early discussions with Lebanese army on their needs in order to share role with multinational force.
- -- Encourage Lebanese authorities to initiate mobilization of political and humanitarian infrastructure to enter areas of Lebanese Army control.
- -- Decide soon for ourselves how to structure peacekeeping force -- UNIFIL expanded or UNIFIL augmented, or purely non-UN force.
- -- Decide soon for ourselves, since it is already widely discussed, whether we would in principle be prepared to participate.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Approved by President and Secretary 6/9/81 8:30 a.m

Cable approved also and transmitted am (attached)

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FROM:

SUBJECT:

TO:

THE PRESIDENT

Alexander M. Hair, Jr.

Lebanon: Critical Moment at Hand

I. SETTING

Israeli military activities already go well beyond Begin's forty kilometer buffer zone. While Begin has reaffirmed to Phil Habib that the zone is Israel's maximum intention! there are signs that Israel just might be tempted to collude with the Phalange militia in an effort to force Syrian units out of the Beriut area and to restructure Lebanon politically. The most immediately dangerous aspect of further Israeli advances remains that of a major Israeli-Syria explosion and we have Oconveyed to the Syrians Begin's terms for avoiding this. Habib is now in Damascus to discuss these, but they are unlikely to he acceptable. They require that both Syrian and PLO units pull out of positions in the south. The Syrians are very unlikely to agree if Israel 1; still moving north on the ground and attacking by sea and air targets well beyond the §0 km zone.

नुहिगा. THE ISSUE

Our first priority must be to get Begin to pull his forces back inside the 40 km zone. Without this, there is a strong likelihood of a Syrian-Israeli war, whether or not either side intends it. Habib wants to be able to tell Begin, in your name, that we cannot work effectively for an outcome which improves Israeli security over the long term unless Israel begins now a pullback into the 40 km zone and, if we can arrange its prepares for a ceasefire in place. Habib would have to add that Israel's failure to cooperate with us to this degree would be reflected in our bilateral relationship and in our ability and willingness to protect Israel from the international consequences of its actions. Cooperating now, by pulling back, would give us the chance to work out both a reasonable ceasefire and longer-term security arrangements.

III. RECOMMENDATION

That you approve Habib telling Begin, in your name, that Israel must pull back now into the 40 km zone and cease air, sea and artillery attacks beyond the some

Approve



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FOR AMBASSADOR HABIB FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 12065: RDS-1,3 6/9/02 (HAIG, A.M., JR.)

TAGS: MILI, MOPS, PGOV, US, IS, LE

SUBJECT: LEBANON: AVOIDING ESCALATION

REF: JERUSALEM 1785

1. CCCCCT TEYT

- 2. WE AGREE THAT MOST PRESSING NEED IS AVOIDING SYRIA-ISRAELI CONFRONTATION AND FERHAPS WIDER WAR. ALSO, WE SHARE YOUR FEAR THAT ISRAEL MAY BE TEMPTED TO PURSUE GOALS BEYOND THE BUFFER ZONE, DESPITE BEGIN'S REASSURANCES. YOUR REQUEST THAT ISRAEL STOP ITS ATTACKS AGAINST BEIRUT WAS GOOD BEGINNING. NOW WE MUST MOVE BEYOND IT TO CONTAIN IMMEDIATE SITUATION AND PREPARE FOR EARLY CEASEFIRE IN PLACE AND FOLLOW-ON EFFORTS TO ASSURE WITHDRAWAL AND NEW ARRANGEMENTS IN SOUTH.
- 3. PRESIDENT HAS CONSIDERED SITUATION AND AUTHORIZES YOU, IN HIS NAME, TO TAKE FIRM LINE WITH BEGIN TODAY TO GET HIM TO BEGIN TO PULL BACK HIS GROUND FORCES. TO WITHIN 40 KM. ZONE AND CEASE ATTACKS ON TARGETS BEYOND ZONE. YOU SHOULD TELL BEGIN THAT FAILURE TO COOPERATE WITH US TO THIS DEGREE WOULD BE REFLECTED IN BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AND IN OUR ABILITY TO CONTINUE TO PROTECT ISRAEL FROM ÎNTERNATIONAL CONSEQUENCES OF ITS ACTIONS. COOPERATING NOW BY BEGINNING PULLBACK SOONEST WILL ENABLE US CREDIBLY TO SEEK SUITABLE CEASEFIRE TERMS AND BEGIN TO LAY GROUNDWORK FOR ARRANGEMENTS IN SOUTH WHICH WILL ENHANCE ISRAEL'S LONGER TERM SECURITY. YOU AND SAM WILL KNOW BEST HOW TO STRUCTURE YOUR APPROACH WITHIN CONTEXT OF YOUR CONVERSATION WITH BEGIN.

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4. CONCERNING BEGIN'S REQUEST FOR U.S. FORCES, YOU SHOULD REMAIN COMPLETELY NON-COMMITTAL, NOTING ONLY THAT OF COURSE IT HAS BEEN PASSED TO ME AND TO PRESIDENT. HAIG##

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520



June 15, 1982

MR. SECRETARY:

;-I We now have reports that the Israelis are moving on Read File West Beirut. I believe it is highly important that you give Arens a clear statement of our policy on this matter: that, as Phil Habib says, we cannot accept what they are doing.

- -- Attacking West Beirut goes against all the indications, and assurances, they have made publicly and privately.
- -- Israeli attacks into Beirut will make the U.S. appear to have been acting as an accomplice in a pattern of Israeli deception, i.e., declare a ceasefire and then move ahead to take more territory. This can utterly destroy our credibility in future efforts to help meet Israel's security objectives.
- -- With the Israeli forces in Beirut no one will believe that Sarkis and his Salvation Council are anything but Israeli puppets. Without international support for the GOL our hands will be tied and the prospects for Phil Habib's mission gravely damaged.

Attachment: Habib Cable 13 authority to DECLASSIFY DOWNGRADE TS to () S or 9302566

RDS 1-3 6/15/02

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ANNOUNCEMENT OF CHASE-FIFE AGRUEMENT MADE BY AMBASSADOR HABIB IN JERUSALEM

I have today reported to President Reagan that, as of 12:00 noon, July 24, 1981, all hostile military action between Lebanese and Israeli territory in either direction will cease.

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CEASE-FIRE UNDERSTANDING

rom 12 noon, July 24, 1981;

- -- There will be no hostile military activity from Debanon directed at targets in "smael, by land, sea, and air;
- -- There will be no hostile military activity from Israel at targets in Lebanon, whether by sea, land, or air:
- -- The same will apply to hostile military activity directed into Haddai's area or from it.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE EXDIS File TOSEC 80129 CHE CASE THE ATTOUT MEN JUSTEE EXT. 23678. CECRETARYS. .. PEPR. HILI, IS, LE, PLO TAGS: SUBJECT: ACTION HENORANDUS - STATUS OF IZRAELI-PLO CLASHES: (5545158-2/2) 24372 TX3N CURRENT SITUATION: AS OF C.O.B. HERE ISRAELI AIRSTRIKES HAVE HALTED BUT WE BELIEVE ROCKET AND ARTILLERY EXCHANGES IN THE SOUTHERN LEBANON-NORTHERN ISRAEL AREA ARE STILL SPORADICALLY OCCURRING CIN THE MOST THREATENING DEVELOPMENT YET, ISRAEL HAS SUPPERED ONE DEAD AND THREE MOUNDEDD. IF THE PLO TOMORROW CONTINUES TO ROCKET AND SHELL HADDAD'S ENCLAVE AND NORTH ISRAEL, THIS WILL CERTAINLY SPARK RENEWED SUPPRESSIVE ISRAELI RETRIKES AGAINST PLO POSITIONS IN THE SOUTH, PERHAPS COMBINED WITH ONE OR MORE AN IDEAL SCENARIO. OVER THE NEXT 24-26 HOURS THE PICHTING COULD REACH A PLATEAU AND BEGIN TO SUBSIDE. ID. IF A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL CIVILIANS BECOME CASUALTIES, FIGHTING WILL ESCALATE BRAMATICALLY. APTER YOUR RECENT RESTING WITH WHAT WE HAVE DONE:

la

SHARON AND YOUR LETTER TO BEGIN LAST WEEK, THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT CAN HAVE NO DOUBT ABOUT OUR VIEWS ON MAJOR EMBAZZY TEL AVIV HAZ TODAY EXPREZZED OUR .ZITILITZOH HOPE THAT ISRAEL WILL ACT WITH RESTRAINT AND GIVE EFFORTS TO HALT THE FIGHTING A CHANCE TO SUCCEED. WE HAVE CONTACTED A NUMBER OF ARAB AND EUROPEAN PARTIES HAVING UNDER SYG URQUHART HAS REPORTED INFLUENCE WITH THE PLO. INCONCLUSIVE RESULTS AFTER TALKS WITH PLO OFFICIALS. HAVE EXERCISED PARTICULAR CARE IN MAKING BALANCED PUBLIC STATEMENTS, STRESSING THE HUMANITARIAN ANGLE. WE ARE KEEPING SENIOR OFFICIALS BACK HERE APPRISED OF WALT STOESSEL HAS BRIEFED THE VICE DEVELOPMENTS. PRESIDENT AND OTHERS AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO KEEP THEN FULLY INFORMED. WE HAVE, OF COURSE, ESTABLISHED AN AROUND-THE-CLOCK WATCH AND A WORKING GROUP, WHICH IS REFINING CONTINGENCY PLANS.

4. WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE!

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-- WE HAVE PREPARED A DRAFT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION AS A CONTINGENCY SHOULD THAT BODY APPEAR READY TO TAKE UP URQUHART TELLS US THAT THE ARABS ARE THE FIGHTING. DIVIDED ON WHETHER TO GO TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. LEBANESE AMBASSADOR TUENI APPARENTLY HAS SECURED INSTRUCTIONS NOT TO PRESS FOR A CONDEMNATORY RESOLUTION AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL IF IT WOULD IN ANY WAY JEOPARDIZE ARAB LEAGUE AMBASSADOR MAKSOUD TOLD THE HABIB MISSION. US ARABS WANT TO GIVE US A CHANCE TO HELP COOL THE HOWEVER. SHOULD THE UNSC BECOME INVOLVED IN A . MOITAUTIZ NEGATIVE WAY, WE COULD TRY TO FOCUS DEBATE AND ANY RESOLU-TION ON RETURNING TO THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND TENDING TO HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM.

-- IF THE PLO CONTINUES TO FIGHT, IT IS UNREALISTIC TO ASK BEGIN TO REMAIN PASSIVE. WE HAVE, HOWEVER, BRAFTED A PRESIDENTIAL LETTER URGING BEGIN AT LEAST NOT TO ESCALATE THE FIGHTING AND REMAIN OPEN TO EFFORTS TO BRING IT TO A SWIFT CONCLUSION. SHOULD THE SITUATION WORSEN TOMORROW, WE MAY RECOMMEND TO YOU THAT IT BE SENT (DRAFT BY SEPTEL FOR PRE-POSITIONING PURPOSES).

-- FINALLY, THERE IS THE QUESTION OF PHIL HABIS'S MISSION. WHETHER HE CAN GO WILL LARGELY DEPEND UPON WHAT HAPPENS IN THE NEXT 24-34 HOURS. IF THE FIGHTING SHOULD TAIL OFF HABIB COULD PROBABLY PROCEED ESSENTIALLY ACCORDING TO CURRENT PLANS. IF, HOWEVER, IT CONTINUES HE WOULD LOOK FOOLISH DISCUSSING WAYS OF IMPROVING PROSPECTS FOR LEBANON'S STABILIZATION WHILE IGNORING THE CURRENT SITUATION. IN EITHER CASE, IT WOULD PROBABLY BE



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ESSENTIAL FOR HIM TO CONSULT WITH YOU PRIOR TO GOING TO THE REGION. HABIB AGREES THIS IS NECESSARY AND THAT HE WOULD THEN HAVE TO GO TO ISRAEL FIRST RATHER THAN LEBANON, AND GET ISRAELI AGREEMENT TO ALLOW HIM TO TRY FOR A RETURN TO THE STATUS GUO ANTE. IF YOUR SCHEDULE PERMITS, WE WOULD TRY TO ARRANGE FOR HIM TO JOIN YOU WHILE IN ROME.

- 5. RECOMMENDATION:
- -- THAT YOU AGREE TO MEET WITH PHIL HABIB IN ROME.

APPROVE

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Habib and Begin went out to the press at 7:40 p.m. Begin read a statement of the Cabinet. Then Habib read the following statement: BEGIN TEXT:

On the basis of the statement of the Government of Israel as presented to me by the Prime Minister I will proceed with my mission -- as directed by President Reagan -- to seek to secure a cease-fire along the Israeli-Lebanese border, as a first step to bring calm to the area.

END TEXT

Following is the statement read in Hebrew and English by the Prime Minister:

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The Prime Minister reported to the Cabinet on his talks with Mr. Philip Habib, the emissary of the President of the United States, and on the personal messages received from the Secretary of State, Mr. Alexander Haig.

The Cabinet decided as follows:

- (1) The Government agrees that Mr. Philip Habib embark upon contacts with the President of Lebanon, Mr. Sarkis, and with the Government of Lebanon with the aim of establishing peaceful relations between Israel and Lebanon from where the terrorist organization incessantly attacked the territory of Israel and murder and maim its citizens.
- conduct negotiations directly or indirectly with the Arab terrorist organizations whose declared aim is the destruction of Israel and its people and who intentionally turn their arms--which are supplied to them in large quantities by the Soviet Union, Syria, and Libya--against the Jewish civilian population. Likewise the Government of Israel will not authorize anybody to conduct negotiations with the aforementioned terrorist organizations.
 - (3) The Government will continue to defend the citizens of Israel; this is its right and duty.



MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

State + Illano

SUBJECT: June 4, 1981; 3:50-4:15 pm. Secretary's Meeting with Messrs. Habib, Veliotes, Wolfowitz, Burt, McFarlane, Stoessel, Bremer, Draper, and Sicherman

The Secretary said he had called the meeting to review Habib's mission before he embarked on the next round. said he would first go to Paris and brief the French. noted that Cassaroli in Italy supposedly wanted to see him, but he would not do so unless specifically requested. Habib said that Foreign Minister Saud may go to London after the Arab Quadripartite meeting and ask to see him there. Habib said he also had a message from Fahd that the Saudis would like him first to go to Lebanon and then to Saudi Arabia, and then Israel. Habib said this suited his purposes fine since he did not wish to go to Tel Aviv unless he had something to demonstrate to Begin that there was a viable diplomatic) track. Draper interjected that the Saudis had just sent us a message that they wished Habib to go to Damascus after Beirut and then on to Riyadh and Tel Aviv. Habib said he expected to have an impression of what the Saudis had accomplished by Sunday. The key, however, was to have it before he went to Israel. He did not want to meet with Begin empty handed since Begin was already suspicious that the Saudi connection was futile. Habib said we should not let Begin decide when the Saudi connection was no longer useful--that is for us to decide. Begin's announcement after his meeting with Sadat that he would give Habib time to pursue his mission was a good sign, but we need to make the Arabs see the urgency of the situation. At the moment we could tell Begin that the Saudis were pursuing the status quo ante, that they believed they could achieve this and that they might deal first with the ridge and Zahle situations. They may be given a commitment that the missiles will be removed in time. Habib said he did not believe Begin would go back on his word not to strike the missiles as long as the Habib mission was underway. Begin had never gone back on his word.

The Secretary asked Habib for his opinion should the worst case develop: Habib gets from the Saudis the likelihood of early resolution of the issues, but on the condition that the Phalange would publicly disassociate themselves from Israel. Habib said he did not consider this to be the worst case; Israel striking the missiles with Habib in the area was the worst case. The Secretary said that what he called the worst case was the outcome he considered most likely. Habib questioned whether the Phalange would actually



authority to

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be able to make this type of public declaration. While the Phalange were prepared to make gestures toward Syria, Habib did not believe they were ready to break with Israel without a quarantee of some continuing source of arms. The Secretary asked Habib how the Israelis would react. Habib said that the Israelis would know that they could continue a close relationship with the Phalange behind the scene. agreed that this is what he thought would also happen. Secretary asked Habib what the PLO stake was in such circumstances. Habib said that the PLO at the beginning feared that Syria would fight with Israel and Israel would "cream" the PLO. The PLO stake was with Syria and the Saudis. the Saudis and Syrians acquiesced in such a resolution, there was no where for the PLO to go. Libya might try to upset such a settlement but would not have the influence to do so.

Burt said that this scenario sounded plausible. He asked what status quo we were talking about in Damascus and Tel Aviv--one designed to enable the Syrians to strengthen their forces in Libya or one to give Assad a face-saving way to ease the crisis? Habib said that right away we had to settle the two internal issues. That was enough to show we were moving in the right direction. For that reason, in addition to the missile question, he had also kept the ridge and Zahle questions on the table. Burt said that if we didn't have this the argument would build as we approached the Israeli elections that Begin was rolled. Habib countered, saying that Rabin's recent speech in the Knesset suggested that the argument was going the other way--i.e., that Begin's commitment to the Christians was excessive.

The Secretary said that we all appeared to be together in our views and knew what we were doing. He said he wished to underline two points: first, it was clear to him that the Israelis were highly skeptical, even suspicious, of what we were doing with the Saudis. Thus it was necessary to lay out for them the chapter and verse as best we knew it so that we didn't proceed with such Israeli concerns. Second, we have to have a sense of urgency and get to the point where we can diffuse the present crisis. The Saudis, Syrians and all parties must recognize this urgency. The Secretary said his nightmare was that we would get consensus among the parties and Begin would feel that despite this he could not give up the preemptive attack option against Palestinian threats. This would make the resolution extremely fragile. Habib said we could attempt to deal with this in a later context. He hoped Begin would not exercise that option

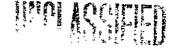


while he was in the region. The Secretary asked whether there were any major remaining issues to be discussed. Habib said that in the short run we can get Begin to be "minimal" not just "prudent." After all, he had already proved his point. Habib commented further that the Palestinians had not done much in the last month. Of course, Begin said this had been the case because he hit them hard, but Habib said he suspected the Palestinians had exercised some restraint.

Habib said there was one more item--the reconnaissance track. Habib said if we get close to a resolution we will have to define what the status quo ante means in terms of Israeli reconnaissance. Prior to the crisis, the Israelis had flown only one flight a month over the Bekka. We need to be flexible on this, Habib said, because this is one area where we can return to a "different" status quo ante. Habib said that reconnaissance might be a useful card to play but that he would keep it in his pocket and not play it unless necessary.

The Secretary and Habib had a brief discussion in private after the other participants left the room.

Michael Mosson



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b Mission

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- Explore with involved governments and parties what may be done to resolve the Syrian-Israeli confrontation in the Bekaa, based upon arrangements that make it possible for both to draw back from the crisis. To that end:
 - -- Create a sense of momentum in the short; term that will provide time for diplomate and face-saving;
 - Assuming acceptance by Syria and Israe work out arrangements to restore equilibrium based on pullback of Syrian SAM missiles and withdrawal from the Mt. Sannine ridge. Such arrangements would take account of legitimate security concerns of both Syria and Israel regarding developments in Lebanon.
 - Take care that resolution does not concede imply U.S. acceptance of permanent rights by either Israel or Syria to military presence or ectivities in Lebanon. Where possible, arrangesents should contribute to enhancement of the prestige and authority of the Government of Lebanon Deal, within the context of this mission, only with aspects of the general situation in



(e.g., arrangements to deploy LAF or GOL observers to the Sannine ridge or other spots) that complement the focus of the mission and will not be seen to undercut other, Arab efforts to deal with the internal situation;

- -- Seek, by your meeting(s) with President Assad, to form judgments regarding Syrian interest in a more sustained, high-level dialog on Lebanon (and/or other topics);
- -- Take care that, to the extent possible, the problem between Israel and Syria in Lebanon be resolved in ways that do not afford the Soviets political benefits or confirm that Syria has no alternative to overdependence upon Moscow. Under no circumstances, provide openings for the Soviets to use this crisis to gain acceptance for a role in wider Middle Eastern issues.

Encourage, where possible, broader participation by societate Arabs, particularly Saudi Arabia, in working out the problems of Lebanon and keep them informed so that, should your mission fail because of Syrian intransigence, the Syrian attitude will be a factor we can use to limit both the extent of violence and the damage to our position in the legion.

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FOR THE SECRETARY AND THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

FROM HABIB

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PEPR. MILI. IS. LE. SY

SUBJECT: LEBANON: WHERE WE GO FROM HERE

REF: A) TEL AVIV 17920; B3 BEIRUT 8860

2. DURING MY RECENT SWING THROUGH THE MIDDLE EAST I FOUND THE ARAB ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PRESIDENT'S PEACE INITIATIVE GOOD. AND I AM OPTIMISTIC THAT IT WILL CONTINUE TO THE CHANCES FOR JORDANIAN-RECEIVE CRUCIAL ARAB SUPPORT, PALESTINIAN PARTNERSHIP HAVE BEEN ENHANCED AS A CONSE-HOWEVER, I AM CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPASSE OVER THE LEBANON NEGOTIATIONS, BOTH BECAUSE OF THE CONSEQUENCES FOR LEBANON AND BECAUSE OF THE POTENTIAL IMPACT ON THE PEACE INITIATIVE. HUSSEIN, MUBARAK, AND FAHD WERE CLEAR THAT WE MUST GET OFF DEAD CENTER ON LEBANON.

3. I BELIEVE THAT IT IS TIME TO ADOPT THE LEBANON STRATEGY WHICH WORKED IN BEIRUT. AND WHICH WE HAD ORIGINALLY

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FORCES FROM ALL OF LEBANON. WE SHOULD FORMULATE A COMPRE-HEMSIVE PLAN FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES --AKIN TO THE BEIRUT EVACUATION PLAN -- AND SEEK ITS PROMPT ACCEPTANCE BY ALL THE INVOLVED PLAYERS.

4. I REALIZE THAT THIS APPROACH WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR ISRAEL. WHICH HAS EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF DIRECT ISRAEL/LEBANON NEGOTIATIONS. BUT, WE HAVE HADE A SERIOUS AND PROLONGED (SEVEN HEEKS) EFFORT TO OBTAIN THIS. AND WE APPEAR TO BE IN FOR A LONG IMPASSE. MOREOVER, I FEAR THAT WE WOULD NOT ACCOMPLISH MUCH BY RESOLVING THE VENUE ISSUE. AS SAM AND MORRIS HAVE POINTED OUT (REFTELS). SOME IN ISRAEL HAVE DECIDED TO MAKE LEBANON A TEST REGARDING THE PEACE INITIATIVE. THESE PEOPLE WILL FIND MEW PROCEDURAL HURDLES -- SUCH AS THE AGENDA. OR THE NUMBER AND MAMES OF COMMITTEES. ALSO SOME IN ISRAEL HAVE THEIR POLITICAL FUTURES DEPENDENT UPON ACHIEVING DRAMATIC OBJECTIVES IN LEBANON/ISRAEL RELATIONS. THESE PEOPLE WILL SEEK SUBSTAN-TIVE RESULTS WHICH THE LEBAMESE CANNOT GIVE AT THIS TIME. WHILE THESE TWO GROUPS MAY NOT REPRESENT THE MAJORITY IN THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT, THEY WILL HAVE ENOUGH INFLUENCE. AS WE HAVE SEEN. TO MAKE PROGRESS VERY DIFFICULT AND SLOW. WE SIMPLY DO NOT HAVE THE FOUR NONTHS FOR NEGOTIATIONS WHICH SHARON'S AIDE TANIR HAS SUGGESTED. IT WOULD SIENI-FICANTLY UNDERHINE THE PEACE INITIATIVE. AND EVENTS WOULD OCCUR IN LEBANON WHICH WOULD DIMINISH THE CHANCES FOR ANY MEGOTIATED OUTCOME (THE CHOUP, THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON JUMBLATT. GENAYEL'S REQUEST FOR MORE MMF TROOPS. ETC.).

5. I DO NOT RULE OUT DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LEBANON. IF BOTH ACCEPT OUR PLAN, BUT WITH MINOR COMMENTS,

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THEN IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE FOR TWO DELEGATIONS TO COME TOGETHER AT A MUTUALLY AGREED PLACE FOR A SINGLE BESSION TO COMPLETE THE DEAL.

4. I WOULD IMPLEMENT THIS STRATEGY IN THE POLLOWING

(A) AMBASSADOR DRAPER HAR INTERGIFE TALKS WITH THE LEBANESE TO ASCENTAIN IN HE MUCH HETAIL AS POSSIBLE HOW FAR THE LEBANESE WILL SO TO MEET THE ESPANCE FROM THE LEBANESE WILL SO TO MEET THE MEAN AS THE LEBANESE WILL SO TO MEET THE MEAN AS THE LEBANESE WILL SO TO MEET THE MEAN AS THE LEBANESE WILL SO TO MEET THE MEAN AS THE LEBANESE WILL SO TO MEET THE MEAN AS THE LEBANESE WILL SO TO MEET THE MEAN AS THE MEAN AS

PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS HADDAD'S FORCES. MOVEMENT ACROSS THE BORDER, AND REPRESENTATION. HE WILL ALSO MAKE CERTAIN THAT THE LEBANESE HAVE OPENED DISCUSSIONS ON WITHDRAWAL WITH THE SYRIANS AND PLOS

(B) GEMAYEL MUST MAKE HIS OWN DECISION ON WHETHER TO GO TO JERUSALEM, WITHOUT US PRESSURE. IF THE MATTER IS SETTLED AND NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN, WELL AND GOOD. BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE WE CAN WAIT MUCH LONGER FOR THIS, NOR DO I BELIEVE IT WILL OCCUR. IN MY VIEW, DRAPER'S CONTINUED PRESENCE IN THE AREA IN THE FACE OF THE PROCEDURAL IMPASSE GIVES THE APPEARANCE OF "BUSINESS-AS-USUAL" AND UNDERHINES OUR CREDIBILITY. I SUGGEST, THEREFORE, THAT HE RETURN TO WASHINGTON NOT LATER THAN DECEMBER 7. THIS WILL ALSO SERVE TO INDICATE THAT WE ARE THINKING OF NEW WAYS TO MOVE FORWARD:

(C) WITH DRAPER IN WASHINGTON, WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON PREPARING A PLAN FOR THE DEPARTURE OF ALL FOREIGH FORCES FROM ALL OF LEBANON:

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(D) AS SOON AS FORMULATED. SAM LEWIS SHOULD DELIVER A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO PH BEGIN. WHICH INCORPORATES THE PLAN. THE LEBANESE SHOULD BE INFORMED AT THE SAME TIME. AT THIS POINT, WE WILL HAVE ALLOWED THE ISRAELIS AND LEBANESE SUFFICIENT TIME TO WORK OUT THEIR REMAINING PROCEDURAL DIFFICULTY. THEIR FAILURE TO DO SO ON TOP OF THE FUTILE EFFORTS OF THE PRECEDING WEEKS WILL BE CONVINCING EVIDENCE THAT WE MUST FIND A BETTER WAY TO PRESS AMEAD IN LEBANON;

(E) IF ISRAEL'S RESPONSE IS POSITIVE. THEN WE WILL NEED TO PULL OUT ALL STOPS TO GAIN ITS ACCEPTANCE BY THE OTHERS. IF IT IS NEGATIVE OR EQUIVOCAL, THEN THE PRESIDENT WILL HAVE TO USE HIS MEETING WITH BEGIN IN EARLY JANUARY TO PRESS FOR ITS ACCEPTANCE. I HAVE IN MIND THAT THE PRESI-DENT EITHER GAIN ISRAELI ABREEMENT OR BE PREPARED TO TELL PM BEGIN THAT THE MAINTENANCE OF ISRAELI FORCES IN LEBANON to achieve hore than our plan could not be construed as "FOR DEFENSIVE PURPOSES". (IF BEGIN DOES NOT COME TO Washington in January, I would carry the same message I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT WE CAN ALLOW TO HIM IN JERUSALEM). THE SITUATION IN LEBANON TO FESTER ANY LONGER AND TO JEOPARDIZE OUR BROAD POLICY INTERESTS.

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7. OSVIOUSLY, THIS STRATEGY SHOULD ONLY BE UNDERTAKEN WITH

THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT. I WILL BE IN WASHINGTON DECEMBER & TO DISCUSS THIS STRATEGY. IN THE MEANTIME, IF YOU AGREE, DRAPER SHOULD UNDERTAKE THE THOROUGH DISCUSSION WITH THE LEBANESE INDICATED IN PARA 6(A). AND RETURN TO WASHINGTON.

B. I DO NOT PROPOSE TO FORMULATE THE PLAN FOR THE WITH-DRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES IN SPECIFIC TERMS, UNTIL WE HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO GO OVER ALL OF THE ISSUES WITH DRAPER, WHO KNOWS BEST WHAT ARE THE ISRAELI REQUIREMENTS AND THE LEBAMESE LIMITS. HOWEVER, I THINK THAT IT WILL MEED TO INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

--A SCHEDULE WITH DATES SPECIFIED FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES. THE PLO MAY LEAVE FIRST, IF PRINCE SAUD'S REPORTS ARE ACCURATE. WE WILL NEED A FORMULA FOR PARALLEL SYRIAN AND ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, WITHOUT LINKING THEM!

--A SECURITY IONE IN SOUTHERN LEBANON, WITH REASONABLE LIMITATIONS ON THE LAF. BUT NO RESIDUAL ISRAELI MILITARY PRESENCE. COVERFLICHTS WILL CONTINUE, BUT WITHOUT THE EXPLICIT CONCURRENCE OF THE GOL. MAYAL PATROLS WILL BE OUTSIDE LEBANESE TERRITORIAL WATERS.) ALL ARMED FORCES IN THE ZONE WILL BE BROUGHT UNDER THE DIRECT AUTHORITY OF THE LAF.

--GENERAL SECURITY UNDERTAKINGS WHICH WILL APPLY SETWEEN LEBANON AND ISRAEL. AND PERHAPS BETWEEN LEBANON AND SYRIA. INCLUDING COMMITHENTS NOT TO INITIATE HOSTILITIES: NOT TO ALLOW THE PRESENCE OF HOSTILE FOREIGN FORCES: NOT TO ALLOW

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USE OF TERRITORY FOR CROSS-BORDER ATTACKS; NOT TO INTER-FERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS; AND NOT TO CONDUCT HOSTILE PROPAGANDA.

--LEBANON WILL AFFIRM THAT IT IS NOT IN A STATE OF BELLIGERENCY WITH ISRAEL!

TION. THIS MEANS LEBANOR WILL HAVE COMPLETE PREEDON.
AS DO OTHER SOVEREIGN STATES, REPARBING WAY PEOPLE AND
GOODS CROSS ITS BORDERS. (HOWEVER, CC. MILL NEED TO MAVE

UNDERSTANDINGS FROM THE GOL. WHICH WE CAN CONVEY TO THE GOI, THAT SOME PEOPLE AND GOODS CAN CROSS THE BORDER).

--THERE WILL BE CONTINUING DISCUSSIONS AT AN APPROPRIATE AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LEBANON, AFTER WITHDRAWAL. WITH A VIEW TO IMPROVING THEIR RELATIONSHIP.

--THERE WILL BE A ROLE FOR AN EXPANDED MMF. IN SERVING AS AN INTERPOSITION FORCE ON CERTAIN KEY TERRAIN AND PERHAPS IN PROTECTING THE PALESTINIAN CAMPS.

-- THERE WILL BE A ROLE FOR UNIFIL. ALTHOUGH ITS AREA OF OPERATIONS MAY NEED TO BE SHIFTED AND ITS MANDATE STRENGTHENED.

-- PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS WHO REMAIN IN LEBANON WILL BE



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SUBJECT FULLY TO LEBAMESE LAW, INCLUDING ITS PROTECTIONS. MONE OF THE EXTRATERRITORIAL RIGHTS AVAILABLE UNDER THE CAIRO AND MELKART ACCORDS WILL REMAIN VALID.

- 9. THESE PROPOSALS ARE DESIGNED TO BREAK THE IMPASSE ON LEBANON. I DO NOT BELIEVE WE CAN LET THE PROBLEM TRAIL OFF IN THE INDECISIVE WAY WHICH NOW THREATENS. NOR DO I BELIEVE WE CAN ACCEPT THE LEISURELY SCHEDULE WHICH THE ISRAELIS SEEN WILLING TO CONTEMPLATE. WHETHER WE GO THE ROUTE I SUGGEST OR NOT. I PROPOSE THAT WE HAVE A FULL DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECT NEXT WEEK.
- 10. DEPARTMENT PASS TO EMBASSIES BEIRUT AND TEL AVIV.

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FROM HABIB/DRAPER FOR S/S AND NEA

12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: MILI, MOPS, PEPR, LE. SY, US, IS

HABIB/DRAPER HISSION: **UITHORAXAL OF EXTERNAL**

FORCES FROM LEBAMON

STATE 279008 (NOTAL)

THE REMAINING MAJOR SHORT-TERM TASK IN LEGAMON IS SECURE THE MITHORANAL FROM LEBANESE TERRITORY OF ALL EXTERNAL FORCES--ISRAELI, SYRIAN AND REMAINING PLO COMBATANTS. THIS IS NECESSARY IF THERE IS TO BE A UNITED. INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN LEBANON, WITH AUTHORITY OVER ALL ITS TEARLTORY WITHIN ITS INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED

PAGE 02 DANASC

BORDERS. WITHOUT IT THERE IS NO FORESEEABLE SOLUTION



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TO THE LEBANESE PROBLEM.

3. THE APPROACH WE HAVE BEEN TAKING TO ARRIVE AT TOTAL WITHORAWAL OF EXTERNAL FORCES HAS BEEN BASED WOON THE LOGICAL ASSUMPTION THAT A SIMULTANEOUS WITHRAWAL CAN BE ARRANGED. THIS WOULD INVOLVE THE DEPARTURE OF THE FORCES WITHIN A GIVEN TIME FRAME. ON A PHASED BASIS (PREFERABLY IN TWO-STEPS), WITH INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A 40 KM BUFFER ZONE UNDER INTERNATIONAL CONTROL ALONG THE LEBANESE-ISRAELI BORDER.

4. WE TESTED THIS CONCEPT ON THE NEW PRESIDENT OF LEBANON AND RECEIVED HIS APPROVAL. WE AGREED THAT IT WAS DESIRABLE TO INITIATE AND COMPLETE THE PROCESS OF WITHORAWAL WITHIN THE SHORTEST TIME POSSIBLE. THIS WOULD REQUIRE A PLAN AGREED UPON BY ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED AND REGOTIATED IN THE LABYRINTHIAN WAY UHICH HAS BECOME THE NORM. FOR MEGOTIATING PURPOSES. WE SUGGESTED A PLAN WHICH WOULD SEE A FIRST PHASE DISENGAGEMENT OF ISRAELI AND SYRIAN FORCES BY OCTOBER 15 AND A FINAL TOTAL WITHDRAWAL DATE OF NOVEMBER I FOR ALL FORCES. WHILE MAY SEEN SHORT. WE BELIEVED IT DESIRABLE TO EMPHASIZE WHAT WAS NEART BY "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. - RECOGNIZING THAT ADJUSTMENT MIGHT BE NECESSARY CPARTICULARLY IF A SATISFACTORY UNIFIL OR INTERNATIONAL FORCE CANNOT BE ESTABLISHED IN TIME FOR FULL WITHDRAWAL BY MOVEMBER 1).

S. WITH LEBANESE APPROVAL. SAUDI BLESSING, EGYPTIAN AN JORANIAN ACCEPTANCE. AND SOME PRELIMINARY GENERALIZED DISCUSSION WITH THE ISRAELIS. WE MOVED TO

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SPECIFIC NEGOTIATION WITH THE SYRIAMS. WE BELIEVE SYRIAM AGREEMENT WILL GIVE SUCH A PLAN THE IMPETUS IT NEEDS. IT WOULD ALSO, IN PART, HELP SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THE PALESTIMIAN COMBATANTS IN NORTHERN LEBANON, SINCE MANY OF THEM WOULD NOT WANT TO STAY WITHOUT SYRIAM PROTECTION.

4. THE SYRIAN REACTION IS REPORTED IN DETAIL SEPARATELY. IN SUM, THE SYRIANS ARE INSISTING THAT ISRAELI DITHORADAL FROM LEBANON PRECEDE SYRIAN DEPARTURE. THE SYRIANS



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INSIST THEY ARE REABY TO LEAVE UPON LEBANESE REQUEST. BUT REJECT THE CONCEPT OF SIMULTANEOUS WITHDRAWAL ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE THE INVADERS WHILE THE SYRIAMS ARE A LEGAL PRESENCE. THEY ALSO ARGUE THAT WITH ARAB LEAGUE SUPPORT THEY DO NOT INTEND TO DEPART UNDER ISRAELI THREAT. THEIR POSITION MAY NOT SOUND PRATICAL, BUT IN THEIR MINS IT IS LOGICAL, LEGAL AN SUPPORTABLE. WE BELIEVE IT MUST BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY. AT LEAST FOR THE SHORT RUM. COMPLICATING OUR EFFORTS IS THE FACT THAT THE SYRIAMS ARE EVEN MORE SKEPTICAL AND DISTRUSTFUL OF ISRAEL THAN MORMALLY HAS BEEN THE CASE BECAUSE THE ISRAELIS VIOLATED THEIR UNDERSTANDINGS WITH US, INVADED WEST BEIRUT. AND CREATED CONDITIONS WHICH LED TO THE MASSACRE.

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7. THE QUESTION WE PROPOSE TO EXAMINE IS HOW TO PROCEED. IN DOING SO; WE ALSO NEED TO LOOK AT OTHER PROBLEMS LIKELY TO ARISE. THESE INCLUDE THE QUESTIONS RAISED IN STATE 279008 AND OTHERS SUCH AS:

A. EXACTLY HOW TO GET THE PALESTINIAN COMBATANTS OUT AND WHERE THEY WILL GO.

B. WHAT IS TO BE THE FATE OF SAAD HADDAD AND HIS FORCES, WHOM THE ISRAELIS SUPPORT AND MAY WISH TO RETAIN IN SOUTH LEBANON?

C. WHAT KIND OF INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE IN THE SUFFER ZONE WILL BE ACCEPTABLE AND EFFECTIVE?

D. WHAT WILL BE THE INTERNATIONAL ROLE IN CONNECTION WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES?

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E. EXACTLY HOW CAN WITHRAWAL AND DISENSAGEMENTS BE



PHASED ON THE GROUND? (BEAR IN MIND THAT THE AREA THE 10F WILL WANT TO HOLD WATIL THE YEAY END IS THE BEIRUT-O DANASCUS HIGHWAY.)

- B. THE OPTIONAL COURSES OF ACTION OPEN TO US SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD EARLY ACHIEVERENT OF TOTAL WITHDRAWAL. WE SHOULD NOT ABANDON THE VIEW THAT NOVEMBER 1 IS A PRACTICAL TARGET DATE. GIVEN THE FORCES INVOLVED AND THEIR LOCATION. THIS IS NOT WAREASONABLE FOR PLANNING PURPOSES. ALSO, THE LONGER THE FORCES ARE WHERE THEY ARE, THE GREATER THE CHANCES OF AN INCIDENT WHICH COULD SET BACK THE WHOLE PROCESS.
- 9. WE PROPOSE THAT THE FOLLOWING NEXT STEPS BE TAKEN:
- A. HABIB'S RETURN TO WASHINGTON THIS WEEK BE THE OCCASION FOR A THOROUGH REVIEW OF THE SITUATION. HOPE-FULLY, THIS CAN BE ARRANGED FOR WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 6. BECAUSE OF THE MEED TO MEET WITH ASSAD ON OCTOBER 3, THIS IS THE EARLIEST HE CAN BE THERE.
- B. DRAPER WILL RETURN TO BEIRUT AND INFORM PRESIDENT GENAYEL OF THE SYRIAN POSITION AND CONSULT WITH HIM. HE SHOULD THEN BRIEF THE ISRAELIS ON WHERE THINGS STAND AND ELICIT THEIR REACTION. BUT AVOID TAKING A FINAL POSITION.
- C. MEANWHILE. WE SHOULD BEGIN AN EFFORT TO GET THE SYRIAMS TO CHANGE THEIR HINDS AND ACCEPT THE COKCEPT OF SIMULTANEOUS WITHDRAWAL. THIS MEANS EXPLORING THE POSSIBILITY OF GETTING SAUDI AND LEBAMESE SUPPORT

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FOR A DIRECT PLEA TO ASSAD. WE ARE MOT OPTIHISTIC ON THIS SCORE, BELIVING THAT THE SYRIAMS ARE PREPARED TO RESIST STRONGLY, EVEN WHER THE THREAT OF ISRAELI HILITARY PRESSURE. BUT WE THINK THE EFFORT SHOULD BE HADE NEVERTHELESS. IF IT SUCCEEDS, THE ROAD WILL BE SHOOTHER AND EASIER TO VISUALIZE.

- D. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT TO OPEN CHANNELS TO THE PLO TO BEGIN THE NECESSARY REGOTIATIONS LEADING TO PLO MITHORAWAL OF THEIR REMAINING COMBATANTS.
- E. WE SHOULD KEEP THE FRENCH AND ITALEANS INFORMED OF

WHERE THINGS STAND, PREVENT ANY PREMATURE MOVES AT THE UN. SECURE THE EXTENSION OF THE UNIFIL PRESENCE AND DECIDE ON THE MATURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ROLE WE WOULD HOPE TO PROMOTE IN SUPPORT OF THE ENTIRE EFFORT.

F. WE SHOULD AVOID EXPOSING ANY ALTERNATIVE TO SIMULTANEOUS WITHDRAWAL UNTIL THE REVIEW IN WASHINGTON HAS TAKEN PLACE. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE ONLY WAY OUT OF THE APPARENT IMPASSE IS TO INSIST ON SIMULTANEOUS WITHDRAWAL. BUT THIS NEEDS CAREFUL CONSIDERATION ON OUR PART BEFORE WE MAKE OUR VIEWS KNOWN TO OTHERS.

14. BEIRUT MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. PAGAMELLI



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DAMASCUS FOR HABIB

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P), UNGA, PEPR, SY, US, LE, IS SUBJECT: (U) SECRETARY'S HEETING WITH SYRIAN FOREIGN HINISTER KHADDAM. SEPTEMBER 30. 1982 - MENCON

MEETING. SCHEDULED FROM 5-5:30PM. LASTED TWO THERE WAS NONE OF THE USUAL HOSTILE RHETORIC. BUT TO THE CONTRARY. HEETING REFLECTED SERIOUS SYRIAN CONSIDERATION OF USG POSITIONS. ON LEBANON AND WITH PREPARED KHADDAM. SECRETARY'S LETTER ASKED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS TO OBSERVING THAT CLARIFY REAGAN'S INITIATIVE. NOT YET OFFICIALLY RESPONDED TO IT. 3H TAHT DHA DEBATING OR OBJECTING TO USG VIEWS WOULD BE NEGOTIATING". KHADDAH WAS SPEECH WHICH HE FOUND SECRETARY'S UNGA "POSITIVE". STATING THAT ALL ARAB NATIONS FOUND REFERENCE TO RECOGNITION OF LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF REFERENCE PALESTINIANS VERY SATISFYING. PARTICIPANTS WERE

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SECTO

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SECRETARY, ASST.SECY VELICIES, DESK OFFICER MOLLY WILLIAMSON.

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3. KHADDAM ASKED FOR USG REACTIONS. SECRETARY REPLIED THAT WE WELCOMED FEZ RESULTS: THAT, WHILE IT SET FORTH POSITIONS DIFFERENT FROM OURS, WE ARE INTERESTED IN SEEING A PROCESS FOR PEACE COME FORWARD AND THE SUMMIT WAS CONSISTANT WITH THAT. KHADDAM NOTED FEZ WAS FIRST TIME ARABS UNITED TO ADVANCE A PEACE PLAN, WHICH WAS BASED ON UN RESOLUTIONS AND DEFINED ARAB REQUIREMENTS AND PREREQUISITES FOR PEACE WHICH PROCEEDED FROM FACT THAT MIGHT AND FORCE WERE NOT FACTORS LEADING TO PEACE.

4. FEZ FOLLOW-UP MEETING: KHADDAM WANTED USG REACTION TO ARAG LEAGUE DELEGATION OF A NUMBER OF HEADS OF SECRETARY REPLIED THAT USG IS GLAD TO HEAR FROM ITS ARAB FRIENDS. BUT IT NOT YET CLEAR IF VISITING DELECATION TO BE COMPOSED OF ALL HEADS OF STATE OR DELEGATION TO BE HEADED BY A HEAD OF STATE WITH MINISTERS FROM OTHER STATES. KHADDAM SAID IN FACT THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT: KING HASSAN WANTED A DELEGATION OF THREE OR FOUR 4-ADS OF STATE: ANOTHER VIEW WAS THAT DELEGATION WOULD BE HEADED BY ONE HEAD OF STATE AND THE REST WOULD BE MINISTERIAL LEVEL. BECAUSE MINISTERIAL LEVEL "MIGHT MAKE MORE GIVE AND TAKE POSSIBLE". IN ANY CASE, IMERE WOULD BE A MEETING IN RABAT OCTOBER 23. TO DISCUSS FURTHER ARRANGEMENTS. VELIGTES ASKED IF OCT. 23 MEETING INTENDED TO ASSESS RESULTS OF DEMARCHES OR TO PREPARE FOR DEHARCHES WHICH WOULD TAKE PLACE AFTER OCT. 23. KHADDAN SAID GCT. 23

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MEETING WOULD BE TO PREPARE FOR MEETINGS. SECRETARY OBSERVED THAT PERIOD COMPLICATED BY US NOVEMBER ELECTIONS AND LIKLIHOOD PRESIDENT AND OTHER POLITICAL LEADERS WOULD BE AWAY FROM WASHINGTON. KHADDAM THOUGHT DELEGATION MIGHT COME AFTER FIRST WEEK IN NOVEMBER. IN ANY CASE, KHADDAM MOTED MOROCCO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR MAKING ARRANGEMENTS. SECRETARY WELCOMED DELEGATION BUT HOPED MEETINGS WOULD NOT INTERRUPT THINKING ABOUT PIAGE PLAN, AND SAID WE ASSUMED THESE DISCUSSIONS KOULD MUT FOCUS ON LEGAMON.

KHADDAH AGREED.

LEBANON:

S. KHADDAM SAID WE SHOULD ALL CONSIDER ACCELERATING ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON AND ALLEGED THAT ONE OF THE OBJECTIVES OF THE MASSACRES WAS TO INCITE MOSLEM RETALIATION AGAINST CHRISTIANS TO FURTHER DIVIDE LEBANON AND THUS "REQUIRE" ISRAEL TO REHAIN IN LEBANON BECAUSE OF THE CHAOS. "THIS IS WHY WE ENCOURAGED AMIN AND URGED MOSLEM FACTIONS TO SUPPORT AMIN - TO AVOID FURTHER MOSLEM-CHRISTIAN CONFLICT WHICH WOULD FURTHER JEOPARDIZE UNITY OF LEBANON."

6. SECRETARY ASKED IF KHADDAM'S COMMENT RE PROMPT WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES MEANT SARG ALSO PREPARED TO LEAVE LEBANON PROMPTLY. KHADDAM REPLIED, "WE HAVE SAID SO MANY TIMES TO THE UNITED STATES WE HAVE NO DESIRE TO REMAIN IN LEBANON." HE REFERRED TO MABIB MEETING WITH ASSAD TWO MONTHS AGO ABOUT CEASEFIRE AND ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND REVIEWED WHY SYRIA DOES NOT ACCEPT LINKAGE BETWEEN ISRAELI AND SYRIAM FORCES IN LEBANON: SYRIA RESPONDED TO GOL REQUEST AND ARAB LEAGUE DECISION. KHADDAM SAID "TTER HAD BEEN



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DISCUSSED AT FEZ AND SARG WAS COMMITTED TO FEZ DECISION BUT SARG WANTED TO BE ASSURED THAT ISRAEL WOULD WITHDRAW, NOTING SARG RESPONDED TO GOL REQUEST FOR SYRIAM FORCES TO LEAVE BEIRUT WITH ASSURANCES THAT ISRAELIS WOULD NOT GO INTO WEST BEIRUT. "THEN CAME THE MASSACRE." SARG WANTS GUARANTEES THAT, FOLLOWING SYRIAM DEPARTURE FROM LEBANON THERE WOULD NOT BE A MASSACRE OF MOSLEMS. KHADDAM OBSERVED PHALANGE MILITIAS STILL HAVE THEIR WEAPONS WHILE MOSLEMS HAVE WONE, AND RESTATED SARG REQUIREMENTS: A) ISRAEL'S ALSO WITHDRAW FROM LEBANON AND B) THERE MUST BE NO MASSACRE OF MOSLEMS (WHICH CAN BE ASSURED, HE SAID, BY FORMING A NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT AND DISARMING THE MILITIAS). KHADDAM SAID HE WISHED TO BE CLEAR: SARG MAIN AIM IN LEBANON IS THE RESTORATION OF INDEPENDENCE, UNITY, AND SOVEREIGHTY.

7. LEBANON-ISRAEL PEACE TREATY: KHADDAM SAID THERE SHOULD BE NO PRESSURE ON LEBANON TO MAKE A PEACE TREATY WITH ISRAEL. SAYING HE BELIEVED BASHIR'S ASSASSINATION DUE TO REJECTION OF PEACE TREATY WITH ISRAEL AND THAT THEREFORE ISRAEL HAD MOSSAD KILL HIM.

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SECRETARY STATED USG FAYORS PRACE IN THE AREA AND THEREFORE FAVORS A PEAUL TREATY BETTERN ISRIEL AND



LEBANON JUST AS USG FAVORS PEACE TREATY BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EACH OF HER NEIGHBORS. BUT PEACE TREATY AT GUNPOINT IS NO PEACE TREATY. AN EFFORT TO FORCE A PEACE TREATY AS "PRICE" FOR ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL WOULD HAVE ONLY VERY BAD EFFECT. TREATY IN THAT REGARD HUST BE VOLUNTARY - PEOPLE HAVE TO WANT IT - ELSE IT HAS NO MEANING. KHADDAM RESPONDED "GOOD* WE AGREE COMPLETELY."

B. DAVID DODGE KIDNAPPING: SECRETARY EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR SARG EFFORTS TO BE HELPFUL RE DODGE CASE ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS AND ASKED IF THERE HERE ANY FURTHER INFORMATION. KHADDAM SAID SARG WANTS TO HELP ("DODGE SR. AND JR. HAVE EXTENDED SO MANY SERVICES TO THE REGION"), AND THAT HE HAD ASKED HIS DEPUTY TO SPEAK WITH THE IRANIANS ABOUT THE DODGE MATTER. SARG WOULD CONTINUE EFFORTS, BUT IN ADDITION, KHADDAM OBSERVED, IT MIGHT BE HELPLFUL IF THE TWO KIDNAPPED EMPLOYEES OF IRANIAN EMBASSY IN BEIRUT COULD BE FOUND.

9. LEBANON: MABIB VISIT AND RETURN OF ARMED PLO TO BEKAA. VELIOTES STRESSED USG HOPE ASSAD COULD MEET HITH HABIB TO HEAR VERY TMOORTANT POINTS HABIB HAD TO MAKE. (PRIOR TO MEETING, KHADDAM TOLD WILLIAMSON ASSAD UNABLE TO MEET WITH HABIB SINCE ASSAD OUT OF DAMASCUS FOR TWO-WEEK VACATION.) VELIOTES ALSO RAISED VERY DISTURBING, AND VERY RELIABLE, INFORMATION USG HAD OF ARMED PLO INFILTRATION BACK INTO BERAA AND FEAR THIS MAY GIVE AN EXCUSE TO THOSE WHO MIGHT WISH TO CAUSE TROUBLE TO TAKE UNFORTUNATE ACTION. KHADDAM

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SAID HE DID NOT RULE OUT POSSIBILITY OF ELEMENTS GETTING INTO LEBANON, NOTING ONE OF THE REASONS SARG HAD BEEN RELUCTANT TO RECEIVE MORE PLO HAS DIFFICULTY OF CONTROLLING SYRIAN-LEBANESE BORDER. KHADDAM SAID HE HAS SURE NO TROOPS RETURNED. HE ALSO NOTED SOME PLO LEADERS HAD VISITED LEBANON AND RETURNED TO SYRIA.

IO. PRESIDENT REAGAN'S PEACE INITIATIVE: KHADDAN SAID SARG HASN'T RESPONDED TOT BECRUSE IT HAS SOME QUESTIONS ("OF COURSE WE HAVE SOME IDEAS DRO CONMENTS. BUT HE PREFER NOT TO THEE AM OFFICIAL POSITION UNTIL



WE HAVE ANSWERS TO OUR QUESTIONS"). WHEN SECRETARY SAID HE APPRECIATED KHADDAN'S POSITION AND ENCOURAGED HIM TO ASK HIS QUESTIONS, KHADDAN ASKED ABU FARES FOR PREPARED NOTES AND PAPERS FROM HIS BRIEFCASE AND BEGAN HIS QUESTIONS (THIS PORTION OF MESTING TOOK ABOUT ONE AND ONE HALF HOURS):

A. PALESTINIANS IN EXILE: KHADDAM NOTED REAGAN PLAN REFERRED TO INHABITANTS OF WEST BANK AND GAZA, BUT DIDN'T TACKLE ISSUE OF PALESTINIANS IN EXILE: WHAT IS USG VIEW? SECRETARY BEGAN BY SAYING USG DOESN'T PRESUME TO HAVE ALL THE ANSWERS AND WANTS TO HEAR WHAT OTHERS HAVE TO SAY, BUT THAT HE COULD INAGINE THAT PALESTINIANS NOT LIVING IN THE WEST BANK, HAVING SATISFACTORY LIVES, COULD HAVE IDENTITY, A PASSPORT OF SOME SORT. BUT HOVEMENT OF PALESTINIANS TO WEST BANK AND GAZA IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE. THERE ISN'T ENOUGH ROOM FOR ANOTHER MILLION OR SO PEOPLE. RATHER, THERE MUST BE SOME MIXTURE OF PALESTINIANS WHO ARE CITIZENS OF OTHER COUNTRIES, PALESTINIANS WHO LIVE OUTSIDE BUT HAVE SOME FORM OF IDENTITY, AND SOME PALESTINIANS WHO WOULD MANT TO RETURN TO LIVE IN THE WEST BANK. KHADDAM SAID THIS QUESTION WAS A MAJOR ISSUE OF TALESTINIAN PROBLEM.



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INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 (AS-01 NSCE-00)/000 W -------003163 Q20128Z /46 Q 011575Z OCT B2 ZFF-4 FN USDEL SECRETARY IN NEW YORK TO AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS NIACT IMMEDIATE SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7008

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DAMASCUS FOR HABIB

EVEN THOSE WHO MAVE BUSINESSES AND LIVES OUTSIDE FEEL THE NEED FOR HOMELAND. SOLUTION TO THIS COULD BE UN RESOLUTION 194 (COMPENSATION OR RIGHT OF RETURN) WHICH USG AGREED TO IN 1949.

B. KHADDAM THEN ASKED WHAT THE BASIS WAS FOR JORDAM TO HAVE THIS "PECULIAR STATUS" WITH WEST BANK AND GAZA. SECRETARY REVIEWED PAST ASSOCIATION. CURRENT COMMERCE, FAMILY TIES, MOVEMENT, ETC., AND NOTED THAT SPECIFIC FORM OF AFFILIATION WITH JORDAM WAS STILL A QUESTION TO BE MORE FULLY DEVELOPED.

C. KHADDAM ASKED WHAT THE REASONS WERE FOR USG TO NOT ACCEPT ESTABLISHMENT OF PALESTIMIAN STATE SINCE USG YOTED ORIGINALLY FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF TWO STATES: ARAB AND JEWISH. SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT AS WE LOOK AT IT, THERE IS NOT A "NATURAL NATION" IN THAT LAND FOR SEPARATE EXISTENCE. CHANCES ARE BETTER FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LONGEVITY IF THERE IS SOME OTHER FORM OF EXISTENCE. WE ALSO KNOW THAT ISRAEL WOULD REGARD A PALESTIMIAN STATE AS IMEVITABLY A STATE WISHING CONFLICT WITH ISRAEL. THERE IS YERY LITTLE

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CHANCE OF NEGOTIATING THAT KIND OF ARPHAGRAENT.

O. KHADDAM THEN ASKED, KNOWING USG RECOGNIZES

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LEGITIMATE RIGHTS FOR PALESTINIANS, WHAT PREVENTS USG FROM RECOGNIZING PALESTINIAN RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION? SECRETARY RESPONDED USG FAVORS CONCEPT OF PALESTINIANS HAVING RIGHT TO TAKE PART IN DETERMINING CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY ARE GOVERNED. WE FAVOR THE IDEA OF SELF-DETERMINATION, BUT THE WORDS IN MIDDLE EAST CONTEXT HAVE COME TO HAVE THE SPECIAL MEANING OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE. WE HAVE A TROUBLING WORD GAME BUT NO TROUBLE WITH IDEA OF PEOPLE HAVING CONTROL OVER THERE ENVIRONMENT.

KHADDAN NOTED PALESTINIAN PEOPLE SUPPORT PLO AND HOST COUNTRIES RECOGNIZE LEGITIMACY OF PLO - WHY DOES USG CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE PLO. ESPECIALLY SINCE PLO ACCEPTS FEZ COMMUNIQUET SECRETARY REPLIED PLO DOCUMENTS AND STATEMENTS HISTORICALLY HAVE TAKEN POSITION THAT ISRAEL IS TERRITORY WHICH BELONGS TO PALESTINIANS AND THEY THEREFORE BELIEVE ISRAEL SHOULD BE DESTROYED: PLO FURTHERMORE DOES NOT RECOGNIZE ISRAEL OR EXPLICITLY SUPPORT UN RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. SINCE OUR VIEW OF ISRAEL'S LEGITIMACY IS VASTLY DIFFERENT FROM THE PLO'S VIEW. WE HAVE TAKEN POSITION THAT WE DO NOT AGREE TO A DIALOGUE UNTIL PLO SAYS IT RECOGNIZES ISRAEL. UN RESOLUTION 242 AND 338. VELIOTES ADDED THAT OUR ANAB PRIENDS KEEP SEEING THE RESTRICTIVE SIDE OF USG'S POSITION RATHER THAN THE POSITIVE SIDE -- IT'S A STANDING INVITATION TO TALK. KHADDAM OBSERVED PLO'S ACCEPTANCE OF FEZ IS A MAJOR DEVELOPMENT. SECRETARY AGREED BUT NOTED THAT IT STILL IS NOT AN EXPLICIT STATEMENT AND WE FIND A CONTINUING

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PATTERN OF STATEMENTS GIVEN HERE AND THERE UNDER DIFFERING CIRCUMSTANCES AND SUBJECT TO VARIOUS INTERPRETATIONS.

F. KHADDAM NOTED REAGAN'S SPEECH SAYS ISRAEL HAS A RIGHT TO SECURE BOUNDARIES; IN USG VIEW, IS THIS RIGHT ONLY FOR ISRAEL OR FOR ALL STATES? SECRETARY SAID WE THINK ANY COUNTRY SHOULD HAVE SECURE BOUNDARIES, THOUGH WE RECOGNIZE THAT THERE ARE MANY THAT ARE NOT DEFENSIBLE IN MILITARY TERMS. FOR EXAMPLE, US AND CANADA HAVE LONGEST UNDEFENDED BOUNDARY IS NO? NATURAL DUT ARBITRARY HAR NOT

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DEFENSIBLE MILITARILY. BUT IT WORKS. THE RIGHT TO SECURE BORDERS IS OF COURSE ALSO THERE FOR SYRIA. AND NOTED IN PRESIDENT REAGAN'S SPEECH THAT THE DETERMINATION OF BOUNDARIES WILL DEPEND ON WHAT KIND OF PEACE IS AVAILABLE. KHADDAM PRESSED: DOES SYRIA HAVE THE RIGHT TO DEFENSIBLE BORDERS? FACT IS ISRAEL IS MAJOR MILITARY POWER AND IS THE AGRESSOR. IS RIGHT TO SECURITY JUST FOR ISRAEL OR FOR EVERYONE? SECRETARY REPLIED THE OBJECTIVE IS PEACE FOR EVERYBODY: THAT'S WHAT COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IS ALL ABOUT.

G. KHADDAM ASKED WHAT THE BASIS WAS FOR SUPPORTING EXISTING SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST BANK BUT REQUIRING THEIR REMOVAL FROM THE SIMAL. SECRETARY REPLIED CONCEPT WAS THAT JEWS CAN LIVE IN WEST BANK JUST AS ARABS LIVE IN ISRAEL. THE RESIDENTS MUST LIVE UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE COUNTRY WHICH HAS JURISDICTION. SHOULD FINAL OUTCOME BE JORDANIAN RULE. IT WOULD BE UNDER JORDANIAN JURISDICTION THAT SETTLEMENTS RESIDENTS WOULD LIVE.

H. KHADDAM REFERRED TO SECRETARY'S LETTER OF

PAGE 01 SECTO 13032 04 0F 04 0118467 ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 (AS-01 NSCE-00)/000 W ------003167 0201292 /46 O 0115752 OCT B2 ZFF-4 FM USDEL SECRETARY IN NEW YORK TO AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS NIACT INHEDIATE SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7009

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DAMASCUS FOR HABIB

SEPTEMBER 1 MOTING MENTION OF WATER AND "FAIR GUARANTEES" AND WONDERED WHAT IT MEANT. SECRETARY OBSERVED WATER IS EXAMPLE OF SCARCE RESOURCE WHICH WAS A MATTER OF CONCERN WITHOUT REGARD TO BOUNDARIES AND THAT THEREFORE SOME ARRANGEMENTS WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR HOW SUCH RESOURCES SHOULD BE SHARED EFFICIENTLY AND FAIRLY.

- I. KHADDAM WONDERED WHAT THE MEANING WAS FOR USG STAND OF NOT RECOGNIZING OR OPPOSING "ISOLATION" FROM ISRAEL. SECRETARY SAID IT MEANT THAT PEOPLE SHOULD BE ABLE TO MOVE BACK AND FORTH FREELY. TO BE ABLE TO LIVE IN AND WORK IN ANOTHER. TO HAVE EASY INTERCHANGE. AS FOR EXAMPLE CITIZENS OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES IN WESTERN EUROPE.
- J. KHADDAM SAID HE DIDN'T UNDERSTAND LAST PARA OF SECRETARY'S SEPTEMBER 1 LETTER AND READ IT OUT LOUD (DISTINCTION BETWEEN FINAL AND TRANSITIONAL PHASES). SECRETARY EXPLAINED WE ENVISION TWO STEPS: THE FINAL IS THE ONE IN WHICH DETERMINATION OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER DEFINED TERRITORY IS HADE! IN THE TRANSITIONAL PHASE

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THAT DETERMINATION WOLLD NOT YET HAVE BEEN MADE. THE PURPOSE OF THIS PERIOD NOULD BE FOR ISRAELI MILITARY



OCCUPATION TO MOVE BACK AS RESIDENTS COULD, IN SELF-GOVERNING AUTHORITY, CONTROL THEIR LIVES. WE THINK IT VERY IMPORTANT TO MOVE FROM DISCUSSING PALESTINIAN RIGHTS TO THE ACTUALITY OF PALESTINIAN RIGHTS. THE SOOMER DISCUSSIONS GET UNDERWAY, THE SOOMER MILITARY OCCUPATION CAN BE WITHDRAWN.

K. KHADDAM ASKED ABOUT ATTEMPTS TO DISPLACE PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS FROM LEBANON AND HOPED USG WOULD NOT LEND SUPPORT TO THIS TREND. VELICIES EMPHASIZED WE HAD ALSO HEARD THESE STORIES, BUT BELIEVE THEM TO BE JUST STORIES, OF PLANS TO MOVE 500,000. PALESTINIANS, AND NOTED THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN AND HIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WORKING VERY HARD TO GET UNRWATO PUT TENTS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON. KHADDAN SAID THAT WAS VERY REASSURING AND SATISFYING TO HEAR.

19. KHADDAM ASKED IF USG STILL SUPPORTS UN RESOLUTION 194 AND VELIOTES RESPONDED EMPHATICALLY THAT WE DO. KHADDAM SAID THIS RESOLUTION APPLIED TO PALESTINIANS IN EXILE -- THE RIGHT TO COMPENSATION OR RETURN. THE RIGHT TO RETURN DID NOT MEAN RETURN TO THE WEST BANK AND GAZA BUT TO THE HOMES THEY ACTUALLY LEFT TWENTY YEARS AGO. SECRETARY SAID THAT AS A PRACTICAL MATTER. THIS DIDN'T SOUND VERY REALIST.C SINCE THE HOUSES PROBABLY NO LONGER EXIST.

11. KHADDAH WAS OBVIOUSLY VERY APPRECIATIVE OF THE EXTRAORDINARY TIME AND MUTUALLY RESPECTFUL TONE THE MEETING TOOK AND SAID "THE HAIN THING IS FOR US TO KEEP IN TOUCH." SECRETARY AND KHADDAH RECALLED

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HANDSHAKE OF FRIENDSHIP OF THEIR LAST MEETING (JULY 20) AND KHADDAM SAID ASSAD HAD BEEN VERY SATISFIED WITH REPORTS OF THAT MEETING. SECRETARY SUGGESTED THEY SHAKE HANDS AGAIN ON THAT.



Department of State

IELEGRAM

SECRET

AN: N820007-0301

1314212 BELRUT ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 1314302 /41 0 1313372 AUG 82 ZFF4 FN AHENBASSY BEIRUT TO SECSTATE MASHOC MIACT IMMEDIATE 7968 AMCOMSUL JERUSALEM NIACT IMMEDIATE AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV MIACT IMMEDIATE INFO AMENBASSY AMNAN INMEDIATE AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE AMENBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

BEIRUT 5367

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FROM HABIS

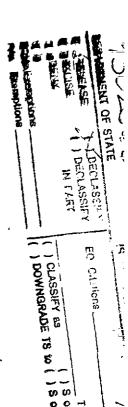
E.O 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PINT, PEPR, MILI, LE, IS, PLO9. /* SUBJECT: HABIB HIXICC: PROPOJED NEXO STEPS AUGUST 13-14

IN LIGHT OF THE LATEST PLO COMMUNICATION TO US, AS WELL AS THE CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS WE HAD THIS MORNING, AUGUST 13. WITH SARKIS, WAZZAN, AND BUTRUS (SEE SEPTELS), I SUGGEST WE TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OVER THE NEXT 48 HOURS OF THE PRESENTLY POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE. ME IS WHERE I BELIEVE WE STAND WHAT MY MEXT STEPS SHOULD BE: -- THE CEASE-FIRE IS VIRTUALY AIR-TIGHT. AN OCCASIONAL ISPAELI RECOMMAISSANCE FLIGHT DOES NOT DRAW FIRE. -- THANKS TO DECISIVE AND TIMELY ACTIONS BY PRESIDENT REAGAN OVER THE PAST 24 HOURS, MUCH AMERICAN CREDIBILITY

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HAS BEEN RESTORED.

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-- I AM CONSIDERING GOING TO ISRAEL TOHORROW. SATURDAY. AUGUST 14. TO PRESENT TO BEGIN WHATEVER POSITION HAS DEVELOPED THROUGH THE PLO-LEBANESE NEGOTIATIONS TODAY AND TONIGHT. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT MAY BE PREFERABLE TO HAYE AMBASSADOR LEWIS PRESENT THE RESPONSE TO THE ISRAELI POSITION. AND KEEP ME IN RESERVE FOR A FINAL EFFORT. -- BEFORE REPORTING THE STATUS TO THE ISRAELIS. HOW-EVER, WE MEED A SYRIAN CONMITMENT TO THE LEBAMESE TO WITH-DRAW FROM BEIRUT THE SYRIAM AND SYRIAM-CONTROLLED FORCES SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE PALESTINIAN WITHDRAWAL, AND AS EARLY IN THE PROCESS AS POSSIBLE. UNFORTUNATELY, WE HAVE LOST AT LEAST ONE DAY BECAUSE OF ISRAELI INTERFERENCE WITH THE TRAVEL OF THE LEBAMESE EMISSARY. SEMERAL SAMI KHATIB. KHATIB MAY RETURN TODAY TO LEBANON WITH THE SYRIAM ANSWER. -AS REGARDS THE TIMETABLE FOR THE ENTRY OF THE VARIOUS MAF ELEMENTS. IT IS ALREADY CLEAR THAT THE PLO WILL CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT THERE BE A FRENCH UNIT OF 380 MEN PRESENT ON D-DAY. THE SUNMI MUSLIM MOTABLES OF WEST BEIRUT MAY EVEN BE MORE INSISTENT THAN THE PALESTINIANS THAT THERE BE A french Element present as palestimian Withdrawal begins. ISRAELI ACTION AGAINST WEST BEIRUT YESTERDAY HAS INCREASED SUSPICION AND CONCERN FOR SAFETY. -- IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH SARKIS AND WAZZAN THIS . HORNING, HOWEVER, WE PLAYED AROUND WITH VARIATIONS ON THIS OPTION. SINCE WE CAN PRESUME CONTINUED ISRAELI OPPOSITION A FRENCH FORCE ON D-DAY. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE LAF IN ANY EVENT WILL HAVE TO BE PRESENT IN THE PORT AREA ON D-DAY. Duith that premise accepted. We conjectured that POSSIBLY WE COULD EXPLORE THE LAP COMING IN ON D-DAY. WITH THE 350 MAN FRENCH ELEMENT A DAY OR TWO LATER. AND THEN A LAPSE OF SOME DAYS BEFORE THE BULK OF THE US, ITALIAN, AND REMAINING FRENCH FORCES ENTER BEIRUT. WE SHALL HAVE

PAGE Q3

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TO SEE.

--! STILL CONSIDER ISRAELI OPPOSITION TO A 350 MAN
FRENCH BETACHMENT AS MISPLACED AND MISOUIDED. THE PLO MAS
NOW AGREED TO DEPLOYMENT OF THE FRENCH ELEMENT IN THE
INITIAL DAYS EXCLUSIVELY TO THE PORT AREA AND ITS APPROACHES
FROM WEST BEIRUT. AS A RESULT, THE ISRAELI ARBUNENT THAT
THE FRENCH CONSTITUTE A "SHELTER" FOR THE PLO IS LESS AND
LESS VALID.

--THUS, IF WE COULD COME UP WITH A REASONABLE AND
IMADINATIVE ARRANGEMENT THAT ADDRESSES IN PART ISRAELI CON-

CERMS. WE WOULD HAVE A SOOD BASIS ON WHICH TO URSE THEIR ACQUIESCENCE IN THE NEW DEPLOYMENTS AND TIMETABLE. (AS NOTED ABOVE. HE WILL ALSO MEED A FIRM SYRIAN COMMITMENT TO LEAVE BEIRUT.) -- IF. MONEYER, WE DO NOT MAKE HEADWAY WITH BEGIN. WE COULD CONSIDER AND EXPLORE AS A FINAL FALLBACK THE ESTABLISH-MENT OF AN INTERIM AND UNARMED US-FRENCH-ITALIAN "MONITORING" GROUP FROM THE MMF--OF PERHAPS 20-25 MEN FROM EACH COUNTRY. MAKING A TOTAL OF 60-75 MEM--TO MONITOR THE DEPARTURE BY SEA OF THE PALESTINIANS DURING THE PERIOD UP TO THE ENTRY INTO BEIRUT OF THE BULK OF THE MAP (IT MAY SE MECESSARY TO HAVE SUCH AM INTERIM OBSERVER GROUP ALSO MONITOR THE INITIAL DEPARTURES OVERLAND TO SYRIA. IF THE PLO ACCELERATES ITS DEPARTURE SCHEDULE AS NOW SEEMS POSSIBLE). THE GROUP COULD BE PROPOSED AS AN ADVANCE PARTY OF THE MMF. IF NECESSARY.

3. ACTION RECOMMENDED: I WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THE DEPARTMENT'S REACTION TO THE FOREGOING SCENARIO AND TO THE CONCEPT-AS A FALLBACK--OF PUTTING TOGETHER A 20-28 MAN US DETACHMENT INTO AN INTERIM DESERVER GROUP. (THESE NEED NOT ALL SE MILITARY MEN; WE COULD PERHAPS INCLUDE A FEW ARABIC AND FRENCH-SPEAKING FSO VOLUNTEERS.) THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR HAS INFORMALLY INDICATED THAT FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN SUCH A GROUP WOULD NOT POSE A PROSLEM. MEANWHILE, NO ACTION NEED SE TAKEN WITH RESPECT

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TO ISRAEL, AND AMBASSADOR LEWIS CAN GIVE THEM AN INTERIM REPORT STATING THAT I AM ENGAGED IN ACTIVE EXCHANGES THROUGH THE LEBANESE INTERNEDIARIES AND WOULD HOPE TO HAVE A DEFINITIVE RESPONSE BY TOMORROW.

DILLON



Department of State

ELEGRAM

MCMI.

AN: M820607-0238

KALT

'AGE 01 0715422 ICTION NODS-00

OCT-00 ADS-00 --127613 6715442 /44 4715322 AUG 82 ZFF-4 PH AHENDASSY TEL AYIY SECSTATE WASHDE NIACT INHEDIATE 7301 AMEMBASSY BEIRUT MIACT IMMEDIATE IMPO UMITEHOUSE WASHOC IMMEDIATE AMENBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY AMEMBASSY DANASCUS PRIORITY AMCONSUL JERUSALEM PRIORITY AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIGRITY

SECTION 01 OF 02 TEL AVIV 12017

"DECAPTIONED

FOR THE SECRETARY AND HABIS' FROM LEWIS

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR MILI, MOPS, PEPR, PINT, LE, IS, PLO, US, FR, XF HABIS HISSION: ON THE BISDOM OF NOT OVERESTINATING OUR PERSUASIVENESS OR UNDERESTINATING THE ISRAELI RESISTANCE TO PRESSURE

REFS: A. BEIRUT \$166 β B. BEIRUT \$178, C. TEL AVIV 12000, D. STATE 220094 β E. TEL AVIV 11997

1. TENTINE TERP.

2, ALTHOUGH IT LOOKS TODAY AS IF PHIL HABIB CAN FINALLY SEE THE FINISH LINE IN SIGHT, I MUST RAISE A BRIGHT AMBER LIGHT. MAISE A BRIGHT AMBER LIGHT. PHIL HAS EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION IN A NUMBER OF CONVERSATIONS AND MESSAGES THAT THE ISRAELIS WILL SURELY NOT REJECT

PAGE 02

THE OVERALL PACKAGE DECAUSE OF ONE OR TWO

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FOIA Exemptions Exemptions

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UNPALATABLE ELEMENTS. SO LONG AS ITS TOTAL EFFECT WILL ACHIEVE THEIR GOAL OF GETTING THE PLO LEADERS AND COMBATANTS OUT OF BEIRUT. HE IS COUNTING ON AMERICAN PERSUASIVENESS AND THE EXERCISE. IF NECESSARY. OF STRONG AMERICAN PRESSURE TO BRING THE ISRAELI CABINET AROUND WHEN THE TIME COMES. I EARNESTLY COUNSEL PHIL AND EVERYONE ELSE INVOLVED IN THIS INTRICATE ENTERPRISE NOT TO MAKE THAT ASSUMPTION.

AS THE PACKAGE NOW SHAPES UP. THE STICKING POINT WITH ISRAEL WILL BE OVER THE TIMING FOR INSERTION OF THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE. BEGIN AND SHARON HAVE BOTH LAID DOWN UNEQUITOCA MARKERS DURING THE PAST THEMTY-FOUR HOURS ON THIS ISSUE (REFS & AND C). THEY AND ALL OTHER ISRAELIS INVOLVED ARE CONVINCED. PERHAPS UNREASONABLY BUT NO LESS UNSHAKABLY. THAT THE MOMENT A FRENCH MNF CONTINGENT. OR A UNIT OF UN OBSERVERS FOR THAT MATTER, ARE INSERTED BETWEEN. THE PLO AND THE IDF. ALL BETS WILL BE OFF. ARAFAT'S APPARENT READINESS TO LEAVE UNDER PHIL'S PLAN WILL SUDDENLY EVAPORATE, TO BE REPLACED BY A PROLONGED EFFORT TO RENESOTIATE ISSUES WHICH NOW SEEM TO HAVE FALLEN AWAY. THE ISRAELI LEADERS HAVE BEEN SAYING THIS TO US REPEATEDLY FOR THE PAST THO HEEKS AND HAVE BEEN WARNING PHIL NOT TO MAKE SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT IN THE EXPECTATION THAT IT WILL BE SWALLOWED IN JERUSALEN. I AM AFRAID THAT WE SHOULD TAKE THIS WARNING AS DEADLY SERIOUS.

4. IF THE PACKAGE IS PRESENTED TO THE ISRAELI CABINET WITH THIS: ELEMENT IN IT, AS PHIL NOW HOPES

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TO DO IN THE MEXT VERY PEW DAYS, I AM CONVINCED IT WILL BE REJECTED. THERE WILL BE AN ARGUMENT HERE AS TO WHETHER TO PROCEED WITH MORE "MOGSE-TIGHTENING" MILITARY MOVES OR WHETHER TO GIVE PHIL A LITTLE LONGER TO CONVINCE THE PLO TO DROP THIS CONDITION. THAT DEBATE WILL BE A NARROW THING, BUT THE RESULT WILL LIKELY BE AN INSISTENCE THAT THIS PROVISION, IF NOT OTHERS, MUST BE REMESOTIATED. WHILE THAT PROCESS GOES FORWARD, THE DANGERS OF CEASE-FIRE VIOLATIONS AND MORE MILITARY MOVES WILL



SE GREAT INDEED.

S. TACTICS OF PRESENTATION TO THE ISRAELIS ARE IMPORTANT BUT WILL NOT CHANGE THIS OUTCOME. I AM CERTAIN THAT IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR HABIB TO COME TO JERUSALEM HINSELF TO PRESENT THE PACKAGE, BACKED-UP BY A STRONG SIMULTAMEOUS PITCH BY SECRETARY SHULTZ TO AMBASSADOR ARENS. BUT EVEN THAT DOUBLE WHAMMY WILL NOT, I FEAR, SERVE TO OVERCOME THE ISRAELI DETERMINATION TO BE ASSURED THAT THE PLO WILL NOT CHANGE ITS MIND ONCE SAFELY BEHIND THE BARRIER OF FRENCH FORCES.

6. WE MAY, REPEAT, MAY BE ABLE TO GET BEGIN AND SHARON BACK TO PHIL'S ORIGINAL IDEA, WHICH, OF COURSE, THEY NEVER FULLY ACCEPTED: HAVING ALL OF THE FORCE INSERTED AT A POINT WHERE THE PROCESS OF EVACUATION WAS WELL UNDERWAY AND IT HAD BECOME A PRACTICAL IMPOSSIBILITY FOR THE PLO LEADERS TO CHANGE THEIR MINDS. THAT IS THE MOST WE CAN





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SECOND SECTION 02 OF 02 TEL AVIV 12017

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HOPE FOR. AND IT WILL SE DIFFICULT ENOUGH TO ACHIEVE.

7. MY STRONG ADVICE, THEREFORE, IS THAT PHIL TAKE BEGIN AND SHARON'S STRICTURES TO HEART NOW RATHER THAN LATER. DIFFICULT AS IT HAY BE WITH THE PLG. IT IS BETTER TO PACE THIS ISSUE NOW RATHER THAN NEXT WEEK. THE IMPRESSION I HAVE FROM AFAR IS THAT PRESIDENT SARKIS, AT LEAST, AND PERHAPS OTHERS IN THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT PRIVATELY AGREE VERY STRONGLY WITH THE ISRAELI POSITION. THEY SHOULD, THEREFORE, BE ALLIES, IF PHIL NOW REOPENS THIS ISSUE OF THE TIMING OF FRENCH ENTRY, BASING HIMSELF SQUARELY ON THE VERY CATEGORIC STATEMENTS HADE BY BOTH BEGIN AND SHARON YESTERDAY AND TODAY.

A. MINIMIZE BEIRUT, DAMASCUS CONSIDERED.

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Department of State TELEGRAM

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: MILI, IS, US, LE, PLO, XF

Subject: Presidential message to PM begin

- LCA ENTIRE TEXT.
- PLEASE DELIVER THIS MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO BEGIN AT ONCE. BEGIN QUOTE:
- THIS MESSAGE FOLLOWS OUR TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS TO EMPHASIZE THE DEPTH OF MY PERSONAL CONCERNS ABOUT RECENT ISRAELI MILITARY ACTIONS AND THEIR DESTRUCTIVE EFFECT.
- AT THIS MOST CRUCIAL MOMENT IN AMBASSADOR HABIB'S MISSION, WHEN HE IS ONLY A FEW DAYS AWAY FROM WORKING THE FINAL DETAILED POINTS OF HIS PACKAGE PLAN FOR THE DEPARTURE OF THE PLO IN BEIRUT FROM LEBANON, ISRAELI AIR

PAGE 02

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STRIKES, SHELLING AND OTHER HILITARY HOVES HAVE STOPPED



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PROGRESS IN THE MEGOTIATIONS. I FIND THIS INCOMPREHENSIBLE AND UNACCEPTABLE. ISRAEL MUST ADHERE TO AN IMMEDIATE, STRICT CEASEFIRE IN PLACE. THE ASSURANCES UNION WE HEAR FROM JERUSALEM MUST BE BORNE OUT BY THE ACTIONS OF ISRAEL'S DEFENSE FORCES, UNO MUST STOP THESE MASSIVE ERUPTIONS TO ANY PROVOCATION.

- 5. I CAMMOT STRESS ENOUGH TO YOU HOW SERIOUSLY I REGARD THIS SITUATION. AS I TOLD YOU ON THE TELEPHONE, OUR ENTIRE FUTURE RELATIONS ARE AT STAKE IF THESE MILITARY ERUPTIONS CONTINUE.
- 6. AMBASSADOR HABIS MUST BE EMBLED TO FULFILL THE LAST STEPS IN HIS MISSION. HE HAS ALREADY ACHIEVED A FULLY COMPREHENSIVE AND REASONABLE PACKAGE AGREEMENT. ISRAELI MILITARY ACTIONS OF THE PAST SEVERAL HOURS MAY HAVE MADE FURTHER ALTERATION OF THAT PACKAGE IMPOSSIBLE. IF THIS PROVES TO BE THE CASE, HE WILL LOOK TO ISRAEL TO ACCEPT IT FULLY SO THAT THE AGONY OF BEIRUT WILL END.
- 7. FURTHERMORE, WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF MOVES BY ISRAELI FORCES TOWARD JUBAYIL AND THE NORTH OF LEBANGN? I CANNOT ACCEPT THIS NEW MILITARY ADVANCE AS COMPATIBLE WITH PLEDGES OF ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON AND SUPPORT FOR THE EMERGENCE OF A STABLE LEBANESE BOVERNMENT.

END QUOTE. SHULTZ







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THE TURISCIPUT SIGN

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FROM HABIS

DNG: OADR E.O. 12356:

PINT, PEPR MILI, MOPS, LE, IS, PLO, XFOA LOOKING AHEAD AUGUST 6 SUBJ: HABIB MISSION:

(S:ENTINE TEXTA

WE HAVE REPORTED SEPARATELY THE DETAILS OF THE ATIONS WITH THE PLO AND THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT I HOPE TO BE ABLE TO COME TO THE THE PRIME MINISTER. POINT WHELD J.

WILL HAVE A FINAL DRAFT OF A WITHDRAWAL PLAK

BY XM

PROPOSE TO PRESENT THAT PLAN TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL AND THE PLO LEBANON, GOVERNMENT OF AT THAT TIME I BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR APPROVAL.

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TO PROPOSE THAT D-DAY (THE BESIMMING OF PLO DEPARTURE) BE

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SET FOR AUMCO #
AUGUST 12. I HAVE IN MIND THE POSSIBILITY OF
THAT DATE SLIPPING, DEPENDING UPON CONFIRMATION OF A
DEPARTURE SCHEDULE BY PLO. IN THAT CASE, WE WOULD SUGSEST D-DAY NO LATER THAN AUGUST 18. THESE DATES SHOULD BE KEPT ONLY
TO OURSELVES AT THE MOMENT.

3. IN THE MEANTIME, IT REMAINS ESSENTIAL THAT THE CEASE-FIRE BE SCRUPULOUSLY OBSERVED WITH MUTUAL RESTRAINT.
IN MY MIND. IT IS EQUALLY ESSENTIAL THAT SERVICES TO WEST BEIRUT BE RESTORED. I HAVE GIVEN MY VIEWS IN THIS REGARD IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE. I WISH TO STRESS THE URGENCY OF THE MATTER ON BOTH HUMANITARIAN AND POLITICAL GROUNDS. FINALLY. SOME PUL

AXSCK-OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM THE CROSSING POINTS AT THE PORT AND THE MUSEUM AREA WOULD REDUCE THE CHANCES OF LOSING THE CEASE-FIRE. EASE THE PROBLEMS OF SUPPLY TO WEST BEIRUT, AND IMPROVE THE ENVIRONMENT GENERALLY AT A CRITICAL MOMENTUSM THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

4. IF THE ISRAELIS REFUSE TO COOPERATE ON THE MEASURES RAISED IN THE PREVIOUS PARA, CONTINUE TO REINFORCE THEIR FORCES ON THE EDGE OF WEST BEIRUT, AND CONTINUE TO FLY THE SORT OF PROVOCATIVE LOW-LEYEL RECONNAISSANCE WE HAVE NOTED TODAY, WE COULD FIND OUR EFFORTS HAMPERED WITHOUT REASON. SOMEHOW, WE MUST CONVINCE THE ISRAELIS OF THE NEED FOR RESTRAINT. IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, THAT IS A TASK BEST DONE FROM WASHINGTON. I WILL ALSO NEED FULL SUPPORT FOR THE FINAL WITHDRAWAL PLAN, WHICH CONTAINS ELEMENTS

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THAT THE ISRAELIS HAVE OBJECTED TO. BUT WHICH IN MY CONSIDERED OPINION ARE REASONABLE AND ACCEPTABLE.

S. FINALLY, WE MUST NOW SO ALL OUT TO PERSUADE THE EGYPTIANS TO RECEIVE PLO COMBATANTS. THE PALESTINIANS CLAIM THEY MAYE TOLD THE EGYPTIANS THAT THEY DO NOT WISH TO LINK THEIR WITHDRAWAL PROM SEIRUT TO EGYPT WITH THEIR LONGER TERM POLITICAL CLAIMS. THIS MOULD IMPROVE THE CHANCES OF PERSUADING THE EGYPTIANS TO TAKE THEM.

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NOTE BY OC/T: *GARBLED THROUGHOUT: CORRECTION WILL FOLLOW.

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Ē.O. 7/30/02 (SHULTZ, SEORGE P.)

TAGS: IS. LE. US

LETTER TO PRINE MINISTER BEGIN FROM SECRETARY SUBJECT:

SHULTZ

SECRET: ENTIRE FERFY

- CHARGE BROWN SHOULD DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE SECRETARY SHULTZ TO PM BEGIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.
- BEGIN TEXT.

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

THIS IS MY FIRST MESSAGE TO YOU AND, WHILE TH WEST BEIRUT REMAINS OF THE GREATEST URGENCY. WHILE THE PROBL DANGER. COMPLEXITY, I AM PLEASED THAT THIS SEEMS TO BE A MOMENT

PAGE 02

STATE 213728

CONTAINING SOME HOPE FOR AN OUTCOME THAT CAN CONTRIBUTE

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TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY, LEAD TO THE DEPARTURE OF THE PLOFROM BEIRUT AND LEBANON, AND RESTORE PEACE TO THAT CAPITAL AGAIN.

THE DECLARATION OF THE ARAB LEAGUE COMMITTEE AT JIDDA

CONTAINS SOME CONSTRUCTIVE POINTS. SUCH AS "THE PLO AMNOUNCES ITS DECISION TO TRANSFER ITS ARMED FORCES OUT OF BEIRUT." ITS ACCEPTANCE OF THE PARTICIPATION OF INTERNATIONAL FORCES, AND ITS AVOIDANCE OF LINKAGE BETWEEN THE WEST BEIRUT PROBLEM AND OTHER ISSUES.

WITH THESE DEVELOPMENTS I BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE ARRIVED AT A SIGNIFICANT POINT WHICH DESERVES OUR MOST SERIOUS AND RESPONSIBLE ATTENTION AND EFFORT. IT NOW SEEMS POSSIBLE THAT, WHEN CONDITIONS PERMIT, AMBASSADOR HABIB WILL BE ABLE TO ENGAGE IN TALKS ON THE PRACTICAL DETAILS OF PRECISELY HOW AND WHEN THE DEPARTURE WILL TAKE PLACE. WHILE FURTHER DIFFICULTIES AND SETBACKS MAY LIE AHEAD, THE MEXT SEVERAL DAYS, IN MY VIEW, COULD PROVIDE THE TURNING POINT IN OUR EFFORT TO ACHIEVE THE IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES WHICH ISRAEL AND THE W.S. SHARE. IN THIS REGARD, AMBASSADOR HABIB HAS TOLD ME THAT HE HOPES YOU WILL CONSIDER AUTHORIZING DIRECTOR GENERAL DAVID KINCHE OR SUCH OTHER OFFICIAL AS YOU WISH TO DESIGNATE TO BE IN THE AREA TO CONSULT WITH AMBASSADOR HABIB WHEN SUCH DETAILED PRACTICAL MEGOTIATIONS BEGIN.

MR. PRIME MINISTER. IT IS ALSO, IN MY VIEW, INDISPENSABLE TO OUR HOPES FOR SUCCESS THAT AN ENVIRONMENT EXIST IN AND AROUND BEIRUT WHICH IS CONDUCIVE TO PRODUCTIVE MEGOTIATIONS. THIS CANNOT BE THE CASE UNTIL A FIRM

PAGE 43 STATE 213728 .

CEASEFIRE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED. WE ARE URBING ADMERENCE BY THE OTHER SIDE AND TRUST THAT ISRAELI FORCES WILL MOT FIRE UNLESS FIRED UPON AND. IN SUCH CASES, WILL COMFINE THEIR RESPONSE TO THE SOURCE OF THE VIOLATION WITH PROPORTIONALITY. ONLY IF THIS IS SO WILL WE MAVE ANY HOPE OF BRINGING THE FIRING TO A HALT IN A LASTING MANNER.

I AM EQUALLY CONCERNED AS WELL THAT A CONTINUATION OF PRESENT CONDITIONS -- INADEQUATE WATER SUPPLY. NO ELECTRICITY. AND IMPEDIMENTS TO THE SHIPMENT OF MEDICAL

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SUPPLIES AND OTHER HUMANITARIAN SERVICES -- WILL CAUSE THE LEBANESE NEGOTIATORS TO FOCUS ON THESE CONCERNS RATHER THAN ON THE SUBSTANTIVE DECISIONS THAT HUST BE HADE. IT IS LIKELY THAT THE LEBANESE WOULD REFUSE TO MEGOTIATE AT ALL, THUS WASTING THIS NEW OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE PROGRESS, WITH POTENTIALLY TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES FOR OUR COMMON LONG-TERM GOALS OF A PEACEFUL AND PRODUCTIVE OUTCOME.

THEREFORE, I MUST ASK YOU, MR. PRIME MINISTER, TO GIVE THIS MATTER YOUR MOST SERIOUS AND URGENT CONSIDERATION. MY EARNEST HOPE IS THAT, IN THE CAUSE OF A RAPID AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION, YOU WILL INSTRUCT YOUR FORCES

SURROUNDING WEST SEIRUT TO RESTORE FULLY WATER, POWER AND VITAL SERVICES TO THAT PART OF THE CITY.

I AM LOOKING FORWARD, MR. PRIME MINISTER, TO GOOD TALKS ON MONDAY WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR. IT IS MY HOPE THAT THE PROMISING OPENING THAT NOW APPEARS BEFORE US WILL BY THAT TIME HAVE BEEN TAKEN SO THAT OUR TALKS CAN DEAL WITH PRACTICAL DETAILS OF THE PLO'S DEPARTURE AND POSITIVE PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE.

WITH WARM REGARDS, GEORGE P. SHULTZ SECRET SECRET

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END TEXT.

- 4. IN DELIVERY THE ABOVE YOU SHOULD DRAW ON FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS AS REFLECTING THE SECRETARY'S VIEWS:
- -- WE ARE CLEARLY AT A CRUCIAL POINT WITH REGARD TO WEST BEIRUT. WHAT HAPPENS IN THE MEXT FEW DAYS CAN SPELL SUCCESS OR FAILURE.
- -- WE ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE VARIOUS FORCES SEEKING TO DESTROY OUR HOPES FOR SUCCESS. THE U.S. IS NOT AND WILL NOT BE TAKEN IN BY THESE EFFORTS.
- -- THERE IS NO DOUBT BUT THAT THE PLO WILL USE EVERY DEVICE TO TRY TO PROLONG THE NEBOTIATIONS AND TO TURN

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THEM TOWARD THEIR ELEVEN POINT PROGRAM. THIS IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO US. AMBASSADOR HABIB IS CONTINUING TO WORK WITHIN THE SAME FRAMEWORK OF MODALITIES FOR THE PLO DEPARTURE THAT WE HAVE PURSUED ALL ALONG. WE WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY POINT THAT IS UNREASONABLE OR DISHONORABLE OR DESIGNED TO AVOID THE REALITY THAT THE PLO IN WEST BEIRUT HUST LEAVE LEBANON BY THE MOST RAPID MEANS POSSIBLE.

-- SIMILARLY, WE ARE COMPLETELY COGNIZANT OF THE REALITY THAT RADICAL DIEHARD ELEMENTS -- WHICH ARE PROBABLY COMMUNIST INSPIRED -- ARE ATTEMPTING AT VIRTUALLY EVERY MOMENT WHEN PROGRESS APPEARS POSSIBLE TO DESTROY OUR EFFORTS BY VIOLATING THE CEASEFIRE THROUGH ATTACKS AGAINST ISRAELI FORCES. IT IS VITAL THAT THESE RADICAL ELEMENTS BE DENIED THEIR OBJECTIVES. TO PLAY THEIR GAME BY RETALIATING IN A DISPROPORTIONATE FASHION THAT RESULTS IN A BREAKDOWN OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IS TO WORK AGAINST OUR DECRET

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OWN INTERESTS.

-- THE COMPELLING FACT REMAINS THAT THIS IS A MOMENT FROUGHT WITH POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE POTENTIAL. AND THE

CHOICE IS OURS TO MAKE.

-- PHIL HABIB MUST MAYE A CHANCE TO CAPITALIZE ON THIS MOMENT TO MAKE PRACTICAL PROGRESS. OUR INTENTION IS TO GET THE WORD TO THE PLO THAT HABIB IS IMMEDIATELY PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN NEW AND CONCRETE DISCUSSIONS VIA THE LEBANESE INTERMEDIARY, BUT ONLY ON CONDITION THAT THE PLO COME TO TERMS ON A DETAILED AGREEMENT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. IT HAS TO BE RECOGNIZED, HOWEVER, THAT THESE NEW AND CONCRETE REGOTIATIONS CAN ONLY TAKE PLACE IF VITAL SERVICES ARE RESUMED.

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FROM HABIB

E.G. 12065: RDS-1 7/23/02 (PAGAMELLI, ROBERT P.) OR-M TAGS: PEPR. MILI. IS. SY. PLO. LE. US SUBJECT: HABIB MISSION: DISCUSSION OF PRISONER EXCHANGE ISSUE WITH SYRIAN PRESIDENT ASSAU

TEL AVIV 11133 REF:

S-ENTIRE TEXT.

AT CONCLUSION OF MY MEETING JULY 23 WITH PRESIDENT ASSAD. I RAISED BEGIN'S I READ TO ASSAD PARA EXCHANGE PROPOSAL. IN ORDER THAT HE HAVE A PRECISE UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT BEGIN WAS PROPOSING. I EMPHASIZED TO ASSAD THAT I WAS acting only as a messenger in conveying begin's PROPOSAL.

ASSAD DESCRIBED PROPOSAL ON SYRIAN JEWISH COMMUNITY A FLAGRANT INTERVENTION IN SYRIAX INTERNAL AFFAIRS. HE DESCRIBED THE JEWISH COMMUNITY HERE AS BEING SYRIAN CITIZENS WITH FULL RIGHTS AND SAID THAT ISRAEL, AS A HOSTILE COUNTRY, COULD NOT DICTATE TO SYRIA ON THIS

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PAGE 02 DAMASC

ASSAD REVIEWED IN LINCTHY PARHICH THE STATUS issue.

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OF THE SYRIAN JEWISH COMMUNITY AND ITS RECENT HISTORY. INCLUDING THE PERIOD WHICH LED TO THE LIFTING OF RESTRICTIONS ON THE COMMUNITY BY THE SARG. HE STATED REPEATEDLY THAT THERE WAS NO DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND THAT THEY ENJOYED THE SAME RIGHTS AS SYRIAMS OF OTHER FAITHS. HE SAID THAT HE REJECTED BEGIN'S PROPOSAL FROM BOTH A HUMANITARIAN AND POLITICAL VIEWPOINT.

- w. CONCERNING AN EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS, HE SAID THAT SYRIA WOULD ONLY DISCUSS THE MATTER FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF ISRAELI POWS UNDER SYRIAM CONTROL OR SYRIAM POWS UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL. HE NOTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN PRISONER EXCHANGES IN THE PAST BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PLO AND THOSE PRISONERS OR ISRAELI BODIES UNDER PLO CONTROL SHOULD THEREFORE BE RAISED BY THE GOI WITH THE PARTY DIRECTLY CONCERNED.
- S. ASSAD STATED THAT SYRIA WAS PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE EXCHANGE OF POWS AND BODIES WITH ISRAEL THROUGH THE ICRC. HE RECALLED THAT AMBASSADOR PAGAMELLI HAD RAISED THE ISSUE OF ICRC ACCESS AND REPEATED HIS STATEMENT THAT THIS WOULD NOT BE A PROBLEM. HE SAID THAT HE DID NOT KNOW IF SYRIA HELD ISRAELI POKS. BUT GAVE ASSURANCES THAT THEY WOULD BE WELL TREATED BY THE SARG.
- 6. ON THE QUESTION OF THE RETURN OF THE BODY OF ELI COMEN. HE SAID THAT THIS SUBJECT HAD A LONG MISTORY. IT HAD BEEN RAISED IN 1967 AND ALSO IN 1973-74. COMEN HAD BEEN BURIED IN AN UNMARKED GRAVE AND THE SARG DID NOT KNOW ITS LOCATION. HE STATED. HOWEVER, THAT EVEN IF SYRIA KNEW THE SITE OF THE GRAVE IT WOULD NOT RETURN

SLOPET

PAGE 03 DAMASC 05216 2319082

THE BODY BECAUSE COMEN WAS A SPY WHO HAD CAUSED BREAT MARN TO SYRIA.

7. I TOLD ASSAD THAT I WOULD REPORT HIS RESPONSE TO THE GOI. PAGANELLI



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FEET A E P SECTION OF OF TEL AVIV 11097

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FOR THE SECRETARY. EAGLEBURGER AND HABIS FROM LEWIS

DEPARTMENT REPEAT TO AMBASSADOR HABIS ONLY AT APPROPRIATE - POST

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 7/22/02 (LEWIS, SAMUEL W.) OR-M

TAGS: PEPR, MILI, IS, LE, US Subject: Habib Mission: Bebin on Habib and Eagleburger

REF: A) TEL AVIV 11043. B) STATE 202068

1. Linux Culi Add and Addison.

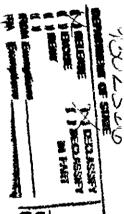
2. IN OUR SUMMARY REPORT OF MY JULY 21 MEETING WITH BEGIN AND SHARON (REF A). I REFERRED TO THE CRITICISMS WHICH THEY LEVELED AGAINST MABIB. IN LAUNCHING THIS DISCUSSION. BEGIN SAID HE MAD READ A REPORT ON EAGLEBURGER'S DISCUSSION WITH NATANYAMU AND WANTED TO REGISTER HIS STRONG EXCEPTION TO EAGLEBURGER'S USE OF "ZOOLOGICAL" REFERENCES IN DESCRIBING SHARON'S CONDUCT TOWARDS MABIB. ESPECIALLY IN DESCRIBING SHARON AS A "BULL IN THE CHINA SHOP" AND A "RODUE ELEPHANT." HE FOUND SUCH LANGUAGE "DISRESPECTFUL" AND NOT APPROPRIATE FOR CIVILIZED DIPLOMATIC DISCOURSE SECONS.

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AMONG PRIENDS. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING HIS GREAT RESPECT FOR

-AREASE.







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EAGLEBURGER. BEGIN WONDERED HOW NATANYAHU. WHO HAS JUST EMBARKED ON HIS DIPLOMATIC SERVICE. REACTED TO SUCH USE OF WORDS ABOUT A SENIOR CABINET MINISTER. BEGIN ASKED HE TO CONVEY HIS COMPLAINT TO EAGLEBURGER "IN A PRIVATE CHANNEL."

- I RESPONDED BY READING FROM THE LEAD OF OUR REPORTING CABLES ON THE MEETING IN QUESTION (PARA TWO, REF B). WHICH REPORTED EAGLEBURGER AS SAYING "THAT BOTH THE TONE AND SUBSTANCE OF SHARON'S MEETING YESTERDAY WERE UNNECESSARY . . . WE HAVE THE SAME OBJECTIVE OF TRYING TO SET THE PLO OUT OF BEIRUT. . . . MABIS MUST MAINTAIN HIS REPUTATION AS AN HOMEST BROKER. . . IT IS UMMECESSARY FOR SHARON TO TALK TO HABIB AS IF HE IS THE ENEMY." I ADDED THAT I WAS ALSO OFFENDED BY THE TONE OF SHARON'S REMARKS TO HABIS ON MON-DAY AT WHAT WAS OBVIOUSLY "NOT A MICE MEETING." SHARON INTERJECTED DEPENSIVELY AT SEVERAL POINTS IN THE DISCUSSION THAT IT REALLY HAS "A PLEASANT TALK." ADDING IT HAS REALLY QUITE NICE TO HAVE DRINKS AND COFFEE IN BEIRUT. AND THAT HABIB WAS LAUGHING A GOOD DEAL DURING THEIR DISCUSSION. HE CONCEDED ONLY THAT THERE HAD BEEN AREAS OF SHARP DIS-AGREEMENT. I RETORTED THIS WAS NOT OUR IMPRESSION FROM OUR REPORT.
- 4. ON THE PERSONAL, NASTIER SIDE, BEGIN ALSO COMMENTED THAT HABIB WAS "PERHAPS TOO NERVOUS." I RESPONDED FORCE-FULLY THAT HABIB WAS NOT NERVOUS AND BEGIN OUGHT TO KNOW BETTER. BEGIN INSISTED: "YES, HE IS TOO NERVOUS! WE KNOW IT VERY WELL." HE THEN REVEALED WHAT I TAKE TO BE THE KEY REASON FOR HIS NEW AND GROWING DISTRUST OF HABIB. BEGIN SAID HE KNEW FROM "A FRIEND IN WASHINGTON" THAT HABIB HAD "SUGGESTED THE PRESIDENT SEND BEGIN A VERY HARSH MESSAGE THREATENING ISRAEL WITH SANCTIONS!" BEGIN EXCLAIMED HOW SECORES.

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COULD MABIS EVEN MAKE SUCH A RECOMMENDATION WHEN ISRAEL MAD REMDERED SUCH A GREAT SERVICE TO THE FREE WORLD, ADDING THAT HE HAD JUST SENT A 20-PAGE DOCUMENT TO THE PRESIDENT DETAILING THE PLO'S CONNECTION TO THE SOVIET WHIGH AND TO TERRORIST SROUPS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. I RESPONDED, AS HAD PHIL TO SHARON, THAT MABIS'S RECOMMENDATIONS WERE HIS OWN BUSINESS, BUT THAT I KNEW HE WAS REPORTING ABSOLUTELY STRAIGHT TO THE ISRAELIS WHAT HE WAS DOING, SAYING, AND HEARING FROM HIS INTERLOCUTORS.

COMMENT: THIS CONTERESTION PACTICES SONS EXEATER IN-

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SIGHT INTO THE SOURCE OF THE SUSPICION WITH WHICH PHIL IS NOW BEING LOOKED AT HERE AND THE INNUENDOS THAT CERTAIN ISRAELIS ARE DROPPING. SOME OF WHICH ARE CREEPING INTO PRINT. PHIL IS SUSPECTED OF HOLDING BACK FROM THE ISRAELIS INFORMATION ABOUT PROMISES HE IS BELIEVED TO BE MAKING TO THE PLO THROUGH WAZZAN, ET AL. ASSURANCES THAT "HE WILL ASSURE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE BEIRUT AREA." OR ASSURANCES THAT HE WILL "PRODUCE ISRAELI AGREEMENT" ON OTHER ISSUES WHERE BEGIN OR SHARON HAVE REPEATEDLY TOLD WE THEY WILL NOT AGREE. PHIL IS ALSO WELL KNOWN TO REJECT ABSOLUTELY ANY FURTHER USE OF MILITARY FORCE TO EJECT THE PLO, AND IS WIDELY SUSPECTED OF PAINTING AN WHREAL, GYEROPTIMISTIC PICTURE OF THE PLO'S COMMITMENT TO LEAVE AND OF OTHER ASPECTS OF THE MEGOTIATION-ALL IN THE INTEREST OF FORESTALLING ISRAELI MILITARY MOVES.

6. THIS UNSAVORY SUSPICION CONTRASTS TOTALLY WITH THE HIGH ESTEEN BEGIN DISPLAYED PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY FOR

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SECTION 02 OF 02 TEL AVIV 11097

7. I CANNOT, HOWEVER, DISHISS THE FEAR THAT SOME OF WHAT WE ARE SEEING REFLECTS A DELIBERATE CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS, THE ISRAELIS HAVING NOW CONCLUDED THAT THEY WILL NOT BEAR FRUIT. IN SHORT, THE ISRAELIS ARE BUILDING A CASE FOR THE INEVITABILITY OF SOME FORM OF EVENTUAL MILITARY ACTION; DISCREDITING HABIB MAY BE PART OF THAT EFFORT. IF SO, I SEE SHARON AS THE CULPRIT. NOT BEGIN, BUT BEGIN LISTENS ALL TOO MUCH TO SHARON THESE DAYS. LEWIS

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TRET SECTION OF OF BEIRUT 4703 "DECAPTIONED

FROM HABIS

E.O. 12068: ROS-1, 3,4 7/17/02 (HABIO, PHILIP)) TAGS: MILI, MOPS, PEPR, PINT, LE, IS, PLO, US., XF Subject: Habib Hibsion: The Israeli Dilenna as rebards west beirut

REF: TEL AVIV 10018

I HAVE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON THE PORTRAYAL BY NEGOTIATE A FINAL POLITICAL SOLUTION AS LONG AS WE HAVE NO AGREED PLACE TO PUT THE PLO COMBATANTS. EITHER TEMPORARILY OR PERMANENTLY. THIS DOES NOT HEAN THE NEGOTIA: ING prospects are dead and the israelis have a free Hand

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--B) AT PRESENT, I AM MAKING SURE IN MY TALKS AND URGINGS WITH THE WIDE VARIETY OF LEBANESE AND FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES HERE THAT THE PLO CONTINUES TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEY. THEIR MEADQUARTERS, THEIR OFFICES, AND THEIR COMBATANTS WILL MAYE TO LEAVE BEIRUT. I CONTINUE TO MAKE IT CLEAR IN ALL APPROPRIATE WAYS THAT ISRAELI PATIENCE IS NOT UNLIMITED. I ALSO CONTINUE TO STATE THE U.S. POSITION THAT ALL FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES MUST EVENTUALLY LEAVE

-- C) I HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THE PLO HAS CHANGED ITS POSITION OF READINESS TO LEAVE BEIRUT. IN FACT. THIS MORNING'S PRESS CARRIES A CLEAR INDICATION FROM THE PLO THAT THE PLO IS READY TO MOVE TO A "PROVISIONAL" DESTINATION IN NORTHERN LEBANON (SEPTEL). -- D) I DO EVERYTHING I CAN TO ENCOURAGE AND INSTILL A SENSE OF DETERMINATION IN THE PRINCIPAL LEBANESE GOVERNMENT LEADERS, SO THAT THEY WILL BE PREPARED TO TAKE MANY HADR DECISIONS. I HAVE ENCOURAGED DETAILED PLANNING ON THE PART OF THE LAF IN PARTICULAR SO THAT THEY CAN HOVE RAPIDLY WHEN A SOLUTION IS DEVELOPED - WHETHER INTERIN OR PERMANENT - FOR HE DESTINATION OR DESTINATIONS OF THE PLO COMBATANTS. THE PRECEIOUSNESS OF THE LESANESE GOVERNMENT. THE FACT THAT SARKIS HAS ONLY TWO MONTHS LEFT IN OFFICE. AND HE USUAL COMMUNAL PROBLEMS CONTINUE TO MAKE IT A DIFFICULT TO SET ANYTHING LIKE A FIRM POSITION OUT OF THE SOVERNMENT. -E) I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE STRONGLY THAT, IF WE DETECT RELIABLE SIGNS THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE ON THE VERSE OF A MILITARY ASSAULT ON WEST BEIRUT, WE SHOULD SPELL OUT CLEARLY - IN ADVANCE - WHAT THE CONSEQUENCES WOULD BE POR THE U.S.-ISRAELI RELATIONSHIP, LISTING SOME OF THE STRONG STEPS I HOPE WE WOULD TAKE. IN A SENSE,

PAGE 03

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WE OWE IT TO THE ISRAELIS NOT TO LEAVE THEM IN ANY UNCERTAINTY ABOUT HOW WE WOULD REACT. IN THIS RESPECT. I CERTAINLY WILL NOT ACCEPT SEGIN'S ALLEGED REMARKS THAT HE WOULD GIVE HE ONLY EIGHT DAYS HORE.

I MAYE TOLD THE ISRAELIS THEY MUST NOT GO INTO WEST SEIRUT MILITARILY, THE FACT REMAINS THAT THIS POINT HAS DEEN DINNED INTO THE WARE OF ALL RARLL TITITARE SINCE I SEGAN MESTING THER MIRK, TESTERSAY, FOR EXERTLY I

TOLD DAYID KINCHE THAT I HAD TOLD SHARON LAST DECEMBER. AND SUBSEQUENTLY, THAT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE FOR ISRAEL TO SO INTO LEBANON THE WAY HE WAS PLANNING, THAT I CONTINUED TO BELIEVE IT HAD BEEN A MAJOR MISTAKE FOR ISRAEL TO HAVE SOME INTO LEBANON THIS JUME, AND THAT I WOULD OPPOSE ANY MILITARY ASSAULT ON WEST BEIRUT UNDER ANY AND ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, WHETHER OR MOT WE FOUND A DESTINATION FOR THE PLO COMBATANTS RIGHT AWAY.

4. TWO OTHER POINTS ARE WORTH NOTING AS WE LOOK AHEAD TO THE EARLY FUTURE:

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MODIS

--A) THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE AND CARS IN AND OUT OF WEST DEIRUT HAS STEPPED UP IN THE PAST TWO DAYS. ACCORDING TO OUR OWN AND OTHER OBSERVATIONS. HANY OF THESE PEOPLE ARE RETURNING AFTER BUYING MECESSITIES IN EAST DEIRUT. BUT IT APPEARS THAT THERE IS STILL A MET SUBSTANTIAL EXODUS. WE CAMMOT DE SURE, BUT THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR NOW BELIEVES THE NON-PALESTIMIAN POLULATION OF WEST DEIRUT MAY MAVE FALLEN TO ABOUT 500.000. AS COMPARED TO MIS ESTIMATE AS OF A WEEK AGO OF ABOUT 500.000. ON THE OTHER HAND. OTHER LEBANESE AND FOREIGN OBSERVERS MAINTAIN THAT THE POOR AND LOWER MIDDLE CLASS PEOPLE MAVE LARBELY STAYED IN WEST DEIRUT. THE POINT TO RECORNIZE IS THAT ISRAELIS ARE GOVIOUSLY MEADING SOME OF THE SAME SIONS AS WE ARE. AND MAY SMORTLY JUDGE THAT THE RISK TO THE CIVILIAN POPULATION FORM AN ISRAELI ASSUALT IS NUCH REDUCED.

I MOPE THIS IS NOT THE CASE, FOR CLEARLY A GREAT NAMY PEOPLE WILL BE IN WEST BEIRUT IF AN ABSUALY TAKES PLACE.

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THEIR SPIRITS AND TO INTERCEDE WITH THE ISRAELIS OVER ALL SORTS OF DAILY PROBLEMS. IF I LEFT LEBANON-EVEN DRIEFLY- IT CONCEIVABLY COULD BE MISREAD AS MY GIVING UP OR. WORSE, GIVING THE ISRAELIS A GREEN LIGHT TO PROCEED AGAINST SEIRUT. CONSEQUENTLY, I DO NOT BELIEVE I SMOULD MAKE TRIP TO ISRAEL RIGHT NOW, BUT WILL KEEP THE OPTION OPEN PENDING FURTHER PROGRESS IN OUR EFFORTS.

S. MINIMUZE DAMASCUS CONSIDERED.

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FROM HABIE

E.O. 12065: ROS-1. 3.4 7/15/02 (HABID. PHILIP) TAGS: MOPS PINT, PLO, LE, IS, XF, SY SUBECT: HABIB HISBION: FALLBACK OPTION

REF: BEIRUT 4166

2. THE WAY THINGS STAND, THE IMPASSE WHICH WE NOW FACE MAY BE WITH USE FOR AN INDEFINITE BUT PROLONGED PERIOD. IF WE SET ASIBE A MILITARY SOLUTION AS UNACCEPTABLE. THE SITUATION IN BEIRUT CARROT BE LEFT TO SMOLDER READY TO BURST INTO PLAMES AT THE PIRST STRAY SHOTS.

J. AT PRESENT, THERE IS MOUNERE FOR THE PLO CONBATANTS TO BO. SECRE

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WE SEEM TO MAYE STRUCK OUT WITH SYRIA. THIS CONCELVABLY



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COULD CHANGE AS A RESULT OF THE SAUD-KHADDAM VISIT TO WASHINGTON. IT IT DOES NOT CHANGE AND NO OTHER ARAB DESTINATION ARISES, THEN I PROPOSE HE SHIFT OUR POSITION. HE SHOULD NOT BE LEFT WITH NO OPTIONS EXCEPT PROLONSED IMPASSE OR ISRAELI ASSULT ON HEST BEIRUT.

- 4. THEREFORE, I SUSSEST WE BEGIN TO EXPLORE THE FOLLOWING PACKAGE DEAL:
- -- ()A CEASE-FIRE IN PLACE.
- -- (8) PLO AGREEMENT FOR ALL LEADERS, OFFICES AND COMBATANTS TO LEAVE WEST BEIRUT.
- --(C) THE PLO LEADERSHIP AND THEIR OFFICES (SEVERAL HUNDRED MEN), PLUS THEIR FAMILIES IF THEY WISH AND THE SYRIAMS AGREE. WILL GO TO SYRIA.
- -- (D) ALL OTHER PLO COMBATANTS. WITH THEIR INDIVIDUAL WEAPONS, WILL LEAVE BEIRUT FOR A PLACE OR PLACES TO BE DETERMINED IN NON LEBANON. THE CAMPS WHERE THEY WILL BE LODGED WILL BE UNDER LEBANESE ARMY CONTROL. WHEN THEY ARRIVE THEY WILL PLACE THEIR ARMS IN AN ARMORY SEPARATE FROM BUT NEAR THE CAMPS, AND UNDER THE JOINT CONTROL OF THEIR OWN LEADERS AND THE LEBANESE ARMY.
- --(E) THE HOVEHENT OF PLO LEADERSHIP AND COMABANTS WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED UNDER AMERICAN BUARANTEES FOR THEIR SAFETY, WITH THE COOPERATION AND PRESENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS AND UNITED NATIONS (UNISO) OBSERVERS.
- AAKF) A MULIT-NATIONL FORCE WILL BE AVAILABLE, ON THE REQUEST OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON AND WITH THE ACQUIESCENCE OF ALL PARTIES INVOLVED, TO ASSURE THE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE DEPARTURE FROM BEIRUT AND THE SAFETY OF THE REHAINING PALESTINIANS IN BEIRUT.

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--(8) INITIAL (NON-U.S.) ELEMENTS OF THE MULTIMATIGMAL FORCE WILL START TO ARRIVE AND BESIN THEIR TASK
AS THE PLO ELEMENTS BEGIN TO LEAVE BEIRUT. WHEN THE PLO
DEPARTURE IS WELL UNDERWAY, ALL THE MULTI-MATIONL FORCE
WILL BE IN PLACE AND THERE WILL BE NECESSARY AND PERSIBLE
ADJUSTMENTS IN ISRAELI LINES IN AND AROUND BEIRUT.
-- (N) THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE MULTI-MATIONAL FORCE WILL
OCCUR SIMULTANEOUSLY AND IN COORDINATION WITH THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE LEBANESE ARRED FORCES IN AND AROUND BEIRUT.
AS A FIRST TASK, THE MULTI-MATIONAL FORCE AND THE LEBANESE

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ARMED FORCES WILL SECURE THE AIRPORT AREA, TAKE OVER POSITIONS ON THE DEMARCATION LINE, AND TAKE CONTROL OF THE HEAVY WEAPONS, SPARE ARMS AND NUMITIONS BELONGING TO THE PLO. (THEMP WILL ASSIST IN THE SAFE DISPOSAL OF SUCH ITEMS.)

- --(!) SYRIAN AND SYRIAN-CONTROLLED ELEMENTS, WHETHER PART OF THE ARAB DETERRENT FORCE OR OTHERWISE PRESENT, WILL LEAVE BEIRUT FOR SYRIA AT THE TIME AS THE PLO COMBATANTS MOVE AND WITH THE SAME GUARANTEES FOR THEIR SAFTEY.
- --J) WHEN THE PLO COMBATANTS FROM WEST BEIRUT ARE GATHERED ITHERN LEBANGN, THOSE OF THEN WHO HOLD CITIZENSHIP IN OR HAVE VALID PSSPORTS FROM ANY ARAB COUNTRY WILL BE TRANSPORTED TO THAT COUNTRY WITHIN TWO WEEKS, UNDER ARRANGEMENTS TO BE CONCLUDED WITH RECEIVING COUNTRIES. PLO COMBATANTS WHO ARE ACCEPTABLE FOR RELOCAION IN ANY OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING NON-ARAB COUNTRIES, WILL ALSO BE TRANSPORTED TO THOSE COUNTRIES. THIS WOULD INCLUDE PALESTINAN MEMBERS OF MILTARY UNITS FORMED IN SUCH COUNTRIES AS EGYPT, IRAQ AND JORDAN FOR SERVICE IN THE PALESTINE

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RICOM

LIBERTATION ARMY (PLO). (MOTE: ME RECOMIZE THAT JORDAN HIGHT WANT TO REJECT SOME PALESTINIAMS EVEN WITH MOMINAL JORDANIAM CITIZEMSHIP. BUT WE WOULD URSE ACCEPTANCE OF A MAXIMUM NUMBER.) IN THIS STARE, WE WOULD SEEK TO PERSUADE A WIDE VARIETY OF COUNTRIES TO ACCEPT COMBATANTS FROM BEIRUT. AT SUCH TIME AS IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE REMAINING PALESTIMANS TO MOVE TO ANOTHER COUNTRY THEY WILL BE ENCOURASED TO DO SO.

--K) THE ABOVE ACTIONS WILL BE FOLLOWED BY THE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL OTHER FOREIGN ARMED FORCES FROM LEBANON ON THE BEMANG AND WHER TERMS THAT WILL BE AGREED TO BY THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON AND THOSE FORCES. THIS WILL INCLUDE SYRIAM AND ISRAELI FORCES. AND SO-CALLED VOLUNTEER ARMED ELEMENTS SUCH AS THOSE FROM IRAN AND SOUTH YEREN, IF THE LATTER MAYE NOT BEEN WITHDRAWN PREVIOUSLY. IN THIS STAGE, PALESTIMIAN COMBATANTS FROM AREAS OUTSIDE SIGNT WILL BE DISARMED AND JOIN THOSE REMAINING IN THE MORTHERN SECRET.

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CAMPS OR DEPART THE COUNTRY. --L) A PROBLEM IMMERENT IX THIS OR SMY BOMBMP PAR ARTTIME

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THE PLO OUT OF LEBANON DERIVES FROM THE PRESENCE OF THEIR FAMILIES IN BEIRUT AND ELSEUMERE IN LEBAMON. WE DO MOT KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT THE NUMBERS INVOLVED OR THEIR LOCATION. OR HOW THE 10F OCCUPATION IS AFFECTING THEM. IN CONDIDERUMS THIS MATTER BE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE FAMILILULD STAY WHERE THEY ARE PENDING THE FINAL DEPLOYMENT OF THE COMBATANTS. MORZOVER, THIS REINFORCES OUR BELIEF THAT ALL - OR ALMOST ALL - PALESTINIAN COMBATANTS SHOULD LEAVE LEBANON EVENTUALLY. ONLY THOSE WHO CAN DE PEACEFULLY ABSORDED INTO LEBANESE SOCIETY SHOULD REMAIN. AS AND WHEN COMBATANTS HOVE TO OTHER COUNTRIES. THEIR PANILIES CAN SO UTH THEM. IT DOES NOT APPEAR PEASIBLE TO MAVE THE FAMILIES JOIN THEIR MEN IN THE CAMPS. THIS WOULD MERELY RE-CREATE A SITUATION IN WHICH LARAGE MUNBERS OF PALESTINIANS WOULD BE GATHERED UNDER CONDITIONS IN WHICH THEY WOULD BE IMA POSITION TO REJECT LEBANESE AUTHORITY. THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED IN THE PAST. IF IT TURNS OUT THAT SOME OF THE PLO CONTATANST DO NOT LEAVE LEBANON BECAUSE THEY MAYE NO PLACE TO SO THEN THEY WILL JUST HAVE TO STAY HERE -UNARMED D UNDER LESAMESE AUTHORITY. HOPEFULLY. THERE WILL NOT BE SO MAY IN THIS CATEGORY THAT A STRONG SOL WILL NOT BE ABLE TO MAKE THEM AND KEEP THEM DISARMED. ALL OF US- AMERICANS, ISRAELIS LEBAMESE AND OTHER ARABS- MAY HAVE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT WE PROBABLY MEYER WILL BE ABLE TO PRODUCE. A TOTAL SOLUTION UNTIL THE PALESTIANS HAVE A HOMELAND.

S. I RECOGNIZE THAT THESE PROPOSALS FOR THE FIRST STAGE ARRANGEMENTS HEAN THAT THERE WILL PROBABLY NOT BE A RELATIVELY QUICK AND CLEAN EXODUS FROM LEBANGN OF ALL THE SECRET

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PLE COMBATANTS FROM SEIRUT. THUS, THESE PROPOSALS A WILL POSE A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS FOR THE LEBANESE, BUT THEY MAY SE DESPERATE ENCUSHT TO LOOK UPON THEM AS A SHORT-TERM MAY GUT. WE ARE LIKELY TO HAVE A MUCH MORE OFFICULT TIME IN PERSUADING THE ISRAELIS. I MENTIONED ONLY SOME OF THE PROS AND COMS IN REFTEL AND IN THIS MESSAGE, THUS, WHILE I SUGGEST WE DISCUST THESE PROPOSALS WITH THE ISRAELIS AND AGREE TO ANY SUGGESTIONS PROM THEN THAT ARE REASONABLE, WE SHOULD BE IN A POSITION TO PROCEED SO LONG AS WE ARE SATIFIED. IF THE DEPARTMENT AGREES, LD OPEN UP THIS LINE OF PISCUSRION WITH KINCHE OR

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SATURDAY IN BEIRUT. AND FOLLOW THAT UP IMMEDIATELY BY TALKING TO THE LEGAMESE. AT SUCH TIME THEREAFTER THAT IT WOULD BE DEEMED USEFUL. I WOULD BE PREPARED TO GO TO ISRAEL AND SYRIA TO PURSUE THE MATTER.

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CORRECTED COPY (TEXT)

FROM HABIB

E.O. 12065: ROS -1.3.4 7/13/02 (HABIS, PHILIP)
TAGS: MILI, MOPS, PEPR, PINT, LE, IS, 0)9, SY, SA, XF
SUBJECT: HABIS MISSION, LOOKING AHRAD

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1. 4-847-92-74-77

2. BASIS ASSUMPTION: I CONTINUE TO OPERATE ON THE PRESUMPTION THAT WE MUST DE EVERTHING POSSIBLE TO PORESTALL AN ISRAEL! MILITARY SOLUTION TO THE WEST BEIRUT PROBLEM. AN ISRAEL! MILITARY SOLUTION WOULD COMPRONT US POR YEARS TO COME WITH EMERHOUS DAMAGE TO OUR POLITICAL POSITION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND DEYOND AS WELL AS TO OUR MORAL CREDIBILITY. FEW WILL EVER BELIEVE WE COULD NOT HAVE

DETERRED THE ISRAELIS PROP SHEN AN ACTION, ABIOE FROM JUNGLASSIFIED

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THE APPALLING TOLL IN INNOCENT LIVES AND PROPERTY DAMAGE. AN ISRAELI MILLTARY SOLUTION MIGHT WELL SPELL THE END TO AMY POSSIBLITIES OF A SUMBINE LEBAMESE MATIONAL RECONCILIATION AMONG CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS. I COULD LIST OTHER GRAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY OBJECTIVES AND HAVE DONE SO IN PREVIOUS MESSAGES. HAVING SAID THIS, I WILL LAY OUT BELOW WHERE I THINK WE STAND NOW AND WHAT OUR PUTURE STEPS SHOULD BE. J. UMERE LE ARE NOU: --A) WE ARE STYMIED BECAUSE THERE IS NO COUNTRY OR COUNTRIES OF ASYLUM FOR THE PLO COMBATANTS: THE LATEST REPORT OF THE HARDENED SYRIAN POSITION OR ACCEPTING THE PLO FIGHTERS (DAMASCUS 4984) MAKES IT MORE THAN CLEAR THAT SYRIA WILL NOT NOW SECOME A COUNTRY OF asylum for the vast bulk of the combatants. -- B) I HAVE PUT TOGETHER A PACKAGE PROPOSAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE PLG LEADERSHIP AND COMBATANTS FROM BEIRUT ALONG WITH WITHORAWAL OF SYRIAM JYND SYRIAN-CONTROLLED FORCES. IT HAS BEEN IN THE HANDS OF THE BOL AND PLO, AND FITS IN PAIRLY SATISFACTORILY WITH THE BOL "PLAN" PREPARED EARLIER BY JOHNNY APOU. IT IS BASED ON THE MIMEPOINTS. THE PACKAGE PLAN IS NOT YET ACCEPTABLE TO THE ISPAELIS AS RESARDS SOME RELATIVELY MINOR issues. Nor is the Plo Ready to so alone with some of THE PACKAGE PLANS SEVERAL SIGNIFICANT ELEMENTS. NEVERTHELSS. IT REMAINS A REASONABLE COMBINATION OF PROPOSALS AND MODALITIES FOR CARRYING THEM OUT WITH WHICH ME SHOULD STICK. I MAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO PUSH THIS PLAN TO THE LINIT WTH ANY OF THE PARTIES, HAINLY BECAUSE HE HAVE NOT FOUND AN AGREED DESTINATION FOR HE PLO LEADERSHIP AND COMBATANTS -- C) LEAVING ASIDE THE KNOWN ISRAEL! RESERVATIONS

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TO THE PACKAGE PLAN THE PLO POSITION IS TILL WELL SHORT OF WHAT IS NEEDED HEVERTHELESS. THE PLO LEADERSMIP REPORTEDLY HAS AGREED THAT THEY, THEIR HEADENARTERS APPARATUS, AND THEIR PICHTERS SHOULD LEAVE SEIRST AT LEAST. THEY HAVE SEEN CASEY ABOUT COMMITTING THEMSELVES TO LEAVE LEBANON FOR SOOD. WE SHULD CONTINUE TO SEHAVE AS THOUGH WE ACCEPT THEIR ALLESED COMMITMENT TO LEAVE SEIRST AT THE VERY LEAST.

--3) HEADWHILE, THE ISRAELIS CONTINUE TO THREATEN THAT THEY WILL WIT A SILL STAY OPTION TO DESTROY THE

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PLO IN WEST BEIRUT. IF MECESSARY. THEY HAVE THE PLO FORCES ENCIRCLED AND ENTRAPPED, AND WILL NOT WILLINGLY GIVE UP THIS GREAT ADVANTAGE. THEY ARE INCREASINGLY RUSTRATED BY OUR INABILITY TO BRING ABOUT A ACCEPTABLE POLITICAL SOLUTION IN A TIMELY WAY AND HAVE SEGUN TO SIGNAL THAT THEIR PATIENCE IS CONING TO AND END. -- E) FOR THEIR PART. THE PLO LEADERS MUST REALIZE THAT THEY CANNOT OPERATE PREELY WHILE SURROUNDED BY THE IDF. EVEN IF ISRAEL DOES NOT RESORT TO THE MILITARY OPTION RIGHT AWAY, THE PLO LEADERS PROBABLY RECOGNIZE THAT THE ISPAELIS WILL BE ABLE TO CONTINUE A LONG SIEGE OF BEIRUT AND WILL CONTINUE TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE IMMABITANTS OF WEST BEIRUT, WHAT EVER CONTRARY INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES ARE BROUGHT TO BEAR. ON THE OTHER MAND THE PLO SEEMS TO THINK THAT ARAB PRESSURE ON THE U.S. MAY STILL SAVE THEM FROM DESTRUCTION. 4. COURSES OPEN TO THE U.S.1 SOM SHOULD PROCEED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT A POLITICAL SOLUTION IS STILL POSSIBLE. OUR BASIC PROBLEMS ARE THOFOLD: -- APPINDING A COUNTRY OR COUNTRIES OF ASYLUN FOR THE PLO COMBATANTS CON THE PRESUMPTION THAT SYRIA WILL ACCEPT THE TRANSFER OF THE PLO LEADERSHIP. ITS HEAD-QUARTERS. AND ITS VARIOUS OFFICES TO DAMASCUS OR SOME OTHER SYRIAN LOCALE).

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E.C. B. ST. SECTION 02 OF 02 BEIRNT 4611

MODIS. -- B) HOW MECHANICALLY TO CARRY OUT THE WITHDRAWAL FROM BEIRUT OF THE PLO LEADERS, OFFICES AND COMBATANTS. s. WE CAN CONTINUE TO TAKE THE POSITION WITH THE ISRAELIS THAT THEY MUST NOT CARRY OUT A HILITARY SOLTION. ON THE GROUNDS THAT A COUNTRY OR COUNTRIES OF ASYLYM HAVE NOT YET BEEN FOUND FOR THE PALESTINIAN COMBATANTS AND THAT A POLITICAL SOLUTION REMAINS FEASIBLE. BE SHOULD CONTINUE ALL OUR EFFORTS TO FIND A PLACE OR OF ASYLUM. OUR MEXT MOVE (WHICH HE MOPE WILL SE UNDER TODAY) SHOULD BE A DETERMINED EFFORT TO MAKE THE ARAB LEAGUE TAKE ACTION COLLECTIVELY TO FIND REPUSE FOR THE PLO CONSATANTS IN A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES. ORU APPROACHES TO SUCH MODERATE STATES AS BAUDI ARABIA SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT OUR ABILITY TO CONTROL THE SITUATION AND TO PORESTALL A CATASTROPHE IN DEST DEIRUT IS LINETED UNDER THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES. WE SHOULD REITERATE THAT TO DEAL WITH THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM OF WEST DEIRNY, THE SYRIAM FORCES AND THE PLO LEADERSHIP AND FORCES THAT Ment

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ARE THERE MUST LEAVE LEBANON. AT A LATER STAGE ALL FORCES - ISRAESI, GYRTAN AND BENAINING PLO- ELBENNERS

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IN LEBANON MUST LEAVE, IT SHULD BE MADE CLEAR THAT OTHERVISE THE ARAB WORLD WILL PACE & LONG-TERM ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF NUCH OF LEBANON WITH ALL THAT THIS IMPLIES. (IF AS EXPECTED THERE IS NO TUNIS SUNNIT OR IF THE ARAB LEASUE REAMINS INCAPABLE. WE SHOULD PURSUE THIS EFFORT WITH ALL APPROPRIATE ARAD STATES. INCLUDING EGYPT. IN ALL APPROPRIATE CHANNELS.) 6. IF. DESPITE OUR PRESENT EFFORTS. WE DO NOT FIND A OR PLACES OF REFUGE FOR THE PALESTIMIAN COMBATANTS. WE COULD PROCEED TO A FALL BACK OPTION. WE SHOULD NOT DISCUSS THIS OPTION UNTIL AND UNLESS WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THER IS NO CHANCE FOR THE PLO TO BO ELSEWHERE. THIS OPITOM WOULD HAVE US TRY TO MOVE THE COMBATANTS BEIRUT INTO EXISTING CAMPS IN THE NORTHERN BIG'A AND TRIPOLI AREAS AS AN INTERIM MEASURE PENDING THEIR MOPED-FOR DISPERSAL ULTIMATELY TO SEVERAL ARAB COUNTRIES. THE ADVANTAGES ARE THAT SUCH A TRANSFER: (A) WOULD REHOVE THE ISRAELI MILITAR THREAT TO WEST BEIRNT: (B) HOULD REDUCE PLO OPPOSITIN TO WITHDRAWAL FROM WEST DEIRUT SINCE MOVING TO THESE OTHER AREAS AS A FIRST STEP WAS PART OF THE ORIGINAL PLO COUNTER-PROPOSALS: AND (C) WOULD SIVE ALL OF US FURTHER TIME AND DIPLOMATIC MANEUVERING ROOM TO FIND PERMANENT COUNTRIES OF ASYLYM THE CIMER PALESTINIANS. INCLUDING FOR THESE AND ALL THOSE 9.000 PALESTINAIN WHO MIGHT WLTIMATELY BE RELEASED BY ISRAEL. AND THE PAHILIES OF THOSE LEAVING LEBANON FOR BOOD.

7. THIS BALL BACK OPTION OF SENDING THE CONSATANTS IN BEIRUT TO PLACES ELSEWHERE IN LEBANON HAS MANY DISADVANTAGES THE ISRAELIS MIGHT OBJECT, ALTTHOUGH SHARON'S SEEMING INDIFFERENCE OVER WHETHER THE PLO

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BEIRUT 04611 02 0F- 02 1404182

FIGHTERS OF ELSEWHERE IN LEBANON RATHER THAN 60 TO STRIA MAY BE SOMETHING WE CAN PLAY WITH. THE CHRISTIANS CERTAINLY WILD OBJECT AS WELL AS MANY OF THE SHI'A AND CHRISTIAN INHABITANTS OF THE BIR'A. THE ISRAELIS CERTAINLY WOULD CONTINUE TO OCCUPY THE PART OF LEBANON THEY NOW HOLD AS LONG AS THESE FIGHTERS REMAIN IN STRENGTH ANYWHERE IN LEBANON ALTHOUGH AS I MAYE REPORTED EARLIER. THIS MAY HAPPEN IN ANY EVENT DESPITE OUR SEST EFFORTS. THE STRIAMS MIGHT WELL WE THE PLOCHBATANTS TO PLESH OUT THEIR OWN MILITARY PORCES IN STRIAM-CONTROLLEY LEBANON. THE CHANCES OF PUTWER MILITARY

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CONFRONTATIONS. IF NOT WITH THE IDF EMEN WITH THE PHALANGE. WILL BE HISH. THE PROSPECT OF A LEBANON PARTIONED INTO THREE OR PERHAPS FOUR REGIONS WULLD BE EMMANCED. EMPLOYING THIS FALL BACK OPTION WOULD ALSO TAKE A LOT OF THE HEAT OFF THE ARAB WORLD TO FIND A LONGER TERM SOLUTION AND A PERMANNT SANCTUARY OR SANCTUARIES FOR THE PLO MILITARY FORCES. AS REGARDS THE SECOND MAJOR QUESTION - HOW TO CARRY OUT THE PLO WITHDRAWAL FROM BEIRUT- THERE STILL REMAINS SOME FLEXIBILITY. IF HE MAYE SUCCEEDED INFINDING A PLACE FOR THE PLO TO GO. WE CAN THEN MOVE WROENTLY TO GET OWN -package plan- acceted both as regards substance and PROCEDURES FOR THE MMF ENTRY AND PLQ WITHDRAWAL. ONCE ABAIM. HOWEVER, IF WE FAIL WE SHOULD HAVE AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO MITHORAWAL IN RESERVE. IN THIS RESARD. WE SHOULD NOT REJECT OUTT-OF-HAND THE FRENCH IDEA (SEPTEL) OF PLACING LAF AND FRENCH MNF MILITARY UNITS INTO POSITIONS NOW OCCUPIED BY THE PLO. WHILE THE PLO PICHTERS ASSESLE IN LAF BARRACKS IN BEIRUT. THIS MAY SAVE US SOME MEU-FOUND FREEDOM OF ACTION, AND WOULD NOT NECESSARILY INTER-PERE WITH OUR PREFERENCE FOR BRINGING THE U.S. ELEMENT OF AN MMF INTO THE CITY AT A LATER STAGE WHEN EVACUTTION HAS GOTTEN WELL UNDERWAY. THE ISRAELIS MAY OBJECT TO THIS VARIATION ON THE "PACKAGE PLAN" I HAD PRESENTED BUT CAREFUL TIMING. AND PROPER COORDINATION OF THE RESPECTIVE SECIET SECKET

1464152 BEIRUT **92 07 92** PAGE 04 44611

U.S. AND FRENCH APPROACHES, THIS COULD PRODUCE A SCENARIO NORE REASSURING TO THE PLO WHILE NOT NECESSARILY UNDER-CUTTING THE BASIC CONDITIONS WHICH THE ISRAELIS HAVE DEEK Demándino.

THUS, IN SUM, HE SHOULD CONTINUE TO WORK HARD TO BREAK THE IMPASSE OVER A COUNTRY OR COUNTRIES OF ASYLOR FOR THE PLO PIONTERS IN BEIRUT. IP THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE, WE SHOULD SEEK A TEMPORARY, INTERIM ARRANGEMENT PUTTING THEM IN THE DIC'A WHILE SEEKING ASYLUM POR THEM ELSEWHER THROUGHOUT, WE SHOULD FIRM UP THE MODALITIES FOR THEIR WITHDRAWAL FROM BEIRUT, WHATEVER THEIR DESTINATION. WE SHOULD FIRM IT THE MATTERS OUT AT THE MATTERS OUT THE MATTERS OUT AT THE MATTERS OUT AT THE MATTERS OUT THE MATTE SHOULD NOT LET THE ISPAELIS TARE NATTERS OUT OF OUR WANDS WTH MILITARY ACTION WHILE A POLITICAL SOLUTION REMAINS A VIABLE POSSIBLITY. DILLON



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PAGE 01 STATE 175122 ORIGIN NODS-00

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DRAFTED BY LWG:SJKRYS APPROVED BY LWG:SJKRYS S/S-O:ESHERMAN

Z 240945Z JUN 82 ZFF4 FN SECSTATE WASHDC TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV FLASH

NODECAPTIONED FOR CHARGE BROWN

E.O. 12065: ROS-1, 2, 3, 4 6/25/02 (KRYS, SHELDON J.) TAGS: IS, LE, MILI, MOPS, PEPR SUBJECT: ISRAEL! PRESENCE IN BAABDA

- I. CARTING TEXTS
- 2. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SECURE VOICE MESSAGE FROM HABIS PARTY.
- 3. BEGIN TEXT

WE MAYE JUST BEEN INFORMED BY AN OFFICIAL OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE -- KMALIL HADDAD -- THAT SOME 38 RPT 38 ISRAELI OFFICERS AND MEN SHOWED UP AT THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE THIS MORNING, JUNE 24, AND ASKED THAT. THE IDF BE DIVEN PERMISSION TO ESTABLISH AN OBSERVATION POST THERE. THEY WERE OF COURSE REFUSED PERMISSION, AND THE ISRAELIS MAYE LEFT AS OF 0930.

PASS THE WORD TO EAGLEBURGER, VELICITES AND CHARGE BROWN IN TEL AVIV TO MAKE THE POINT WROENTLY TO THE ISRAELIS OFFIET

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STATE 175122

THAT SHARON HAD PROMISED HE OF THESTAY REBIT THAT IT COULD

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REDUCE THE IDF PRESENCE FROM AROUND THE BABBA AREA IN THE VICINITY OF THE PALACE. IT IS SHOCKING AND ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE THAT THE ISRAELIS COULD NOW MAKE SUCH AN APPROACH. ASK THE ISRAELIS WHETHER THEY ARE TRYING TO DESTROY THE LEBANESE BOVERNMENT? THIS GROSS INSENSITIVITY IS MARMFUL TO EVERYTHING THAT HABIS IS TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH HERE AND HARMFUL TO ISRAEL'S PROFESSED WISH THAT A STRONG CENTRAL AUTHORITY BE DEVELOPED HERE.

PROVIDE A REPORT URSENTLY WHICH COULD BE USED HERE BY HABIB.

END TEXT

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PAGE 01 STATE 180288 ORIGIN NODS-00

OCT-00 INFO

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S/S-O: ESHERMAN

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E.O. 12065: RDS-1, 3 6/29/02 N.A. VELIOTES

PEPR, LE, IS, US, XF

SUBJECT: THE LEBANON CRISIS: ISRAELI COMMENTS ON

HABIB'S REPORTING

KIRBY/LEWIS TELCON JUNE 29

YOU TOOK JUST THE RIGHT LINE WITH BEGIN AND KINCHE MONDAY NIGHT IN RESPONDING TO THEIR INDIRECT ALLEGATIONS THAT PHIL HABIB HAS NOT BEEN REPORTING ACCURATELY. ISRAEL SHOULD SE LEFT WITH NO DOUBT THAT AS FAR AS USE IS CONCERNED HARIB IS THE ONLY COMPLETELY CREDIBLE REPORTER HE HAS REPORTED ONLY WHAT HE IN THE LEBANESE PICTURE. MAS SEEN TOLD AND THE PACT THAT VARIOUS LEBANESE PLAYERS HAVE THEIR OWN AGENDAS CHASHIR ABOVE ALLS IS LOST METTHER ON PHIL NOR ON US AND IS TAKEN INTO FULL ACCOUNT. seemet.

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ALLEGATIONS OF ABOU AND BASHIR THAT PHIL IS SAYING THAT ISRAEL HAD AGREED IN FRINCIPLE TO A FIVE-KILOMETER WITHDRAWAL. AS YOU ARE AWARE, PHIL HAS SPECIFICALLY AND REPEATEDLY TOLD THE LEBANESE THAT NO SUCH IDF MOVE WAS IN THE CARDS AND THAT IN FACT MINOR ADJUSTMENTS IN THE IDF LINES WOULD HAVE TO BE PRECEDED BY PLO ACCEPTANCE OF GOL TERMS AND BE PART OF A PACKAGE DEAL.

4. AS CONVEYED REFTELCON, WAZZAN IS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT REPORTS FROM THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY THAT THE PHALAMSE IS MOVING FORCES INTO THE VILLAGES FROM WHICH THE IDF HAS FLUSHED PLO/LEFTIST ELEMENTS. ACCORDING TO WAZZAM, LEFTISTS ARE TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THIS SITUATION, ARGUING WITH SOME SUCCESS THAT IF MUSLIMS RID THEMSELVES OF THE PLO ONLY TO COME UNDER THE PHALAMSE MOT ONLY ARE THEY MO BETTER OFF BUT IN ADDITION THEY ARE GOING TO LOSE THEIR MUSLIM RELIGIOUS TRADITION AND LEBANON IS GOING TO LOSE ITS TRADITION OF COMPESSIONAL COOPERATION. WAZZAM SAID THIS HAS BEEN IN PROGRESS FOR THE PAST TWO DAYS AND REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO THE PHALAMSE MOVING AT SUMPOINT MIGHT OF JUNE 28 INTO A VILLAGE NEAR BHAMDOUN WITH FATALITIES ON BOTH SIDES.

5. HABIB HAD BEEN INFORMED BY JUNBLATT THAT HE HAD RECEIVED AN ULTINATUM FROM BASHIR TO RELINQUISH HIS ARMORY AND HIS HOUSE AT MUKHTARA BY 1600 LOCAL JUNE 29. HAIG



STATE 155256 TOSEC 080198 DRIGIN NODS-00

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STATE 155256 TOSEC 080198

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBURGER

E.G. 12065:RDS 3 6/6/02 (EAGLEBURGER, LAURENCE S.) TAGS: LE

LEBANON: NEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT SUBJECT: PRESENT TEXT

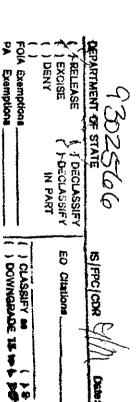
PARA 3 CONTAINS THE REVISED VERSION OF HC FARLANE'S IN OUR VIEW MEMO TO CLARK FOR THE PRESIDENT ON LEBANON. IT BORDERS ON THE SOPHONORIC, BUT IS HARMLESS, IF NOT USE-STATE, JCS, CIA, AND OSD HAVE ALL BEEN ASKED TO COMMENT ON THE MENO. THE MENO ALONG WITH THESE ASENCY COMMENTS WILL BE SENT TO THE PARTY THROUGH WHITE HOUSE. CHANNELS. WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT OTHER AGENCY VIEWS ARE AT THIS STAGE, BUT EXPECT THAT DOD WILL CONTINUE TO ARGUE AGAINST ANY POSSIBLE US HILITARY INVOLVENENT IN LEBANON, AND URSE THAT WE ISSUE TOUGH WARNINGS TO THE ISRAELIS NOW, EVEN DEFORE HABID HAS HAD A CHANCE TO WORK WITH BEGIN AND OTHERS. ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR Beeret Seeret

155256 TOSEC 080198 STATE PAGE 92

FAILURE TO WITHDRAW.

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SUBMITTED TO MC FARLANE.

3. BEGIN TEXT MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT SUBJECT: HOW TO PURSUE OUR STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES IN LEBANON ...

ISRAEL'S INVASION OF SOUTHERN LEBANON COULD HAVE SEVERE ADVERSE EFFECTS ON U.S. INTERESTS, AND FORCES US TO IMMEDIATELY REEXAMINE HOW TO PURSUE OUR POLICY GOALS IN LEBANON. TO THAT END, THIS MEMORANDUM ANALYZES THE LINKAGES BETWEEN POSSIBLE ACTIONS THAT WE MAY TAKE IN THE NEXT 24-48 HOURS AND THE LONG-TERM OBJECTIVE OF STABILIZ-ING THE STRATEGIC SITUATION IN LEGAMON THROUGH PHIL HARIE'S MISSION. BACKGROUND TO THE ISRAELI INVASION

SINCE THE BEGINNING OF YOUR ADMINISTRATION. WE HAVE TRIED TO DIMINISH THE TERRORIST THREAT WHICH ISRAEL FACES ON ITS MORTHERN BORDER. UNFORTUNATELY, THE FRAGILE CEASE-FIRE ARRANGED BY PHIL HADID. WHILE SAVING MANY lives, was unable to deal with the pundamental strategic PROBLEM OF LEBANON'S POLITICAL INSTABILITY. NOREOVER. THE ISRAELIS CONCLUDED THAT TERRORIST ATTACKS IN ISRAEL AND ELSEWHERE OVER THE LAST SIX NONTHS WERE ACTUALLY ASSISTED BY THE CEASE-FIRE, EMICH PROTECTED PALESTINIAN FORCES IN LEBANON FROM ISRAELI ATTACK. WHILE WE MAVE CONSISTENTLY COUNTERED THIS ISRAELI ARGUNENT. OUR EFFORTS TO HELP THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN LEBANON TO CONSOLIDATE ITS CONTROL AND THEREBY DIMINISH THE THREAT HAVE NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL. IT APPEARS THAT FOLLOWING THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE INITIATED BY THE BLACK JUNE ASSASSINA-TION ATTEMPT (SLACK JUNE DOES NOT BELONG TO THE PLO), THE SECRET

STATE 155256 TOSEC 080198 PAGE 63

ISRAELI GOVERNMENT CHOSE TO ELININATE THE PLO THREAT BY FORCE.

U.S. POLICY

YOU RECENTLY DECIDED THAT IT HAD BECOME EMPERATIVE FOR US TO REINVISORATE AND GO DEYOND THE CEASE-FIRE. POLICY WAS THUS FRANED TO DENONSTRATE TO ISRAEL (AND OTHER PARTIES) THAT HE CAN AND WILL DIMINISH THE SECURITY THREATS TO ISRAEL BY DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM OF

LEG ASSIFED

LEBAMON IN A STRATEGIC CONTEXT. THIS WOULD HAVE INVOLVED A COORDINATED APPROACH ANONG KEY EUROPEAN AND ARAB FRIENDS TO: STRENGTHEN THE CENTRAL LEBAMESE GOVERNMENT, HELP RESTORE AND PRESERVE THE CEASE-FIRE, REDUCE SYRIAN INFLUENCE, AND LESSEN THE PLO THREAT TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY. DEPENDENT ON HOW PHIL'S DISCUSSIONS EVOLVED, OUR PLAN WOULD HAVE BEEN TO ESTABLISH A "CONTACT GROUP" AND PERHAPS AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT A LATER STAGE WHICH COULD PROVIDE THE FACTIONS IN LEBAMON WITH A MECHANISH AND AN EXCUSE TO WORK OUT A VIABLE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT.

THIS LEBANON POLICY WOULD SUPPORT THE TWO CENTRAL REQUIREMENTS FOR OUR REGIONAL STRATEGY: (1) MAINTAINING THE U.S. AS THE SOLE OUTSIDE POWER THAT CAN MOVE THE REGION TOWARD PEACE; AND (2) STRENGTHENING THE PERCEPTION THAT THE U.S. IS ABLE AND DETERMINED TO LIVE UP TO ITS COMMITMENTS AND PROTECT ITS FRIENDS.

WITHIN THE MIDDLE, EAST. WE HAVE HAD TO WALK A FINE LINE IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES WHILE MEETING THE OFTEN CONTRADICTORY EXPECTATIONS OF THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS. IN THE WAKE OF EGYPT'S PEACEFUL RECOVERY OF SINAI, IT APPEARED YOUR ACTIONS SIGNIFICANTLY ENHANCED ISRAELI CONFIDENCE IN THE U.S. AND ENCOURAGED ARAB EXPECTATIONS THAT U.S. ACTIONS WOULD LEAD TO REAL PROGRESS

SECRET

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STATE 155256 TOSEC 484198

IN THE AUTONOMY MEGOTIATIONS. OUR RECENT ACTIVISM IN SUPPORT OF A HEDIATED OUTCOME OF THE IRAG-IRAN WAR HAS ALSO BOLSTERED MODERATE ARAB CONFIDENCE THAT THE U.S. REHAINS VITALLY INTERESTED IN THE SECURITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE BULF STATES.

OBVIOUSLY, ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES WILL HAVE MEARLY OPPOSITE EXPECTATIONS OF THE W.S. RESPONSE TO ISRAEL'S ACTIONS IN LEGANON. WHILE THE ARABS WILL PRIVATELY EXPECT A DEGREE OF W.S. SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL, GIVEN OWN LONGSTANDING POLICY, THEY WILL ALSO LOOK FOR SISHS OF EFFECTIVE W.S. ACTIONS TO EXTRACT THE ISRAELIS FROM LEBANON AS FAST AS POSSIBLE. THE ISRAELIS WILL HOPE FOR W.S. SUPPORT, BUT PROBABLY EXPECT CONSIDERABLE W.S. PRESSURE AND A PERIOD OF STRAINED RELATIONS.

THEAT STEPS AND LUNG-TERM POLICY

Security

IN LIGHT OF ISRAELI ACTIONS, THE EXPECTATIONS OF REGIONAL STATES AND THE POSSIBLE CONSERVENCES FOR V.S. INTERESTS, WE MUST DETERMINE WHETHER THE CURRENT GAME PLAN FOR LEBANON STILL REPRESENTS A VIABLE STRATEGY FOR MEETING THE CONCERNS OF ISRAEL, THE PALESTINIAMS, THE LEBANESE AND SYRIA. THE BASIC CRITERION AGAINST WHICH ARAB STATES WILL MEASURE OUR POLICY WILL BE OUR ABILITY TO SECURE A PROMPT ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL OF ITS FORCES FROM LEBANON. WHILE ARAB LEADERS WOULD APPRECIATE TOWAH W.S. RHETORIC THAT CONDERNS ISRAEL AS WELL AS THE IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS, WHAT MATTERS IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS IS WHETHER WE SUCCEED IN ENDING THE FIGHTING, REMOVING ISRAELI FORCES, STABILIZING THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN LEBANON, AND TAKING ACTION TO ENSURE AGAINST A RECURRENCE OF ISRAELI INCURSIONS. THOUGH THE CHALLENGE BOORET.

PAGE 05 STATE 155256 TOSEC 080198

TO PHIL HABIS HAS CERTAINLY BEEN COMPLICATED. THE GAME PLAN FOR LEBANON OUTLINED ABOVE REPRESENTS THE BEST

APPROACH FOR ACHIEVIN; OUR STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES WHILE MEETING THE EXPECTATIONS OF OUR FRIENDS.

IN THIS CONTEXT, YOU MUST COMSIDER WHAT PUBLIC AND DIPLOMATIC STEPS TO TAKE IN THE MEXT 24-48 HOURS TO EMHANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR PHIL HABIB'S LONGER-TERM EFFORT. OBVIOUSLY, THE MOST IMPORTANT STATE TO AMPLUENCE IN THE MEAR-TERM IS ISRAEL. OUR PUBLIC STATEMENT CALLING UPON ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW AND THE PALESTINIANS TO STOPUSING LEBANGN AS A LAWNCHING PAD FOR ATTACKS ON ISRAEL IS BALANCES AND SHOULD NOT COMPLICATE PHIL'S EFFORT. SIMULTANEOUSLY, IT MAKES CLEAR OUR LONG-TERM SOAL OF SERKING TO STABILIZE THE LEBANESE POLITICAL SITUATION.

DEPENDING ON HOW MADIS IS RECEIVED IN ISRAEL, OVER THE MEXT 24-48 HOURS, OUR INTERESTS MAY DEMAND THAT WE COM-DEMN ISRAEL AND/OR USE STRONG SANCTIONS ASAINST IT. HOW-EVER, THE ESCALATION OF OUR PUBLIC RMETORIC BURING MADID'S VISIT HAY PRODUCE EVEN HORE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE UNILATERAL ISRAELI ACTIONS AS THE BEGIN GOVERNMENT CON-CLUDES THAT U.S. COMMITMENT TO ISRAELI SECURITY IS BEING FUNDAMENTALLY WEAKENED. CLEARLY, DEBIN MAY BARBAIN EXTREMELY HARD FOR A REPLACEMENT FORCE MUCH STRONGER



SECRET

THAN UNIFIL IF ISRAEL IS TO WITHDRAW.

IN THE U.M., WE HOPE THAT JEANE WILL BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE AND VOTE FOR A BALANCED RESOLUTION WHICH DOES NOT INCLUDE CONDEMNATION OR SANCTIONS. SUCH A RESOLUTION COULD SERVE AS THE FOUNDATION FOR OUR EFFORTS TO INTERNATIONALIZE THE STABILIZATION OF LEBANON. LOOKING WELL DOWN THE ROAD, IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO TAKE STEPS TO STRENGTHEN THE UNIFIL, PERHAPS TO INCLUDE U.S. PARTICIPATION, IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND AN SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 155286 TOSEC 080198

ELIMINATION OF PALESTINIAN ENCROACHMENTS. FURTHERNORE, A BEEFED UP UNIFIL IN COOPERATION WITH THE LEBANESE ARMED FORCES, MIGHT BE ABLE TO REPLACE THE SYRIAN HILITARY PRESENCE IN THE APPROPRIATE POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS, WE SHOULD CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO URGE RESTRAINT, SEEK THEIR VIEWS AND CO-OPERATION IN OUR EFFORT TO INTERNATIONALIZE LEBANON, AND THROUGH PHIL HABIR'S MISSION, TO ACHIEVE THE WITH-DRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES.

THE SOVIET MILITARY POSITION WILL DEPEND LARGELY ON THE EXTENT TO WHICH ISRAELI AND SYRIAN FORCES ENGAGE IN COMBAT. THEY HAVE INDICATED THEY HIGHT PROVIDE AIR

DEFENSE HELP IN THE EVENT OF ISRAELI ATTACKS ON SYRIAN POSITION IN THE BEKAR VALLEY. THE SOVIETS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THEY HIGHT BECOME MORE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN SUPPORTING SYRIAM FORCES IF ISRAEL ATTACKED INSIDE SYRIA. OUR EFFORTS TO STABILIZE THE SITUATION AND FIND A DIPLOMATIC SOLUTION ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL BE COMPLICATED AT EVERY STEP BY THE SOVIETS. THEIR INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE BEST SERVED BY PROLOMBING ARAB OUTRAGE OVER THE ISRAELI INVASION AND BY LINKING THE W.B. TO IT. THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF SOUTHERN LEBANON OFFERS IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITIES TO THE SOVIETS IN THIS REGARD. THEY WILL NOT BE HELPFUL DIPLOMATICALLY; THEIR RISCHIEF-MAKING ALREADY IS APPARENT AT THE W.N. THEY BILL CONPLICATE AND TRY ACTIVELY TO THWART A SOLUTION IN LEBANON THAT DOES NOT INVOLVE THEN IN A MAJOR WAY. TO PRECLUDE SOVIET HISUMDERSTANDING OF OUR INTENTIONS, WE

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PAGE -07 STATE 188286 TOSEC 080198

MENTS/DISPOSITIONS ARE NOT BEING MADE FOR THE PURPOSE OF INTERVENTION.

SUMMARY

IN SUM, PHIL HABIS'S MISSION DURING THE NEXT FEW DAYS WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT. BUT WE HUST TRY TO DEFUSE THE CONFLICT. YOU MAY HAVE TO TAKE BOLD AND STERN MEASURES TO ACHIEVE AN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND STABILIZATION OF THE SITUATION IN LEBANON. END TEXT

WE FEEL THAT OUR APPROACH AT THIS POINT SHOULD BE TO RETAIN AS MUCH PLEXIBILITY IN OUR POSITION AS POSSIBLE WHILE WE SEE HOW PHIL'S EFFORTS PROCEED. WE DO NOT MANT TO TAKE OR DECIDE ON FUTURE SPECIFIC ACTIONS NOW WHICH COULD COMPLICATE PHIL'S EFFORTS WITH BESIN WHO IS THE KEY TO A RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM. HAS PROBED THE ISRAELI POSITION AND POSSIBLY THAT OF SOME OF THE OTHER KEY PLAYERS. WE WILL WANT TO TAKE A HARD LOOK AT OUR OPTIONS FOR DEVELOPING THE KIND OF SOLUTION WHICH CAN QUICKLY BRING ABOUT A MALT TO THE FIGHTING IN LESANON. CESSATION OF PLO ROCKET AND MILI-TARY ATTACKS ON ISRAEL, ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, AND A STRENGTHENED STRATEGIC BUFFER ON ISRAEL'S NORTHERN BORDER. IF BEDIM IS RESOLUTELY DETERMINED TO PURSUE A SOLUTION WHICH JEOPARDIZES OUR STRATEGIC POSTURE OR UNDERCUTS OUR ABILITY TO MAINTAIN U.S. LEADERSHIP OF THE PEACE PROCESS. WE WILL HAVE TO BE FIRM IN OUR MEXT STEPS.

AS FOR INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE PROBLEM, WE BELIEVE HE SHOULD CONTINUE IN THIS DIRECTION IN CONNECTION WITH BRINGING ABOUT ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL.

AS A FINAL POINT, WHILE WE MAY HAVE TO THINK ABOUT U.S. PARTICIPATION IN A PEACE-KEEPING FORCE, FEW ISSUES ARE SO SENSITIVE.

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SECRET

STATE 198286 TOSEC 989198

s. Note: Haparlane tells he he fears beinderger will seasof

- SECRET

TRY TO GET TO CLARK BACK CHANNEL ARGUING THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD NOW INSTRUCT PHIL TO THREATEN BEGIN WITH THE DIREST OF CONSEQUENCES IF THE ISRAELIS DO NOT WITHDRAW INHEDIATELY.

YOU WILL WANT TO GET TO CLARK IN THE HORNING TO KEEP HIM ON THE STRAIGHT AND MARROW. STOESSEL

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PAGE 01 ACTION NODS-00

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SECRET BEIRUT 4160

POGS: RDS-1.4 6/13/02 (BARRETT, ROBERT S) GR-H TAGS: SUBJ: LEBANON/ISRAEL CONTACT

1.

DURING THIS MORNING'S CONVERSTAION (SEPTEL) AMBASSADOR AND PRESIDENT SARKIS AGREED THAT > LIAISON WITH ISRAEL IS A GOOD IDEA AND THAT JUHNNY ABOU IS PROBABLY THE RIGHT MAN FOR THE JOB. DILLON



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AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

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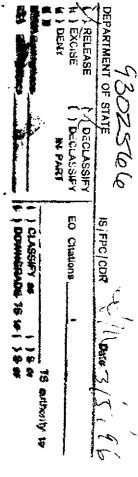
DEGAPTIONED

E.O. 12065: ROS-1,2 6/10/02 (HABIB, ABH.) OR-M TAGS: OVIP (HAIG, ALEXANDER) SUBJECT: HABIB HISSION: TRAVEL PLANS

- 2. IF IT WORKS OUT THAT THE SECRETARY IS PROCEEDING TO ISRAEL TODAY UNDER APPROPRIATE CIRCUMSTANCES, I WOULD NOT DEPART DAMASCUS BEFORE MAILING DOWN ASSAD'S AGREEMENT TO MECESSARY STEPS. HAVING DOME THAT, I PROPOSE THAT I FLY INMEDIATELY TO JERUSALEH LATER TODAY TO JOIN THE SECRETARY THERE. I WOULD NOT RPT NOT LEAVE DAMASCUS UNTIL I WAS CERTAIN THAT WE HAVE ASSAD ON BOARD.
- 3. ASSUMING THAT ALL GGES ACTORDING TO PLAN AND ASSAD IS ON BOARD, I WOULD WANT TO DISCUSS WITH THE SECRETARY THE POSSIBILITY OF HIS MAKING A VERY BRIEF STOP IN DAMASCUS FOLLOWING HIS DEPARTURE FROM ISRAEL TO MEET WITH ASSAD. HABIS

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Department of State TELEGRAM

AN: M826005-0533

ACTION MODS-00

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TO USDEL SECRETARY FLASH SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 6683 AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

-C-R-E-F DAMASCUS 04082

*** CAPTIONED

FOR THE SECRETARY AND LEWIS FROM HABIB

065: RDS-1.3 6/10/02 (HABIB, PHILIP C.) OR-M MILI, MOPS, PEPR, IS, LE, SY, US E.O. 12065:

HABIB MISSION: CEASEFIRE PROSPECTS

TEL AVIV 08653

THEFT-JALIKE

I DON'T THINK THE SECRETARY SHOULD GO TO ISRAEL ON THE BASIS OF THE RESPONSE TO THE CONDITIONS THAT HE SET FORTH FOR SUCH A TRIP. IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT WHAT THE ISRAELIS PROPOSE WILL HAVE TO BE DRASTICALLY IMPROVED IF THERE IS TO BE EITHER A CHANCE FOR SETTING SYRIAN ACCEPTANCE FOR A CEASEFIRE OR FOR CREATING THE CONDITIONS FOR THE POST-CEASEFIRE PERIOD WITHIN WHICH WE COULD WORK.

ON THE OTHER HAND. I CANNOT BELIEVE THAT THE ISRAELI POSITION IS SO RIGID THAT IT CANNOT BE HOVED BY A FIRM SECRET SOCRET

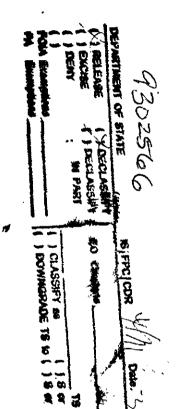
PAGE 42

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AS SAN LEWIS SUGSESTS, EITHER THE U.S. POSITION.

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SECRETARY OR I COULD PROBABLY ACHIEVE SOME BEGINNING UITHORAWALS FROM MHERE THE ISRAELI FORCES ARE AT PRESENT OR ARE LIKELY TO BE BY TOMORROW. HOWEVER, I AGREE WITH SAM THAT THE RESULT WOULD BE MINISCULE IN SYRIAM EYES AND DO NOT EXPECT THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO GET THEM TO ACCEPT IT EVEN IN THE FACE OF THEIR MEAK MILITARY POSITION. ON THE CONTRARY, I THINK IT WILL LEAD THEM TO TRY AND STRENGTHEN THEIR MILITARY POSITION TO SOME EXTENT AND THEY WILL BE MORE READY TO ENGAGE ISRAELI FORCES ON THE GROUND. SYRIAM READINESS TO THROW ITS AIR FORCE INTO THE MEAT GRINDER SO FAR IS A GOOD ILLUSTRATION OF THEIR CAPACITY TO SACRIFICE.

- 4. WE SHOULD ALSO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT ARAB AND OTHER SUPPORT IS BEGINNING TO MATERIALIZE. THERE IS NO SIGN THAT THEY WILL BE OF ANY GREAT IMPORTANCE MILITARILY BUT EVEN THE DIVIDED ARABS WILL FIND A CAUSE SUFFICIENT TO RALLY THEM TO TAKE SOME SORT OF POLITICAL AND POSSIBLY EVEN ECONOMIC ACTION IN THE FACE OF THE ISRAELI POSITION.
- S. THE WAY TO BREAK THIS IMPASSE IS TO DECIDE WHAT WE WILL ACCEPT AND THEN WORK ASSIDUOUSLY TO BET THE ISRAELIS TO MOVE TO THAT POINT. IF THE SECRETARY'S CONDITIONS ARE THE MINIMUM THAT WE CAN ACCEPT, THEN THAT SHOULD BE OUR GOAL.
- 6. RATHER THAN HAVE THE SECRETARY BE FACED WITH THE TASK OF TRYING TO NEGOTIATE TO THAT POINT, I AN PREPARED TO RETURN TO JERUSALEH AND TRY MY HAND. I WOULD NEED SOME VERY STRONG AMMUNITION. IF WE ARE GOING TO GET TOUGH, NOW IS THE TIME TO DO IT. IF WE ARE GOORGE

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PAGE 03

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ARE NOT, THEN ALL WE CAN FALL BACK ON IS LOGICAL PERSUASION WHICH HAS NOT WORKED UP TO THIS POINT. A VISIT BY THE SECRETARY CAN ALWAYS BE HELD IN RESERVE IF MECESSARY.

7. THE SITUATION ON THE BROWND IN LEBANOR REEDS TO BE SALVAGED WITHOUT ACCEPTING THE FULL SHARON SCHEME--IN WHICH LEBANON IS, FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, POLITICALLY CONTROLLED BY ISRAEL WITH SOMETHING LIKE A QUISLING OVERNMENT IN POWER. THIS WILL NEVER BE ACCEPTABLE

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TO THE ARAB COUNTRIES IN THE REGION AND WILL MERELY INCREASE THE AREA OF CONFRONTATION. THE ONLY WAY TO PREVENT THIS IS TO ROLL BACK THE ISRAELI PRESENCE ISRAELI OBJECTIVES TO WHAT THEY HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN FOR THE POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING THAT THEY SEEN TO INTEND AND WHICH WOULD PROBABLY REQUIRE CONTINUING DIRECT ISRAELI MILITARY SUPPORT IS UNACCEPTABLE. FOR THE SECRETARY TO ENGAGE IN THIS KIND OF DISCUSSION WITH THE ISRAELIS AT THIS TIME, WHICH PARA 12 REFTEL SUGGESTS THE ISRAELIS INTEND. HOULD BE UNSEEMLY TO SAY THE LEAST. WERE TO INCLUDE THE DISHEMBERING OF LEBANON IN ADDITION. VIOLATED EVERY PRECEPT AND EVERY STATEMENT POLICY WHICH HAS GUIDED OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD LESANON FOR MANY YEARS. THE FACT THAT SOME LEBANESE MAY BE WILLING TO PLAY THIS SAME SHOULD NOT CONVINCE US THAT IT IS IN OUR OVERALL INTEREST. PAGAMELLI

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THE DAMASCUS 04030 **DECAPTIONED

E. O. 12465: RDS-1.3.4 6/09/02 (MABIB, PHILIP) GR-M TAGS: MILI, MOPS, LE, SY, US, PLO SUBJECT: HABIB MISSION

- I AM ASTOUNDED AND DISNAYED BY WHAT HAPPENED TODAY. THE PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL IN REALITY SENT ME OFF.ON A HE SET OUT A SET OF PROPOSALS TO WHICH WILD GOOSE CHASE. HE ASKED HE TO SECURE SYRIAN AGREEMENT. HE ALSO ACCUSED THE SYRIAMS OF DOUBLING THE NUMBER OF SA-6 DATTERIES IN THE BEKAA AND ASKED THAT I SECURE THE REMOVAL OF THE ADDITIONAL BATTERIES. (THE SYRIAN PRESIDENT SAYS HE HAD ADDED NO NEW BATTERIES, ONLY SHIFTING THE EXISTING ONES AROUND.)
- I PUT THE PROPOSALS TO PRESIDENT ASSAD AND RECEIVED WHAT I CONSIDER AN ENCOURABING RESPONSE WHICH I AN REPORT-ING SEPARATELY (\$)

IN DAMASCUS AND I DOUBT STRONGLY THAT EITHER ASSAD HERE, SARKIS IN BEIRUT, CEASEFIRE AGREED AND IN PLACE BY OR ANYONE ELSE CAN (\$) HOREOVER, ASSAD TOLD HE HE WOULD THEN -- BUT I WILL TRY. REPLACE MISSILES OR WHATEVER ELSE THE ISRAELIS HAY SECRET

PAGE 42 DAMASC

ARE INFORMED DESTROY OF HIS EQUIPMENT IN LEGANON. ĦĒ

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erenes.

THAT SA-6 MISSILES. WITH RUSSIAN TECHNICIANS ALONG. ARE ALREADY ON THEIR WAY INTO THE BEKAA TO REPLACE THOSE KNOCKED OUT TODAY.

- W. FURTHER, TO TALK ABOUT A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE WITHOUT RELATION. TO ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, EVEN FROM THE ADVANCED POSITIONS THEY NOW OCCUPY, COMPLICATES THE MATTER TO SAY THE LEAST. I HAD READ THE DEPARTMENT'S EARLIER INSTRUCTION TO GET THE ISRAELIS TO PULL BACK TO THE GENERAL AREA OF THE FORTY KILOMETER LINE AS A REALISTIC PROPOSAL FOR A FIRST PHASE.
- S. WITH ALL THIS IN MIND I ANTICIPATE RECEIVING A COOL HEARING FROM ASSAD IF I CAN GET TO HIM TONIGHT. HIS FORCES MAY DE IN SUCH DIRE STRAITS FROM THE ISRAELI ATTACKS THAT I CAN MOVE HIM. BUT I ALSO DELIEVE HE IS EQUALLY LIKELY TO DECIDE TO FIGHT IT OUT NO MATTER WHAT. ESPECIALLY WHEN HE KNOWS THE ISRAELIS ARE NOT ONLY OUT TO DEFEAT HIM, BUT TO HUMILIATE HIM AS WELL. AND DESTROY HIS POSITION IN LEBANON.
- 6. I WANTED YOU TO HAVE THESE THOUGHTS SO THAT MOWEVER THINGS MAY GO--AND I HOPE WE CAN SUCCEED TO SET A QUICK CEASEFIRE--THE BACKGROUND TO OUR EFFORTS TODAY WAS NOT WHAT ONE WOULD WISH. PAGANELLI

NOTE BY OC/T: (\$) TEXT GARBLED AND/OR OHITTED. CORRECTIONS FOLLOW.

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DAMASCUS FOR AMB. HABIB

E.O. 12065: RDS 1,3 6/9/02 (VELIOTES, NICHOLAS) . TAGS: PEPR, LE, SY, US SUBJECT:LEBANON: GAME PLAN FOR FIRST 24 HOUR PERIOD FOLLOWING CEASEFIRE

ONCE A CEASEFIRE IS IN PLACE AND HAS TAKEN HOLD, WE SHOULD CONSIDER MOVING QUICKLY TO KEEP THE INITIATIVE IN OUR NEXT STEPS. ASSUMING OUR APPROACH IS TO BE ALONG THE LINES OUTLINED TO YOU OF SEEKING AN ISRAELI WITH-DRAWAL WHICH SECURES ITS NORTHERN BORDER AND A BROADER POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION IN LEBANGN. WE HAVE PREPARED THE FOLLOWING CHECKLIST OF DETAILED ACTIONS WE HIGHT TAKE OVER THE 12 TO 24 HOURS AFTER A CEASEFIRE TO IMPLEMENT IN ADDITION, HE HAVE GIVEN OUR PRELIMINARY THAT DECISION. VIEW OF HOW WE MIGHT PROCEED THEREAFTER AS PHIL ENGAGES

STATE 159059 TOSEC 089393 PAGE 02

IN THE FIRST PHASE OF HIS COXCULTATIONS IN THE AREA AND

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IN EUROPE.

3. AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY AFTER THE CEASEFIRE TAKES HOLD:

-- TAILORED MESSAGES PASSED TO ISRAEL, SYRIA, LEBANON (INCLUDING PRINCIPLE LEBANESE FACTIONS

AND PLO THROUGH APPROPRIATE MEANS) SAUDI ARABIA, JORDAN, EGYPT, ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY.

THE MESSAGES WILL EXPLAIN OUR INITIATIVE (A DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL ANNOUNCEMENT IS BEING SENT SEPTEL), SEEK INITIAL REACTIONS AND PUBLIC SUPPORT WHEN IT IS ANNOUNCED AND INDICATE THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT REGARDING THE INITIATIVE SHORTLY IN A MATTER OF HOURS. IN THE CASE OF THE EUROPEANS, IF THE TIMING IS RIGHT, YOU COULD CONVEY THIS MESSAGE PERSONALLY TO MATO FOREIGN HIMISTERS. YOU COULD ALSO DISCUSS THE INITIATIVE PERSONALLY WITH PRINCE SAUD (ALTHOUGH WE WOULD ALSO WANT DICK MURPHY TO PASS YOUR MESSAGE TO THE CROWN PRINCE).

-- PHIL HABIB, WITH A BROAD MANDATE, BEGINS TO MAIL DOWN LOOSE ENDS OF THE CEASEFIRE WITH ISRAEL AND SYRIA AND THE PLO TO INCLUDE THE DISENGAGEMENT ASSAD SPOKE ABOUT TO THE 40 KM LINE WHICH IS A SENSIBLE SAFETY PRECAUTION. LEWIS WILL HAVE ALREADY DISCUSSED THIS FIRST PHASE OF ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND LARRY REINFORCED HERE WITH ARENS.

4. AFTER INITIAL RESPONSES FROM OUR CONTACTS: SECRET

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-- EVALUATION OF RESPONSES AND POSSIBLE SUPPORT. THIS WILL HAVE TO BE FACTORED INTO HOW THE PRESIDENT DESCRIBES THE INITIATIVE.

THIS PROCESS SHOULD BE RAPID FOR MAXIMUM IMPACT. IF POSSIBLE, WE WANT TO ANNOUNCE THE INITIATIVE WITHIN 18 HOURS OF OUR INITIAL CONTACTS WITH OTHER STATES TO PREVENT ANY LOSS OF MOMENTUM OR GIVE STATES AND PARTIES WE HAVE CONTACTED A PHANCE TO THIRD OF OLL THE PROBLEMS

SECKETY.

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INVOLVED AND SEEK TO NEGOTIATE WITH US THE TERMS OF REFERENCE.

- s. AN HOUR OR TWO BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT:
- -- THE TEXT AND TIME OF THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT ARE PASSED TO THE CONTACTED STATES AS WELL AS TO ALL UNIFIL CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES AND THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL.
- -- THE SOVIET UNION IS INFORMED OF THE IMPENDING PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT AND ITS CONTENTS (IF POSSIBLE AS AN ADD ON TO OUR CLARIFICATION OF FLEET MOVEMENTS).

WE WANT TO GIVE THE SOVIETS THE STATEMENT IN ADVANCE TO

AVOID TRIGGERING THEIR ACTIVE OPPOSITION BY IGNORING THEM COMPLETELY. BUT, WE WANT TO DO SO IN ATWAY WHICH DOES NOT ENGAGE THEM OR GIVE THEM TIME TO ENITIATIVE - COUNTERPRODUCTIVE ACTION WITH ANY OF THE OTHER PARTIES.

6. IMMEDIATE FOLLOW-UP TO THE PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT:

PHIL BEGINS HIS CONSULTATIONS IN LEBANON. SYRIA. ISRAEL AND. AS APPROPRIATE, SAUDI ARABIA. HE WILL CONTINUE -- DISCUSSION OF OUTSTANDING ISSUES ON THE CEASEFIRE - AND BEGIN EXPLORATION OF AN ENLARGED PEACEKEEPING FORCE.

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PAGE 04 STATE 159059 TOSEC 080393

AT THE SAME TIME, PHIL CAN EXPLORE THE LARGER LEBANESE-PROBLEM INDICATING ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE PEACEKEEPING FORCE, BUFFER ZONE, AND ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AS --- APPROPRIATE. ONCE THE CEASEFIRE IS STABILIZED AND UPON COMPLETING HIS INITIAL DISCUSSIONS WITH-THE PARTIES INVOLVED, PHIL MIGHT WANT TO CONSULT INSEVERAL ARAB AND EUROPEAN CAPITALS BEFORE COMING HOME TO CONSIDER NEXT STEPS.

NOTE: UNIFIL COMES UP FOR RENEWAL ON JUNE 19. ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT WANT OUR DECISION ON THE APPROPRIATE - STRUCTURE OF A PEACEKEEPING FORCE DICTATED BY-AN ARBITRARY DEADLINE, UNIFIL IS CLEARLY ONE OF OUR BETTER OPTIONS. PHIL'S DISCUSSIONS MAY ALTER THIS PERCEPTION BUT WE WILL WANT TO MAYE AN IDEA OF OUR BEST APPROACH BEFORE THE UNIFIL DEADLINE, SINCE IT WILL-AFFECT THE

- SEEKEY

CECAES.

WAY WE HANDLE UNIFIL RENEWAL. IN ADDITION, UNTIL WE MAKE UP OUR MINDS WE WILL WANT TO KEEP PRESENT UNIFIL CONTRIBUTORS AND THE UN SYG INFORMED OF OUR-PROGRESS-AND MAYE PHIL CONSULT WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL ON HIS RETURN.

FURTHER, WE SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER THE ADVISABILITY AND CHANCES FOR SUCCESS OF A UNSC RESOLUTION SUPPORTING THE CEASEFIRE AND THE THRUST OF THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE. STOESSEL

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C-C-C-R-G-E-E SECTION 01 OF 02 JERUSALEM 01782

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E.Q. 12068: RDS 1,3,4 6/8/42 (GROVE JR. BRANDON) OR-H TAGS: PEPR. MILI. IS. US. LE. SY SUBJECT: HABIB MISSION: JUNE & MEETING WITH ALIGNMENT OPPOSITION LEADERS

1. SENTINE TEXT

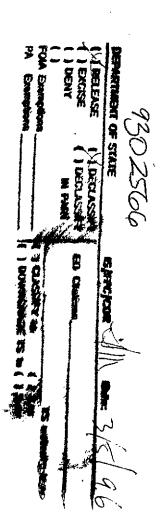
PERES AND COMPANY STRONGLY SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT'S STATED LIMITED OBJECTIVES OF THE IDF INCUR-SION AND BELIEVE THAT THUS PAR IT IS BEING CONDUCTED CRITICAL OF THE UN CALL FOR WITHIN THOSE PARAMETERS. AN UNCONDITIONAL IDF WITHDRAWAL, THEY WARN THAT ISRAEL WILL NOT ACCEPT A CEASEFIRE UNTIL PLO BUNS AND ROCKETS CURRENTLY UNDER THE SYRIAN UNBRELLA IN "FATAHLAND" ON THE EASTERN FRONT ARE REMOVED ONE WAY OR ANOTHER FROM MOREOVER THE 10F WILL STRIKING RANGE OF THE SALILEE. NOT WITHDRAW FROM THE NEW SUFFER ZONE UNTIL REPLACED PREFERABLY AN INTERNATIONAL BY A SUITABLE SUBSTITUTE. FORCE, OR FAILING THAT PERHAPS AN EXPANDED CHRISTIAN CLEARLY WORRIED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY MILITIA PRESENCE.

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OF CLASHES WITH SYRIAN FORCES LEADING TO AN ESCALATION.

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THEY WASE THAT WE PLAY A MAJOR ROLE ACROSS THE BOARD TO GET A PROPER CEASEFIRE AND FOLLOWUP POLITICAL RESOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

- 3. ACCOMPANIED BY SAM LEWIS, DCM BROWN, AND MAT HOWELL, I SPENT AN HOUR AT MOON TODAY WITH ALIGNMENT OPPOSITION LEADERS SHIMON PERES, YITZHAK RABIN, AND ABBA EBAN. REVIEWING MY HANDATE AS I HAD WITH BEGIN LAST NIGHT, I STRESSED THAT WE HAD CONSISTENTLY CALLED FOR AN END TO THE ISRAELI ACTION AS REFLECTED IN OWR VOTE ON SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS SOS AND SOS, AS WELL AS GUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS. THE QUESTION NOW IS HOW TO ARRIVE AT A SUITABLE ARRANGEMENT WITHOUT HARNING GUR OTHER INTERESTS, INCLUDING THE PEACE PROCESS, GUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS IN THE REGION, AND W.S.-ISRAELI BILATERAL RELATIONS. THE PRIME MINISTER HAD DESCRIBED FOR ME THE GOVERNMENT'S OBJECTIVES AND HAD TOLD ME THAT HE HAD SIMILARLY BRIEFED THE OPPOSITION. I THEN ASKED FOR THEIR THOUGHTS FOR THE SHORT-TERM AND MID-TERM...FUTURE.
- 4. PERES SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE CLEAR DIFFERENCES WITH BEGIN'S GOVERNMENT ON SOME POLICY ISSUES VIS-A-VIS THE PLO. E.G. THE ALIGNMENT INSISTS THAT THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION MUST BE POLITICAL. THEY GENERALLY SEE EYE TO EYE WITH THE GOVERNMENT ALONG THE FOLLOWING POINTS:
- -- ISRAEL HAS NO TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS IN LEBANON.
- -- THERE IS NO INTENTION TO KEEP THE IDE IN LESANON FOREVER. THE OPERATION IS LIMITED IN SCOPE AND TIME ("NOT YEARS OR HONTHS").

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- -- THERE IS NO INTENT TO GIVE THIS OPERATION A WAR DIMENSION.
- -- THERE IS NO INTENTION OF ENGAGING THE SYRIAMS IN
- S. BRIEFLY REVIEWING THE EVENTS WHICH LED UP TO THE ISRAELI INCURSION, PERES SAID THAT ONCE PLO ARTILLERY AND ROCKETS STARTED TO SHELL MORTHERN ISRAEL THERE WAS

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MG REAL ALTERNATIVE TO PUSHING THEM OUT OF RANGE. PERESET AL REITERATED THAT THE OPERATION WAS BEING CONDUCTED WITHIN THE LIMITED PARAMETERS WHICH HAD BEEN DESCRIBED TO THEM AND THEY WOULD THEREFORE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT. (RABIN ADDED A CAVEAT; THE MOVE TO DANGUR WOULD NOT EXCEED THE PARAMETERS PROVIDED THAT IT WAS ONLY A BLOCKING ACTION.) ALL THREE MOTED. THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD SOUGHT TO INFORM THE SYRIAMS IN EVERY POSSIBLE WAY THAT IT DESIRED NO CLASH WITH SYRIAM FORCES.

6. OPIMING THAT THE IDF'S GROUND OBJECTIVES HAD BEEN LARGELY ACHIEVED, PERES AND HIS COLLEAGUES THEN CONCENTRATED ON THE MAJOR UNRESOLVED PROBLEMS. PLO ARTILLERY REMAIRS UNDER SYRIAN UNBRELLA. AND THEY BELIEVE EFFECTIVE COMMAND/COORDINATION ON THE EASTERN FRONT ("FATAHLAND") MORTH OF HASBAYYA. KFAR UVAL AND SOME OTHER VILLAGES LAST MIGHT CAME UNDER FIRE FROM THIS PLO ARTILLERY. THE CONTINUATION OF SUCH A SITUATION WAS INTOLERABLE AND PERES AND HIS FRIENDS WERE WORRIED THAT THE SITUATION COULD EASILY GET OUT OF CONTROL AND LEAD TO A CONFLICT

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PAGE 01 JERUSA 01782 02 OF 02 0821212 ACTION MODS-00

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WITH SYRIA. TIME WAS VERY PRECIOUS AND THEY ARGUED THAT THE U.S. SHOULD THEREFORE PLAY AN IMMEDIATE ROLE. CERTAINLY THERE WOULD BE NO CEASEFIRE WATLL THOSE PLOGUNS HAD BEEN WITHDRAWN/SILENCED EITHER MILITARILY OR POLITICALLY.

7. RABIN REMARKED THAT AFTER THE IDF MILITARY OPERATION ENDS AN ADEQUATE POLITICAL SOLUTION MIGHT TAKE FROM THREE TO FIVE WEEKS AND WARMED US THAT THE IOF WOULD SIMPLY NOT WITHDRAW WITHOUT SUCH A SOLUTION. IN MIS VIEW THE ISRAELI OPERATION HAD NOW GIVEN THE U.S. BETTER CARDS FOR A LONG-TERM NEGOTIATION OF THE LEBAMESE/PALESTIMIAN PROBLEM. IN ANY EVENT, WE WOULD HAVE TO BRING THE SYRIAMS AROUND BEFORE THE IDF WOULD WITHDRAW OR EVEN BEFORE A CEASEFIRE WENT INTO EFFECT. IN THIS COMMECTION, ALL THREE WERE CRITICAL OF THE FACT THAT THE W.S. BY ITS VOTING AND BY ITS PUBLIC STATEMENTS HAD JOINED THE WIN CALL FOR WINCONDITIONAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, A DEMAND WHICH THEY FOUND WHACCEPTABLE.

S. I THEN REVIEWED IN OUTLINE MAJOR CURRENT W.S. CONCERNS ON THE QUESTION OF THE USE OF W.S.-FURNISHED EQUIPMENT SECRET

PAGE 02 JERUSA 01782 02 0F 02 0821212

IN LEBANON, AND I WARNED THEY PUT IT, OF DEAL-

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IMG WITH LEGALISMS. WHEN I TOUCHED ON A POSSIBLE MOVE TO APPLY SANCTIONS AGAINST ISRAEL UNDER A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION INVOKING CHAPTER 7, THEY IMMEDIATELY RESPONDED THAT THE EUROPEAN POSITION WOULD DEPEND HEAVILY ON THE W.S. STANCE. EBAN NOTED THAT GENERALLY THE FRENCH STAND AGAINST CHAPTER 7 SANCTIONS AND PERES SAID THAT NOTWITHSTANDING HIS ATTACHMENT TO LEBANON HITTERRAND WOULD BE PRAGNATIC. SAN LEWIS SAID THAT WE HAD BEEN ADVISED THAT THE ISRAELI POSITION WAS THAT ISRAEL "EXPECTED" A W.S. VETO OF SUCH A RESOLUTION AND COUNSELED THAT THIS WAS NOT THE HOST FELICITOUS PHRASE TO EMPLOY.

9. PERES THEN STATED THAT HAVING CAUCUSED LAST NIGHT, THE ALIGNMENT WOULD STATE ITS POSITION IN TODAY'S KNESSET DEBATE AS FOLLOWS:
-- THERE SHOULD BE AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE.

THERE SHOULD BE EXPRESSED THE "WISH" OR "DESIRE"
THAT A PROHIBITION OF TERROR ABROAD BE INCLUDED IN THE
DEFINITION OF THIS CEASEFIRE (THEY REALIZE OF COURSE
HOW DIFFICULT THIS WOULD BE TO ACHIEVE).

SUITABLE ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE HADE SO AS TO REPLACE
THE IDF THROUGHOUT THE NEW 40-KILOMETER SUFFER ZONE
WITH INTERNATIONAL FORCES. HERE PERES CLARIFIED THAT
THEY WERE NOT THINKING OF U.S. FORCES AND THEREFORE HAD
NOT USED THE EXPRESSION "MULTI-NATIONAL FORCE.")

-- ISRAELI POSITIONS IN THE GALTLEE SHOULD BE FURTHER FORTIFIED.

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IO. ASKED WHAT THEY THOUGHT THE PHALANGE WOULD DO. PERES AND RABIN REPLIED DISDAINFULLY THAT THE PHALANGE WANTS ISRAEL TO DO EVERYTHING. IN THIS CONNECTION, THEY VENTURED THE POSSIBILITY THAT IF WE COULD NOT EMPLACE AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE TO REPLACE THE IDF. A FALLBACK POSITION HIGHT BE TO EXPAND MADDAD'S FORCE SO AS TO BO THE JOB. I THREW COLD WATER ON MADDAD TAKING OVER SOUTH LEBANON. PERES REMARKED THAT THE COMBINATIONS ARE EMPLESS (E.G. MADDAD PLUS THE PHALANGISTS). AND THIS CONNECTION, THE QUESTION WAS ASKED RHETORICALLY WHAT THE SHI'A OF SOUTH LEBANON WOULD NOW DO! BUT THERE WERE NO

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CONCLUSIVE ANSWERS.

11. BEFORE WE WOUND UP, PERES ET AL CAME BACK TO THE VITAL MECESSITY OF SOLVING THE PROBLEM ON THE EASTERN FRONT WITH THE SYRIANS. PROBED FOR SOLUTIONS, THEY STATED THEIR OBVIOUS PREFERENCES:

-- SYRIAN FORCES TO WITHDRAW.

-- THE PLO TO TAKE GUT ITS ARTILLERY, ROCKETS, AND OTHER WHITS, WHILE THE SYRIAN FORCES WOULD REMAIN.

-- AS A MINIMUM FALLBACK ABOUT WHICH THEY WERE HIGHLY DUBIOUS, THE SYRIAMS, WHO ARE BELIEVED TO CONTROL AND COORDINATE THE PLO, AT LEAST IN THAT AREA, MUST ENSURE THAT THE PLO DO NOT FIRE. GROVE

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SECTION 01 OF 02 JERUSALEH 01744

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LONDON FOR THE SECRETARY AND THE PRESIDENT FROM HABIB

E.O. 12065: RDS 1-4 06/07/02 (HABIB, PHILIP) OR-N TAGS: HILL, HOPS, LE, IS, US, SY SUBJECT: ASSESSMENT FOLLOWING FIRST MEETING WITH BEGIN

REF: STATE 158282 (TOSEC 80209)

2. SAM LEWIS AND I HAVE BEEN REVIEWING THE SITUATION AFTER OUR INITIAL TWO-HOUR MEETING WITH BEGIN, SHAMIR, AND SHARON ON JUNE 7, AND WE OFFER THE FOLLOWING THOUGHTS. "IT IS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT THE ISRAELIS WILL ADAMANTLY RESIST ANY IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL AND RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE, EVEN IF SUBJECTED TO THE MOST DRACOMIAN SANCTIONS BY THE WAY OR THE W.S. AT THE SAME TIME, BEGIN STRESSED REPEATEDLY AND CATEGORICALLY THAT ISRAELI FORCES WILL LEAVE LEBANON AS SOON AS ALTERNATE CONDITIONS ARE ESTABLISHED WHICH CAN MEET THE OBJECTIVE ESTABLISHED FOR THEIR HILITARY OPERATION: I.E., COMPLETE

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SECURITY FROM THREAT OF ATTACK AGAINST THEIR NORTHERN UNCLASSIFIFI

BORDER TOURS. THE 40 KILOHETERS BUFFER ZONE CONCEPT IS NOW FIRMLY ENTRENCHED.

3. MOST OF ISRAEL'S DECLARED HILITARY OBJECTIVES SEEN LIKELY TO ACHIEVEMENT WITHIN AT MOST TWO-THREE DAYS, BUT THE EXPLOSIVE DANGER OF ESCALATING CLASHES WITH SYRIAN FORCES IS VERY REAL AND COULD DESTROY THAT TIMETABLE. AT THIS POINT, BEGIN AND SHARON ARE INGRDINATELY PROUD OF THE IDF'S PERFORMANCE. AFTER ONLY 34 HOURS THE ISRAELI FORCES HAVE REACHED THE GENERAL TARGET AREAS FOR THEIR MAXIMUM ADVANCE. ISRAELI CASUALTIES ARE WITHIN LEVELS THEY FIND ACCEPTABLE. STILL, UNTIL THE SYRIAN QUESTION MARK IS RESOLVED AND CONSOLIDATION OF ISRAELI POSITIONS AND "MOPUP" HAVE BEEN FINISHED, THERE WILL BE A RELUCTANCE TO ENGAGE DIPLOMATICALLY WITH US IN GREAT DETAIL ABOUT THE MEXT PHASE.

WHEN I SEE DEGIN AGAIN LATE TUESDAY AFTERNOON. I EXPECT THAT HE WILL SAY FIRMLY THAT A CREDIBLE UN OR MULTI-NATIONAL FORCE MUST BE INSERTED BEFORE THE IDF WITHDRAWS. THIS FORCE WILL, HOWEVER, HAVE TO BE GIVEN A STRONGER MANDATE THAN UNIFIL TO PROVIDE GUARANTEES THAT PLO ELEMENTS WOULD NOT SOON INFILTRATE BACK INTO THE SUFFER ZONE WITH KATYUSHA ROCKETS OR OTHER BEAPONS WHICH WOULD AGAIN HE MAY PROVIDE US WITH THREATEN THE BORDER SETTLEMENTS. ALTERNATIVE IDEAS INVOLVING A ROLE FOR CHRISTIAN PHALANGIST. forces <u>in</u> the buffer region. Although this seems to all of US TO BE FAR FETCHED. I ALSO EXPECT THAT HE WILL RESTATE AGAIN, WITH SUITABLE BRAVADO, ISRAEL'S DETERMINATION NOT TO PRESSURED BY SANCTIONS INTO "PRENATURE WITHDRAWAL" AGAIN. NO MATTER WHAT THE COST TO US-ISRAELI RELATIONS. WHILE THERE WILL BE HYPERBOLE IN THAT STATEMENT. BEGIN

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AND INDEED HIS COUNTRYNEN DECOME MORE OBSTINATE RATHER, THAN LESS UNDER THREAT OF "PUNISHMENT." IF WE ARE TO CONSIDER SANCTYOMS. THEY WOULD HAVE TO BE SUBSTANTIAL. CREDIBLE AND EVEN THEM RESULTS WOULD TAKE SOME TIME. I HAVE MADE CERTAIN BEGIN UNDERSTANDS CLEARLY THE DEPTH OF THE PRESIDENT'S CONCERNS. BUT IF REAL DRACONIAN SANCTIONS ARE COMING UNLESS ISRAEL WITHDRAWS, I BELIEVE WE OWE IT TO BEGIN TO LEVEL WITH HIM NOW, RATHER THAN LATER.

S. WE ARE JUST AT THE BESINKING OF OUR DIALOGUE WITH

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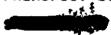
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BESIM HAS REAFFIRMED HIS COMMITMENT TO THE INTEGRITY OF LEBANON UNDER EREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL CEPTABLE SECURITY CONDITIONS. IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTEMPLATE THE IDF REMAINING INDEFINITELY THIS IS NOT MUCH TO DUILD ON. DUT WE WILL HAVE A CLEARER IDEA OF THE ISRAELI POSITION TOHORROW. MEANWHILE. WE NEED TO STALL UN SECURITY COUNCIL ACTIONS WHICH COULD CONFRONT US WITH HAVING TO VETO. OR NOT VETO. CONDEMNATORY CHAPTER 7 RESOLUTION. WE SHOULD ALSO BE EXPLORING URGENTLY WITH THE UN SECRETARIAT AND WITHIN OUR OWN EXPERT RANKS HOW AND IF AN EXPANDED ROLE I DO NOT SEE ANY GOOD ALTERNATIVE TO RSUING THAT LIME. ONCE THE IDF HAS CONSOLIDATED ITS ITTION WITHIN THE 40 KILOMETER LINE. IDEALLY WE SHOULD IN A POSITION TO MOVE IMMEDIATELY OR ALHOST IMMEDIATELY HAVE UNIFIL TAKE OVER RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BORDER PRESUMABLY WITH AUGHENTED UNITS IF POSSIBL CERTAINLY WITH A STRENGTHENED MANDATE OF SOME KIND. NOT NECESSARILY NEED TO RESPOND TOHORROW IF BEGIN PRESENTS HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL THE ANTICIPATED APPROACH.





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IF I COULD HAVE SOME PRELIMINARY GUIDANCE.

6. THERE ARE CERTAIN "GIVENS" HERE WHICH ARE UNPLEASANT TO CONTEMPLATE BUT ARE REALISTIC: (A) RAPID DECISIONS BY THE ISRAELI CABINET TO WITHDRAW, UNDER ANY SET OF ALTERNATIVE CONDITIONS, ARE HIGHLY UNLIKELY: (8) WE CANNOT RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE, WHICH HEARS THAT THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES ABREEMENT WHICH I MEGOTIATED LAST SUMMER CANNOT BE REVIVED IN ITS ORIGINAL FORM; (C) DIFFICULT AS IT IS TO CONTEMPLATE, THE APPROACH WHICH HOLDS THE GREATEST PROMISE OF SETTING THE ISRAELIS TO WITHDRAW WITHIN A REASONABLE TIME IS UTILIZING THE EXISTING UNIFIL FORCE WITH ADDITIONS AND A STRENGTHENED MANDATE.

7. IN THE INTEREST OF BOING OUR DEST TO HODERATE ISRAELI ACTIONS. I INTEND TO URGE ON BEGIN THE WISDON OF NOT DOING ANY FURTHER BONDING IN THE BEIRUT AREA. HIS EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR NOT BONDING WARM AREAS IN THE CONVERSATION TODAY GIVES A GOOD OPENING DESPITE HIS APPARENT DESIRE TO HIT PLO HEADQUARTERS.



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a. IT WILL TAKE SEVERAL DAYS, I FEAR, DEFORE WE WILL KNOW WHETHER SOME KIND OF AGREEMENT ON WITHDRAWAL MAY DE



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POSSIBLE. THEREFORE, I PROPOSE TO STAY IN ISRAEL AND NOT GO ELSEWHERE IN THE REGION UNLESS SOME CLEAR PURPOSE WOULD BE SERVED. GROVE





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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HABIS

RDS 1.3.4 6/7/02 (GROVE, BRANDON) OR-M E.C. 12065: TAGS: PEPR, PBOR, IS, LE, US, XF SUBJECT: LEBANON: FIRST NEETING WITH BESIN -- JUNE 7. 1982

(ENTIRE TEXT)

SUMMARY. BEGIN IS DÉTERMINED TO COMPLETE HIS OBJECTIVE OF SEIZING AND CLEARING THE PLO OUT OF A STRIP WHICH EXTENDS 43 KILOMETERS NORTH OF ISRAEL TO THE ALAWI RIVER IN WEST LEBANON, A TASK WHICH MAY TAKE ANOTHER TWO TO THREE DAYS. HE ADAMANTLY REFUSES TO RESTORE THE STATUS QUO ANTE WHICH HE ARGUES BOULD PERMIT THE PLO TO SHELL NORTHERN ISRAEL. NEVERTHELESS HE INSISTS THAT ISRAEL HAS MO DESIGNS ON LESANON AND IS SEARCHING FOR AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH WILL ENSURE NORTH ISRAEL'S PREEDON FROM PLO SHELLING! IMPILITATION WITHOUT ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF SOUTHERN LEBANON. AFTER CONSULTING WITH HIS COLLEAGUES HE HOPES TO GIVE HE SOME FURTHER IDEAS TOMORROW AT 1730.

ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR SAMUEL LEWIS AND DCM BROWN. SECRET

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I CALLED ON BEBIN FOR ONE HOUR AND 45 HIMBTES





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LOCAL IN HIS OFFICE. BESIN WAS JOINED BY FOREIGN HINISTER SHAMIR AND YEHUDA AVNER (NOTETAKER). HE WAS TIRED AND SOBERED BY RECENT SYRIAN MOVES AS WELL AS 20 KIA, BUT DELIGHTED WITH ISRAEL'S OVERALL HILITARY SUCCESSES THUS FAR.

- THANKING BEGIN FOR RECEIVING HE ON SHORT NOTICE, I REITERATED OUR DISMAY OVER THE SHOCKING ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON AMBASSADOR ARGOV. REVIEWING THE PRESIDENT'S RECENT EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE ON THE LEBANESE CRISIS, I SAID THAT IN OUR MEETING IN VERSAILLES ON JUNE 6 THE PRESIDENT, WHO WAS AWARE OF THE GOI CABINET STATEMENT AS WELL AS THE STATEMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES IN BEGIN'S JUNE 6 LETTER, WAS GREATLY CONCERNED AT THE TURN OF EVENTS AND HAD ASKED HE TO OBTAIN BEGIN'S VIEWS ON WHAT WOULD MON HAPPEN AND WHERE HE SAW THE SITUATION GOING. THE PRESIDENT HAD INSTRUCTED HE TO REPORT IMMEDIATELY AFTER THIS CONVERSATION AND TO REHAIN IN JERUSALEN PENDING A PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSE.
- S. BEGIN SAID THAT ALTHOUGH HIS DUTY WAS TO BE WITH HIS GOLDIERS IN THE MORTH WHERE THERE WERE IMPORTANT DECISIONS TO BE TAKEN. HE HAD HELICOPTERED BACK FROM BEAUFORT CASTLE WHICH WAS SEIZED AFTER AN INTENSIVE ALL MIGHT BATTLE TO HEET HE AT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S REQUEST. TOHORROW HE WOULD PROCEED TO THE MORTH QUICE AGAIK AND THEM RETURN_HERE TO DEAL WITH A MOTION OF NO CONFIDENCE BY THE TIMY COMMUNIST FACTION. HE WAS CERTAIN OF OVERWHELMING SUPPORT, HAVING CONSULTED OPPOSITION LEADERS AS WELL AS HIS COALITION PARTHERS. BEGIN SAID THAT HORE THAK A NATIONAL CONSENSUS "WE NOW HAVE NATIONAL UNITY."

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G. AFTER A BRIEF FURTHER EXCHANGE IN WHICH BESIX PROUDLY DESCRIBED THE KEY MILITARY ACMISTEMENTS OF THE LAST 30 HOURS. WE WERE JOINED BY DEFENSE MINISTER SHARON AND THE DIRECTOR OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SAGE. ASSERTING THAT HE HAD RECENTLY EMPHASIZED IN WASHINGTON THAT HE DID NOT WANT US CAUGHT BY SURPRISE. SHARON SAID THAT THE JULY CEASE FIRE. IN WHICH. AS HE PUT IT. THE KILLING OF JEBS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD WAS NOT CONSIDERED A CEASEFIRE YIOLATION. HAD BECOME INTOLERABLE TO THE POINT THAT IT HAD CONTRIBUTED TO THE RECENT ISRAELI ACTION. THE BOAL OF THAT

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ACTION IS TO REMOVE THE PLO FROM ARTILLERY RANGE OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS ON THE BORDER. FOR THIS IT WAS NECESSARY TO CLEAR A 43 KILOMETER WIDE STRIP. WHICH WOULD REACH AS THE ALAUI RIVER NORTH OF SIDON ON THE WEST BEARING MIND THAT THE PLO HAD OBTAINED FROM THE SYRIAMS A 180 MM ARTILLERY PIECE WITH A RANGE OF 42.8 KILOMETERS. NOT DRAW A PRECISE LINE. A KEY PROBLEM WAS THE FACT THAT THE PLO HAD DEPLOYED WEAPONS AND WNITS DISBURSED ANONG SYRIANS IN THE VICINITY OF THE BEKAA THEREFORE INSTRUCT-ON THE EASTERN FRONT THE IDF WAS TO INITIATE NO ISRAEL HAD TRIED TO PHYSICAL CONTACT WITH SYRIAN TROOPS. MAKE IT CLEAR BY VARIOUS MEANS THAT IT WANTED NO WAR WITH SYRIA AND IT HOPED THAT SYRIAMS WOULD HAVE WITHDRAWN FROM "FATAHLAND" AND OTHER PLO AREAS.

7. CONTINUING, SHARON GAVE THE FOLLOWING RUNDOWN:
-- ON THE COASTAL ROAD, THE 1DF HAD ALREADY REACHED THE ALAWI RIVER. IN SO DOING THE 1DF HAD SINCE BYPASSED TYRE AND SIDON SO AS TO MINIMIZE DAMAGE TO THESE ANCIENT CITIES.
USING "THE LATEST PSY-WAR METHODS" (LEAFLETS, LOUDSPEAKERS).

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HABIB

THE ISRAELIS WERE SUCCEEDING IN ACHIEVING EVACUATION OF CIVILIAN POPULATIONS AND SURRENDER OF PLO TERRORISTS FROM TYRE AND SIDON. IT HAD ALSO SUCCESSFULLY CARRIED OUT AN AMPHIBIOUS OPERATION LANDING NUMEROUS TANKS NORTH OF SIDON WITHOUT CASUALTIES.

-- IN THE CENTRAL SECTOR THE 1DF HAD TAKEN HABATIYAH AND CROSSED THE AKIYA BRIDGE TO REACH "BASRI" SOME 40 KILO-METERS NORTH OF THE ISRAELI BORDER. SOME LINKUPS HAD ALREADY BEEN EFFECTED BETWEEN THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN COLUMNS.

-- ON THE EASTERN FRONT THE ISRAELIS HAD TAKEN HASBAYYA BUT HAD STOPPED THERE SO AS NOT TO ENGAGE THE SYRIAMS.

S. MEANWHILE, SAID SHARGH, THERE HAD BEEN A VERY DANGER-OUS DEVELOPMENT: THE SYRIAMS HAD TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF ISRAELI CAUTION TO MOVE NEW FORCES INTO LEBANON AND SOUTHWARD NOT ONLY TO THE LOWER BAKAA VALLEY (IN A MANNER WHICH SUGGESTED THEY INTEND TO STAY THERE) BUT ALSO IN SECRET

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THE CENTRAL REGION OF SOUTHWEST JAZZIN. HOW THE SYRIAMS WERE MOVING AN ADDITIONAL BURFACE TO AIR MISSILE BRIGADE



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HOREOVER," SINCE THE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 6 INTO LEBANON. THE IDF IN CERTAIN SECTORS HAD COME UNDER SYRIAN ARTILLERY FIRE AND SUFFERED COMSIDERABLE CASHALTIES. IN ADDITION. SYRIAN COMMANDOS HAD CAPTURED CERTAIN POINTS ON THE CREST OF MOUNT LEBANON AND WERE CREATING "NEW FACTS". THIS HAD COMPLICATED THE IDF'S MISSION. ORIGINALLY. THE IDF'S GROUND OBJECTIVES WOULD HAVE BEEN REACHED BY MOON TOHORROW. HOUEVER, SECAUSE OF SYRIAN INVOLVEMENT. THIS WOULD TAKE ANOTHER 2-3 DAYS. (HERE BEGIN INTERVENED TO STATE THAT THE DECISION ON NOW TO COPE WITH THE COMPLICA-INVOLVEMENTS OF THE SYRIAMS HOULD BE MADE BY THE CABINET.) MOST OF THE GALILEE IS NOW SAFE FROM PLO SHELL-ING EXCEPT A FEW TOWNS IN THE UPPER GALILEE PARHAMOLE WHICH CAN BE HIT BY PLO SUNS STILL INTERSPERSED WITH SYRIA UNITS IN "FATANLAND" ON THE EASTERN PRONT.

WHEN I INQUIRED ABOUT THE CURRENT ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SYRIAN HISSILES IN THE BEKAA VALLEY, BEGIN REMINDED HE OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT TO RESTORE THE STATUS QUO ANTE AND THEN FORCEFULLY ASSERTED THAT THE SITUATION HAD NOW FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGED. THE STATUS QUO ANTE AS REFERRED TO IN PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LETTER (OF MAY, 1981), COULD NO "IT IS INCONCEIVABLE TO ASSUME THAT LONGER BE RESTORED. UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES WE WOULD ALLOW A SITUATION WHERE THOSE (PLO) SCOUNDRELS COULD AGAIN HIT OUR CIVILIANS IN BEGIN HOULD HAYE TO DISCUSS WITH HIS THE GALILEE." COLLEAGUES HOW TO REACH THE GOAL OF COMPLETE SECURITY FOR THE INHABITANTS OF THE NORTHERN GALILEE WITHOUT RESORTING TO OCCUPATION OF THE NEW 40 KILOMETER BUFFER ZONE BY THE IN RESPONSE TO MY PROBING HE REITERATED THE POINTS HE HAD MADE IN HIS JUNE & LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT: ISRAEL SECKE!

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ADHERES TO THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF LEBANON WITH WHICH IT SEEKS A PEACE TREATY. ISRAEL DOES NOT COVET A SINGLE CENTINETER OF LEBANESE SOIL AND WHEN CONDITIONS PERHIT THE IDF WILL WITHDRAW. HOWEVER, THE STATUS QUO ANTE CANNOT BE RESTORED.

10. AT THIS JUNCTURE I INTERVENED THAT THERE WERE ELEMENTS TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE WHICH WERE NOT CONTRARY TO THE GOALS THAT BEGIN HAD ARTICULATED, E.S., THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF THE IDF IN LEBANON WOULD AT A CERTAIN POINT BE NO LONGER NECESSARY. I ASKED WHETHER BEGIN

STEED :



COULD NOW SHARE WITH ME HIS THOUGHTS ON HIS PLANS FOR THE FUTURE. HE SAID HE HOPED TO BE ABLE TO DO SO BUT ONLY AFTER CONSULTING WITH HIS CABINET COLLEAGUES TOMIGHT AND TOMORROW. I STRESSED THAT SOMEHOW WE HAD TO CREATE A SITUATION WHICH ISRAEL AND EVERYONE ELSE COULD LIVE IN THE WAKE OF WHAT HAD RECENTLY HAPPENED. SOON THE ISRAELIS WOULD HAVE ACHIEVED THEIR SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVES ON THE GROWND. BUT BEYOND THAT, THERE HAD TO BE OTHER HEAMS TO ACHIEVE THE SAME GOALS WITHOUT ISRAELI OCCUPATION. MEANWHILE, OTHER THINGS WERE HAPPENING. THE SYRIAMS WERE ON THE MOVE.

11. REMINDING ME THAT ISRAEL HAD ALREADY PAID A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF BLOOD FOR ITS MOVE, BEGIN INSISTED THAT
THE STATUS QUO ANTE COULD NOT BE REPEATED: "PEOPLE HOULD
STONE US." HE WAS SEARCHING FOR AN ARRANGEMENT IN WHICH
THE U.S. COULD AND SHOULD PLAY A ROLE. THE OUTCOME MUST
REFLECT THE CLEAR GOAL OF THE RECENT CAMPAIGN THAT NEVER
AGAIN SHOULD VILLAGES IN THE GALILEE BE BOMBARDED BY
ARTILLERY AND ROCKETS. WHEN I REFERRED TO THE RESTORATION
OF THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES. BEGIN STATED SHARPLY

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HABIS

THAT THIS PREVIOUS PHASE WAS NOW AN ANACHRONISM. "WHAT DID IT MEAN? WHENEVER THEY KILLED OR WOUNDED OUR PEOPLE AND WE RESPONDED, THEY IMMEDIATELY SHELLED OUR NORTHERN SETTLEMENTS."

- 12. WHEN I REFERRED TO THE SECURITY RESOLUTIONS 508 AND 509, WHICH LATTER SHORTLY ARRUITED A REPORT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL INCLUDING ISRAEL'S FORMAL RESPONSE, THERE WOULD BE FURTHER SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE AND ACTION WHICH WOULD PUT THE PRESIDENT IN A DILEMMA.
- -- THE PRESIDENT IS FACING A GROUNDSWELL OF CRITICISM OF ISRAEL'S HILITARY CAMPAIGN IN THE CONGRESS AND INQUIRIES ABOUT THE LEGAL IMPLICATION OF ISRAEL'S USE OF U.S. FURNISHED EQUIPMENT IN THE CURRENT HILITARY CAMPAIGN.
- -- THE PRESIDENT IS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE HARMFUL EFFECT THE ISRAELI ACTIONS, PARTICULARLY IF PROLONGED, COULD MAYE ON THE AUTONOMY TALKS AND THE PEACE PROCESS.

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--FINALLY THE REACTIONS AMONG KEY ARAB STATES DIRECTLY ENDANGER IMPORTANT U.S. AND WEST EUROPEAN INTERESTS, AND

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ARE ALSO RELATED TO ISRAELI INTERESTS.

13. IN RESPONSE BEGIN SPOKE ESSENTIALLY TO THE FIRST TWO POINTS:

-- THE U.S. AT CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL COST IN LATIN AMERICA HAD VETOED A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON THE FALKLAND ISLANDS. HE WOULD CERTAINLY EXPECT-- ALTHOUGH HE WAS NOT ASKING -- THE PRESIDENT TO INSTRUCT THAT A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING AND IMPOSING SANCTIONS ON ISRAEL WOULD BE VETOED, SINCE THE GOI HAD ONLY EXERCISED ITS INHERENT RIGHT TO SELF DEFENSE.

-- HIS OWN READING WAS THAT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF A FEW INDIVIDUALS SUCH AS CONGRESSMAN FINDLEY THE MOOD IN congress was generally far more favorable to israel this YEAR THAN IT HAD BEEN IN SEVERAL PREVIOUS YEARS. WAS CONFIDENT THAT CONGRESS WOULD NOT CONDEHN OR PUNISH ISRAEL FOR ITS USE OF AMERICAN-ORIGIN MILITARY EQUIPMENT IN LEGITIMATE SELF DEFENSE, ALL THE MORE SO IF, AS HE HOPED. THE PRESIDENT EXPLAINED WHY ISRAEL HAD BEEN COMPELLED TO TAKE THIS STEP. BEGIN REFERRED SCATHINGLY TO A NEWSPAPER ACCOUNT OF SECRETARY WEINSERSER'S ALLEGED INTENTION TO RECOMMEND SANCTIONS TO PRESIDENT REAGAN. HE SAID HE HOPED THE PRESIDENT HOULD REJECT ANY SUCH RECOMMEND-ATION: IF HE DID NOT. THE RESULT WOULD MAKE THE ISRAELI POSITION MORE RIGID. NOT MORE PLEXIBLE. I MADE CLEAR I KNEW NOTHING ABOUT THE REPORT. (HERE BEGIN CITED A WASH-INGTON POST EDITORIAL ALLEGEDLY ENDORSING ISRAEL'S ACTIONS AS SELF-DEFENSE).

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-- IN ANY EVENT, HE WAS ABSOLUTELY CONVINCED, ALONG WITH HIS COLLEAGUES AND PEOPLE THAT ISRAEL HAD TAKEN THE CORRECT COURSE. EVEN IF HE HAD ASCERTAINED IN ADVANCE THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD CONDENN ISRAEL AND EVEN IF (HEAVEN FORBID) THE W.S. SHOULD IMPOSE SANCTIONS FOR THE USE OF W.S. EQUIPMENT HE WOULD HAVE MEVERTHELESS HADE THE SAME RECOMMENDATION TO HIS CABINET COLLEAGUES, FOR THE ACTION WAS "ABSOLUTELY WHAVOIDABLE."

IN. WITH THAT WE AGREED TO MEET TOMORROW, JUNE & AT



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The second second FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HABIB

ROS 1,3,4 3/1/02 (HABIB, PHILIP) OR-M PEFR. US. MILI. LE. MOPS. IS. SY

SUBJECT: MY MEETING MARCH 1 WITH MENACHEM BEGIN: STORMY ENCOUNTER WITH AN EMBATTLED PRIME MINISTER

REF: JERUSALEM 619

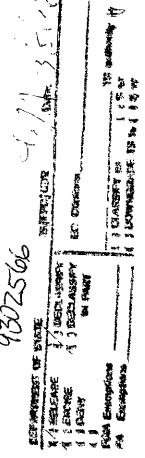
THE DETAILED REPORT ON MY MEETING THIS MORNING WITH BEGIN (REFTEL) IF ANYTHING UNDERSTATES THE ATMOSPHERE OF TENSION. INJURED DIGNITY. DEFIANCE. AND FRUSTRATION WHICH WE ENCOUNTERED. HAYING JUST COME FROM THE HOSPITAL WHERE HIS WIFE IS IN INTENSIVE CARE FOR ABOUT TWO WEEKS. AND HAVING RECEIVED REPORTS OVERNIGHT ABOUT THE TENSE UNPRECEDENTED CONFRONTATION BUILDING UP IN SINAL OVER THE PROBLEM OF THE YAMIT SETTLERS, BEGIN WAS IN A SOMBER MOOD. AS SOON AS WE TOUCHED CONTROVERSIAL TOPICS HIS FRUSTRATIONS BOILED OVER AND SOME OF OUR EXCHANGES WERE MORE THAN HEATED. SAH LEWIS COMPARES HIS MOOD TODAY AS ALMOST EXACTLY PARALLEL WITH THAT HE ENCOUNTERED ON DECEMBER 20

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WHEN BEGIN READ HIM THE RIOT ACT IN HIS "BANANA REPUBLIC"







DISCOURSE.

SAM ANALYZES THE PROBLEM BE FACED IN TODAY'S MEETING AS RESULTING FROM DEALING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AT A HOMENT WHEN HE HAS LITERALLY MORE ON HIS PLATE HE CAN HANDLE, BOTH PERSONALLY AND POLITICALLY. TRAUMA OF THE YAMIT SITUATION IS FOR BEGIN A PERSONAL TRAGEDY; YET HE GRITS HIS TEETH AND SAYS DEFIANTLY THAT HE WILL MEET HIS OBLIGATIONS TO EVACUATE THE SETTLERS AS HE IS COMMITTED TO DO. REGARDLESS OF THE PAIN IT CAUSES. HE OVER-REACO A NOON PRESS STATEMENT BY DEAN FISCHER ON "VIOLENCE FROM ANY QUARTER" WHICH BEGIN. ALWAYS SUPER-SENSITIVE ON SUCH AN ISSUE. INTERPRETED AS PUTTING ISRAEL AND THE PLO ON THE SAME LEVEL. DESPITE THE FACT THAT HE SAID ISRAEL HAD REFRAINED FROM ANY MILITARY REACTION FOR EIGHT MONTHS SINCE THE CEASEFIIE AGREEMENT EVEN WHILE FACING OVER 60 INCIDENTS WHICH THE ISRAELIS REGARD AS PALESTINIAN VIOLATIONS. HUBARAK'S REFUSAL TO VISIT JERUSALEM. IMPLYING TO BEGIN THAT HE WILL NEVER MAKE AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO ISRAEL. IS A BITTER BLOW. A REPORT THIS MORNING THAT WEINBERGER MADE A SLIGHTING REMARK ABOUT BEGIN ON ABC-TY YESTERDAY INFURIATED HIM. ACCUMULATING EVIDENCE THAT WE INTEND TO GO AHEAD WITH SALE OF ADDITIONAL WEAPONS TO JORDAN DESPITE ISRAEL'S ANGRY REALTION RAISES HIS FRUSTRATION LEVEL BY DEMONSTRATING THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION IS NOT EASILY DISSUADED BY ISRAELI REACTIONS FROM PURSUING A COURSE WHICH IT BELIEVES NECESSARY. AND FINALLY. PROBABLY MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL. BEGIN NOW UNDERSTANDS FROM HIS LAST EXCHANGES WITH SAM LEWIS THAT THE MOU ON STRATEGIC COOPERATION REHAINS IN SUSPENSION AND THAT THIS IMPLIES ISRAEL IS "ON PROBATION". PARTICULARLY WITH



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RESPECT TO MILITARY ACTIONS IN LEBANON. ALL OF THESE FACTORS ARE FOR BEGIN IN VARYING WAYS INSULTING TO HIS DIGNITY AND THAT OF HIS GOVERNMENT.

4. THIS AMALGAM OF FRUSTRATIONS AND RECENT EVENTS HELPS TO EXPLAIN HIS OTHERWISE INEXPLICABLE ANGRY RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S VIEW WHICH I CONVEYED ABOUT THE NEED FOR ISRAEL TO DEMONSTRATE MORE EFFECTIVELY TO THE PUBLIC ITS PATIENCE AND PEACEFUL INTENTIONS. IN HIS MOST TALMUDIC FASHION HE SELZED ON THE WORDS "NEED TO PROVIDE



EVIDENCE" AS IF THEY MEANT THAT ISRAEL WAS BEING PLACED ON TRIAL FOR ITS BEHAVIOR, A CONCEPT WHICH I NEED NOT TELL YOU HARDLY IMPROVES BEGIN'S TEMPERAMENT. WE MADE STRENUOUS EFFORTS TO GET ACROSS TO HIM THAS WAS NOT IN ANY SENSE THE PRESIDENT'S INTENTION AND TRIED TO HEAD OFF HIS INITIATING A BOOTLESS NEW EXCHANGE OF LETTERS WITH THE PRESIDENT. I DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT WE SUCCEEDED, THOUGH I TRIED GAIN LATER IN THE DAY TO GET SHAMIR TO INTERCEDE WITH BEGIN. HIS RESPONSE WAS NOT ENCOURAGING. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT BEGIN WAS IN SUCH A MOOD TODAY THAT NOME OF HIS ASSOCIATES BELIEVE THEY HAVE MUCH INFLUENCE OVER HIS REACTIONS.

5. ALL OF THIS SAID. SAN AND I BOTH CONCLUDE THAT OUR STORMY SESSION THIS MORNING WAS WORTHWHILE. BEGIN'S OWN ASSESSMENT OF THE MEETING THAT IT WAS "DIFFICULT BUT GOOD" SEEMS TO AGREE WITH OUR ASSESSMENT. HE HAD TO GET A LOT OF THINGS OFF HIS CHEST. AND I WAS A CONVENIENT SOUNDING BOARD AND MESSENGER. HE REAFFIRMED CATEGORICALLY THE COMMITMENT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD

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SECTION 02 OF 02 JERUSALEM 00618

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NO INTENTION OF ATTACKING LEBANON WITHOUT PROVOCATION AND THAT THEY WISHED IF AT ALL POSSIBLE TO KEEP THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AGREEMENT IN BEING. HE WAS REASSURED BY MY UNEQUIVOCAL AGREEMENT THAT THE RECENT INCURSION FROM LEBANON VIA JORDAN WAS INDEED A CEASE-FIRE VIOLATION AND HE APPROVED OF THE WAY IN WHICH I DESCRIBED MY INTENTIONS FOR FUTURE STOPS ON THIS TRIP. HE WILL WELCOME ME BACK AFT"\ MY STOPS IN DAMASCUS, AMMAN, AND RIYADH. ALTHOUGH HE HAS ONLY LIMITED CONFIDENCE THAT I CAN ACHIEVE HUCH ON THIS ROUND, HE THOROUGHLY AGREES THAT THE EIGHT MONTHS WITHOUT LOSS OF ISRAELI LIFE RESULTING FROM THE CEASEFILE BEING KEPT IS A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT IN ITSELF AND ONE NOT LIGHTLY TO BE DISCARDED.

6. I ALSO WAS REINFORCED IN MY CONVICTION THAT NEITHER BEGIN NOR HIS CABINET WERE ITCHING TO INVADE LEBANON. REGARDLESS OF WHAT THE JOURNALISTS THINK. THEY WANT TO AVOID BEING FORCED INTO THAT DANGEROUS AND COSTLY COURSE. AND THEIR ACTIONS WILL, I BELIEVE, CONTINUE TO BE A GREAT DEAL MORE CAUTIOUS THAN THEIR RHETGRIC WOULD SUGGEST. THE PROBLEM OF THE RHETORIC REMAINS. BUT EVEN THERE MY WORDS MAY HAVE MADE SOME DENT. IF NOT ON BEGIN PERSONALLY. THEN ON SHARON AND SHAMIR

PAGE 02 JERUSA 00618 02 0F 02 012100Z

WITH WHOM I HET SEPARATELY LATER IN THE DAY.

7. IT WAS A ROUGH HOPNING, BUT MONFTHELESS WORTHWHILE.

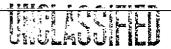


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FROM HABIB

USDEL ALSO FOR CLUYERIUS

E.O. 12065: RDS 1,2,3, 7/6/02 (GROYE, BRANDON JR) OR-M

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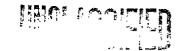
SUBJECT: HABIB MISSION: FIRST HEETIHG WITH PH BEGIN

2. NO BREAKTHROUGH WAS ACHIEVED IN INITIAL HOUR AND ONE-HALF MEETING WITH BEGIN. I RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT ISRAELI PLANS AND OBJECTIVES, AND STRESSED THE PRESIDENT'S CONCERNS AS INSTRUCTED. IN HIS PRESENTATION. BEGIN STATED ISRAEL'S FIRM COMMITMENT NOT REPEAT NOT TO REMAIN IN LEBANON BUT WAS EQUALLY FIRM ON ISRAEL'S REQUIREMENT FOR A SUFFER ZONE OF 40 KILOMETERS TO ASSURE THAT NORTHERN ISRAEL WOULD NOT AGAIN FACE THE THREAT OF SHELLING. BEGIN SAID HE WOULD HAVE TO MEET WITH THE CABINET BEFORE DISCUSSING WITH ME THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH ISRAEL IS PREPARED TO WITHDRAW ITS FORCES FROM LEBANON. WE ARE SCHEDULED TO MEET AGAIN AT 1730 HOURS

PAGE 02

JERUSA 01743 0719252

LOCAL JUNE S. WHEN HE WILL BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THIS



NATTER.

3. BEGIN SAID ISRAEL'S MAJOR MILITARY OBJECTIVES COULD BE ATTAINED BY TOMORROW, ALTHOUGH HE INDICATED THAT SYRIAM MILITARY MOVEMENTS COULD COMPLICATE AND RETARD MILITARY OPERATIONS. A FULL REPORT OF THE INITIAL MEETING, INCLUDING RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STEPS, IS NOW BEING DRAFTED AND WILL BE TRANSMITTED TO ADDRESSEES BEFORE OPENING OF BUSINESS TUESDAY, JUNE 8. GROVE



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FROM HABIB - FOR THE SECRETARY ONLY. DEPT PLS PASS SEC'Y

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, LE, US, IS, XF, SY

SUBJECT: HABIB HISSION: ISRAELI PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL

FROM LEBANON

REF: WHO 4401 (MESSAGE FROM JUDGE CLARK TO THE SECRETARY

CBIBAH GNA

1.

2. I AM DISTURBED BY THE MESSAGE FROM JUDGE CLARK IN EFFECT INSTRUCTING ME TO SUPPORT THE CONCEPT OF PARTIAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL IN CONJUNCTION WITH A POSSIBLY EXPANDED ROLE FOR THE MNF. THIS UNDERCUTS MY PRESENT EFFORT - APPROVED BY YOU AND THE PRESIDENT - TO EXPLORE ALTERNATE COURSES OF ACTION DESIGNED TO BRING ABOUT TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES AND NOT PIECEMEAL OPERATIONS WHICH COULD PRODUCE DE FACTO PARTITION.

3. TODAY I WAS INFORMED AUTHORITATIVELY BY THE LEBANESE OF THEIR STRONG OPPOSITION TO PARTIAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL

PAGE 02 BEIRUT 07265 2920267

IF IT DID NOT TAKE PLACE IN THE CONTEXT OF A FIRM AND

COMPREHENSIVE PLAN FOR TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES AS PART OF WITHDRAWAL OF ALL EXTERNAL FORCES. THIS RECONFIRMS THE POSITION OUTLINED TO YOU BY WADIA HADDAD IN HIS MEETING WITH YOU IN WASHINGTON. IT IS ALSO CONSISTENT WITH YOUR STATEMENT TO THE PRESS PRIOR TO YOUR DEPARTURE.

- 4. I AM STRONGLY OF THE VIEW THAT PARTIAL IDF WITHDRAWAL WILL ONLY STIFFEN THE SYRIAN STAND, AND THEY WILL TELL THEIR ARAB FRIENDS THEY CAN SIT TIGHT AND THE ISRAELIS WILL EVENTUALLY WITHDRAW FULLY. I ALSO BELIEVE THE ISRAELIS MAY HAVE IN MIND REMAINING IN DE FACTO CONTROL OF A SUBSTANTIAL PIECE OF SOUTHERN LEBANON, WITH MODEST ISRAELI FORCES AND A MAJOR ROLE FOR HADDAD.
- 5. I FEEL JUST AS STRONGLY THAT WE SHOULD NOT EXPAND THE MISSION OR THE GEOGRAPHIC POSITION OF THE MNF OTHER THAN IN THE CONTEXT OF AN AGREED TOTAL WITHDRAWAL SCHEME. OTHERWISE WE WILL BE PUTTING OUR FORCES INTO A HOSTILE SITUATION. WE WOULD NEED TO GO TO CONGRESS IN ORDER TO INCREASE THE U.S. COMPONENT AND ALTER ITS DEPLOYMENT. I DO NOT BELIEVE CONGRESS WILL BE SYMPATHETIC, ESPECIALLY SINCE IT WILL BE CLEAR OUR FORCES WILL BE ENGAGED IN AN EFFORT OF PROLONGED AND INDEFT...ITE DURATION.
- 6. I AM ALSO CONCERNED AT THE ISRAELI ASSUMPTION THAT PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL AND BRINGING THE ISRAELI-LEBANESE AGREEMENT INTO FORCE GO HAND IN HAND. EVEN IF THE LEBANESE WERE WILLING TO ENGAGE IN PARTIAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT, THE SYRIAN REACTION WILL BE TO CREATE AS MUCH TROUBLE AS THEY CAN FOR THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT. INSIDE OF LEBANON THE PROSPECT OF DE FACTO PARTITION WILL

PAGE 03

BEIRUT 07265 2920267

WEAKEN THE NATIONAL CONSENSUS AS THE SHIA, THE SUNNI. AND THE DRUZE OPPOSE. THUS THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION WILL BE JEOPARDIZED.

7. I DO NOT KNOW WHO CONVINCED THE PRESIDENT OF THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL. IT WAS EITHER A PERSON WHO DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THE COMPLEXITIES OF THE SITUATION, OR SOMEONE WHO JUST DOES NOT WANT TO GO AGAINST A BAD ISRAELI POSITION. IN THE END, THE IDEA OF PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL MAY NOT GET FAR BECAUSE OF LEBANESE OPPOSITION.



OR CONGRESSIONAL ACTION. OR MAYBL EVEN BECAUSE WE INTEND TO STICK TO OUR WORDS ABOUT OUR POLICY OBJECTIVES IN LEBANON. EITHER WAY I SUGGEST YOU DO HHAT YOU CAN TO KEEP THE POSSIBILITY OF PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT FOR PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL FROM HARDENING AND GIVE FURTHER NEGOTIATING EFFORTS (INCLUDING YOUR OWN) A CHANCE.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED SECRETARY.



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BEEAPTIONED

FROM HABIB FOR SECRETARY AND DEPUTY SECRETARY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, OPRC, LE, IS, US SUBJ: PRESS GUIDANCE ON HABIB HISSION: REQUEST OF

ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTE?

(S-ENTIRE TEXT)

IN LIGHT OF THE DISASTROUS PRESS LEAK IN THE MIDDLE-EAST POLICY SURVEY, ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR HAS URGENTLY REQUESTED AN IMMEDIATE PUBLIC CLARIFICATION OF US POLICY CONCERNING WITHDRAWAL OF THE ISRAELI MEDIA STORIES FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON. TODAY, STEMMING FROM THE WASHINGTON LEAK, HIGHLIGHT THE INTERPRETATION THAT THE U.S. IS PROPOSING THAT ISRAEL WITHDRAW UNILATERALLY.

IN A MEETING THIS MORNING (SEPTEL). PM BEGIN AND DEFMIN ARENS JOINED SHAMIR IN ASKING THAT THE U.S.

PAGE 02

JERUSA 02391 0110162

POLICY SUPPORTING SIMULTANEOUS WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI





AND SYRIAN FORCES BE PUBLICLY REAFFIRMED IMMEDIATELY. AMBASSADOR LEWIS AND I CONCUR. ANY CHANGE IN THAT PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED POLICY SHOULD ONLY BE MADE, IF NECESSARY, IN THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS.

4. THUS I RECOMMEND THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT BE ISSUED BY THE SPOKESMAN TODAY: THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THAT THERE SHOULD BE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE A TOTAL AND SIMULTAMEOUS WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON. IN THE COURSE OF HIS CONSULTATIONS IN THE AREA. AMBASSADOR HABIB HAS BEEN REVIEWING THE SITUATION AND DISCUSSING A NUMBER OF IDEAS ON HOW BEST TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD OUR CONTINUING GOALS OF THE REMOVAL FROM LEBANON OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES. THE ESTABLISHMENT THROUGHOUT LEBANON OF THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INTEGRITY OF ITS CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ADEQUATE SECURITY GUARANTEES FOR ISRAEL'S NORTHERN BORDER. WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF LEBANON AND ISRAEL, AND ANY OTHER PARTIES WHO CAN BE OF ASSISTANCE IN ACHIEVING THESE GOALS. NONE OF THESE IDEAS CONCERN UNILATERAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL OF ITS FORCES.

5. I FURTHER RECOMMEND THAT F "LOW-UP QUESTIONS RE-CEIVE THE USUAL ANSWER THAT WE WILL NOT GO INTO THE PARTICULARS OF OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS.

6. BEIRUT MINIMIZE CONSIDERED KEENE



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, JERUSALEM FOR HABIB/ORAPER MISSIOM

E.O. 12356: DECL: CADR

TAGS: PREL, MOPS, LE, IS, SY, US

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH DEFENSE HIMISTER ARENS -- DEEPENING

ISRAELI CONCERN ABOUT SYRIAN AND PLO MOYES

IN LEBANON

· (damage () +)

2. AMBASSADORS HABIB AND LEWIS MET WITH DEFENSE MINISTER ARENS THURSDAY AFTERNOON. MAY 12. 1983, AT THEIR REQUEST TO DISCUSS LAST MINUTE PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE SCHEDULING OF THE SIGNING CEREMONIES FOR THE LEBANON-ISRAEL AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, BEFORE GETTING TO THAT SUBJECT, ARENS SAID THAT HE WAS INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT SYRIAN AND PLO MOVEMENTS AND INTENTIONS IN LEBANON.

3. ARENS REFERRED TO THE MOVEMENTS INTO LEBANON IN RECENT DAYS OF JP TO 1500 PLO AND PLA TROOPS FROM SYRIA. AND TO

PAGE 02 - TEL AY 06485 1217537

REINFORCEMENTS OF SYRIA4 UKITS IN THE BEKAA. FORE WORRI-

SOME WERE REPORTS THAT PLO AND SYRIAM FORCES WERE MOW POSITIONED ON THE SIMNIM RIDGE FROM WHICH THEIR ARTILLERY CAN RANGE OVER ALL OF THE CHRISTIAN HEARTLAND INCLUDING JUNIVAM. ARENS ASKED: TWHAT WILL YOU DO IF JUNIVAM AND ITS SURROUNDING AREA COMES UNDER HEAVY BOMBARDMENT FROM EITHER PLO OR SYRIAM ARTILLERY?" LEWIS AND HASIB AVOIDED SIVING ANY DIRECT ANSWER BUT ACKNOWLEDGED THE WORRISOME NATURE OF THESE MOVEMENTS AND SAID THAT WE WOULD WANT TO CONSULT URGENTLY WITH BOTH THE GOL AND THE ISRAELI LEADERSHIP IN THAT EVENT.

4. ARENS SAID THAT THE ISRAELIS HAD BEEN MAKING STRENUOUS EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE AND MAINTAIN QUIET AMONG THE DRUZE IN THE AREAS UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL. AND FOR THE MOMENT. SEEM TO BE SUCCESSFUL. (HABIB AND LEWIS TOLD ARENS THAT THE LEBANESE LEADERS, INCLUDING GENERAL TANNOUS, HAD ALSO BEEN WORKING ACTIVELY ON THE DRUZE PROBLEM AND HAD OBTAINED CERTAIN REASSURING PROMISES FROM WALID JUMBLATT THAT THE DRUZE WOULD REFRAIN FROM ANY SHELLING OF THE GREATER BEIRUT AREA.) WE AGREED. HOWEVER, THAT WITH THE EVIDENT SYRIAN DETERMINATION TO ABORT FINALIZATION OF THE LEBANON-ISRAEL AGREEMENT. THE DANGER OF PLO AND/OR SYRIAN SHELLING APART FROM THE DRUZE PROBLEM WAS A REAL POSSIBILITY.

B. WE USED THIS MUTUAL WORRY TO UNDERSCORE THE IMPORTANCE OF COMPLETING THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENTS AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT A SIGNING ON SUNDAY MAY NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE GOI IN LIGHT OF PRIME MINISTER BEGIN'S SENSITIVITY. EXPRESSED EARLIER TODAY, ABOUT COMPLETING THE KNESSET DEBATE AND VOTE ON HONDAY BEFORE THE SIGNING COULD OCCUR. ARENS PROMISED TO SPEAK TO BEGIN THIS EVENING AND SEE IF HE CAN GET OVER THIS PROBLEM.

THOUGH HE INSISTED THAT BEGIN WOULD BE THE FINAL JUDGE AS

PAGE 03 TEL AV 06485 1217532

TO HOW HE HAD TO MANAGE THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROCESS.

6. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT SYRIAN AND PLO MOVEMENTS IN THE LAST TWO OR THREE DAYS HAVE BEGUN TO HEIGHTEN THE SENSE OF FOREBODING HERE. AND OUR DATT REPORTS THAT THERE HAVE BEEN REINFORCEMENTS MOVING NORTH FROM SOUTHERN ISRAEL IN LIMITED NUMBERS IN THE PAST FORTY-EIGHT MOURS. IN GENERAL, HOMEVER, THERE IS NO SENSE OF CRISIS IN ISRAEL AND THE GENERAL SUPPOSITION IN THE GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC REMAINS THAT THE SYRIANS ARE ENGAGED IN EFFORTS TO TURNART LEBANESE



SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT BY HEIGHTENING A SENSE OF CRISIS RATHER THAN PREPARING FOR AN OFFENSIVE. ARENS TAKES SERIOUSLY, HOWEVER, THE GROWING LIKELIHOOD THAT PLO UNITS WILL BE ENCOURAGED TO CARRY OUT OPERATIONS AGAINST THE IDFWITHIN LEBANON IN THE DAYS IMMEDIATELY AMEAD, PERHAPS INTENDED TO PROVOKE AN ISRAELI RESPONSE. HE IS CLEARLY NOT ANXIOUS TO RESPOND, BUT IS PRESSING US AS TO WHAT WE ARE NOW DOING TO MAKE CLEAR IN MORE UNEQUIVOCAL TERMS TO THE SOVIETS WHAT A DANGEROUS GAME MAY BE DEVELOPING.

7. BEIRUT MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. LEHIS

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BEIRUT FOR AMBASSACOR HABIB

DEPARTMENT FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY DAM AND FELICIES FROM LEWIS

E.G. 12356: DECL: CADR

TAGS: MARR, MOPS, IS, US, LE, PEri

SUBJECT: DELIVERY OF MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY SHULTZ TO

DEFENSE MINISTER ARENS AND DISCUSSION WITH

ARENS CONCERNING LEBANCH NEGOTIATIONS

REF: STATE 105415

1. State of the st

2. TO JNDERSCORE IMPLICITLY THE LINKAGE. PHIL HABIB AND I MET WITH DEFENSE MINISTER ARENS AT 1330 ON SUNDAY. APRIL 17. TO DELIVER THE SECRETARY'S LETTER REGARDING THE RELEASE OF LAVI TECHNOLOGY. AND TO PROBE FURTHER INTO ARENS' POSITION ON HADDAD'S FUTURE. TWO OF ARENS' AIDES. INCLUDING GENERAL MERCH. WERE ALSO PRESENT.



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3. I OPENED THE CONVERSATION BY HANDING ARENS A COPY



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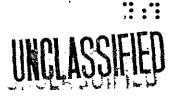
OF THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE TOGETHER WITH A COVERING LETTER FROM ME. IN WHICH I QUOTED THE ADDITIONAL POINTS VERBATIM FROM PARA 4 OF REFTEL. MY COVER LETTER MAKES CLEAR THAT THESE ADDITIONAL POINTS ARE OFFICIAL AND ARE CONVEYED ON INSTRUCTION FROM WASHINGTON.

ARENS READ MY LETTER AND THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE WITH CARE. THEN EXPRESSED HIS GREAT PLEASURE AT THE GCCD NEWS (WHICH HAD. OF COURSE. ALREADY BEEN SIGNALED IN A NEWS BROADCAST FROM WASHINGTON EARLY THIS MORNING). I UNDERSCORED TO ARENS THE DIFFICULTY WHICH THE SECRETARY HAD CONFRONTED IN COTAINING THIS DECISION AND HOW MUCH EFFORT HAD GONE INTO IT. GENERAL MERON SAID HE COULD WELL UNDERSTAND. FROM HIS OWN RECENT MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON, HOW DIFFICULT INDEED HAD BEEN THE SECRETARY'S TASK. ARENS EXPRESSED HIS GREAT. PERSONAL APPRECIATION TO SECRETARY SHULTZ FOR THE DECISION AND FOR HIS WARM MESSAGE. (FORTUITOUSLY, ARENS WILL APPEAR LATER TODAY ON THE DAVID BRINKLEY INTERVIEW PROGRAM BY SATELLITE. HE HAD BEEN PREPARING. I LEARNED FROM HIS PRESS SPOKESMAN. TO RESPOND "VIGOROUSLY" TO QJESTIONS ABOUT THE F-16 SUSPENSION AND THE LAVI AIRCRAFT ISSUE. THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE SHOULD RPT SHOULD PRODUCE MORE POSTTIVE AND HELPFUL RESPONSES.>

5. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION OF ISRAEL-EGYPT RELATIONS. TRIGGERED BY ARENS' QUERY ABOUT HABIB'S TRIP TO CAIRO THE PREVIOUS DAY (SEPTEL), HABIB TURNED THE CONVERSATION TO MAJOR HADDAD'S FUTURE. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE ISRAELI POSITION THAT HADDAD MUST REMAIN A COMMANDER; HE ALSO WAS TOTALLY CONVINCED THAT THE LEBANESE COULD NOT AND WOULD NOT GO BEYOND

PAGE 03 TEL AV 05196 01 0F 02 1717217

THEIR OFFER TO KEEP HIM AS A DEPUTY COMMANGER WITH CERTAIN SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES FOR INTELLIGENCE/SECURITY MATTERS. HABIB WANTED TO TRY TO USE HIS TRIP TODAY TO BEIRJT TO TRY TO SEE IF THERE IS ANY POSSIBLE WAY TO BRIDGE THESE POSITIONS. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE THOUGHT THE LEBANESE HAD PRESENTED THEIR POSITION BADLY; HADDAD'S FUTURE ROLE SHOULD HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED AS PART OF A TOTAL, COORDINATED COMMAND STRUCTURE FOR THE SOUTH. IT MUST BE CLEARER HOW HADDAD WOULD FIT IN THAT STRUCTURE. "IT IS NOT TRUE"



AS SOME ISRAELIS THINK, THAT THE LEBANESE JUST WANT TO PUT HADDAD IN THE ASHCAN." (ARENS RESPONDED THAT THE FEAR IS THAT SOME MAY WANT TO SEE HIM IN THE CEMETERY.)

A. HABIB THEN REPEATED MANY OF THE ARGUMENTS HE HAD MACE ON FRIDAY, APRIL 15. TO BEGIN, ARENS, AND SHAMIR REGARDING THE WIDE RANGE OF COOPERATIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS NOW AGREED UPON AND THE FAVORABLE CLIMATE IN BEIRUT FOR AGREEMENT AND COOPERATION WHICH NOW EXISTS BUT WHICH MAY SOON ERODE IF THE DEADLOCK CONTINUES. HE STRESSED THE ABSOLUTE LEBANESE COMMITMENT THAT THERE WILL BE NO PLO FORCES ANYWHERE IN THE SECURITY ZONE, OR ANYWHERE ELSE IN LEBANON FOR THAT MATTER. HE THEN ASKED ARENS WHAT DEFINITION OF RESPONSIBILITIES OR DUTIES FOR HADDAD AS DEPUTY COMMANDER MIGHT SATISFY ISRAELI CONCERNS.

7. ARENS REPLIED BY FIRST DESCRIBING HIS RECENT VISIT TO SOUTH LEBANON AND WITH HADDAD. A VISIT HE SAID HE

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SECTION 02 OF 02 TEL AVIV 05196

NODIS TOOK "TO GATHER DATA," WITHOUT PRECONCEPTIONS. CONCLUSION WAS THAT THERE ARE ONLY TWO POSSIBILITIES: HADDAD AS COMMANDER. OR SOUTH LEBANON WITHOUT HADDAD; AND THE SECOND IS COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE. HIS CONCLUSION WAS BASED ON THE FACT THAT FOR SEVEN YEARS HADDAD'S POSITION OF LEADERSHIP AND AUTHORITY HAS BEEN EXPANDING STEADILY. AND THAT HE HAS BEEN HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL. HE HAS OBTAILED COOPERATION FROM THE SHIA AS WELL AS THE CHAISTIANS. AND HE HAS FOUGHT THE PLO HARD AND SUCCESSFULLY. HE IS NOW BOTH SUCCESSFUL AND HIGHLY RESPECTED BY THE SOUTH LEBANESE. (IN FACT. ARENS ARGUED. HADDAD IS MUCH MORE REASONABLE AND EFFECTIVE IN HIS HANDLING OF THE MUSLIMS THAN ARE SOME OF THE PHALANGISTS.) ARENS CONCLUDES THAT HADDAD CANNOT NOW GO BACK TO A LESSER. SUBORDINATE POSITION UNDER OFFICERS WHOM HE BELIEVES ARE "JOHNNY-COME-LATELY" TO THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PLO.

8. HABIB AGAIN PRESSED A VARIETY OF ARGUMENTS TO TRY TO ELICIT FROM ARENS SOME HINT THAT A GREATER SPECIFICITY OF RESPONSIBILITIES AS DEPUTY COMMANDER MIGHT PROVIDE A BRIDGE TOWARD A SOLUTION. HOWEVER. ALL ARENS WOULD SAY WAS THAT ISRAEL WILL "SURELY LISTEN TO ANYTHING FURTHER THE LEBANESE HAVE TO SAY."



PAGE 02

TEL AT 05196 02 CF 02 1717222

9. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH THERE WAS NO EXPLICIT RECOGNITION



*:::

IN THIS MEETING OF ANY CONNECTION SETWEEN THE LAVI DECISION AND THE LEBANESE REGOTIATIONS. THE IMPLICIT LINKAGE WAS APPARENT. BOTH FROM THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE AND FROM HABIB'S PROMINENT ROLE IN THIS MEETING. CHABIB ALSO MADE CLEAR TO ARENS THAT HE HAD WEIGHED IN WITH THE SECRETARY DIRECTLY ON THE LAVI PROBLEM. ARENS GAVE NO SIGN THAT THE ISRAELI POSITION ON HADDAD WOULD CHANGE, BUT IT WAS CLEAR NOMETHELESS THAT THE BALL REMAINS IN PLAY. LEWIS



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E.O. 12386: DECL: 648R PREL. MOPS. MARA. PLO. LE. IS. US. XF THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S JANUARY 20 MEETING SUBJECT: WITH ISRAEL! AMBASSABOR ARENS REGARDING LEBANON

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AMBASSADOR ARENS ON JANUARY 28 TO RESPOND TO ARENS' EARLIER PROPOSAL (REFTEL) THAT THE EMPHASIS IN THE LEBANON NEGOTIATIONS BE PLACED ON ACHIEVING AN INTERIN PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY AND AMBASSADOR HASIS HADE CLEAR THAT A PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL WOULD PRESENT PROBLEMS AND WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO LEBANON OR THE U.S. IT WOULD SUBBEST A DE FACTO DIVISION OF LEBANON AND LEAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT A FULL WITHORAWAL IS LESS WASENT. ARENS AROUED THAT THIS REASONING WAS SPECIOUS AND CONTINUED TO PRESS FOR FULL U.S. SUPPORT FOR SUCH AN APPROACH. END SUMMARY.

- THE DEPUTY SECRETARY TOLD ARENS THAT HE WANTED TO FOLLOW UP ON THEIR DISCUSSION ON JANUARY 25. AND. IN PARTICULAR, MANTED TO KNOW IN GREATER DETAIL WHAT THE BOI WAS CONSIDERING IN TERMS OF A PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON. HR. DAM ALSO NOTED THAT IN THEIR EARLIER DISCUSSION HE AND ARENS HAD NOT TALKED ABOUT THE PLO. THE ISRAELI POSITION HAD BEEN THAT THE PLO WOULD HAVE TO WITHDRAW FROM LESANON ENTIRELY.
- ARENS SEEMED TO BE SOMEWHAT UMFAMILIAR WITH THE PREVIOUS ISRAELI POSITION, BUT SAID THAT PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEDANON ENCOMPASSED THE PROPOSALS THAT HAD SEEN PUT FORWARD TO THE U.S. BY A PRECONDITION FOREIGN MIMISTER SMAMIR IN OCTOBER 1982. FOR THE HOVEMENT OF ISRAELI AND SYRIAN TROOPS WAS THE THEN ISRAEL WOULD EVACUATION OF THE PLO FROM LEBANON. AGREE ON THE SINULTANEOUS WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAEL! AND SYRIAN FORCES FROM ANGUNO BEIRUT (SIC) AND ALONG THE DAMASCUS ROAD. THAT WOULD ASSURE THAT THE SYRIAMS WERE OFF THE ROAD AS FAR AS ZAHLEH AND WOULD REPRESENT A STORES.

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REASONABLY PARALLEL WITHDRAWAL OF BOTH FORCES. DEPUTY SECRETARY MONDERED WHETHER IT WAS REALISTIC TO THINK IN TERMS OF THE TOTAL WITHORAWAL OF THE PLO IN RETURN. ARENS SAID THE SECRETARY HAD TOLD SMARLE THAT THE PLO HAD AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO LEAVE AND TO BE RECEIVED IN IRAC AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

e. AMBASSADOR HABER HETET TANT THE PLB ROBERSHAN PRINCIPLE, BUT HOT IN THIS SCRIPT, THEY DILL LEAVE ONLY AS PART OF AN OVERALL TOTAL WITHOUTH, WHEN DAN ASKED

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IF THERE WERE ANY OTHER CONDITIONS, ARENS SAID THERE WERE NOT. A PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL WOULD BYPASS THE BILATERAL LEBAMESE-ISRAELI RELATIONSHIP AND INTRODUCE SOME HOMENTUM INTO THE SITUATION.

- 6. DAM RESPONDED THAT THE PROPOSAL PRESENTS PROSLEMS. THERE IS A QUESTION AS TO SHETHER IT IS REASONABLE FROM THE SYRIAM POINT OF VIEW. THAT IS A MILITARY MATTER INVOLVING THE DISPOSITION OF FORCES AND HOW SECURE THEY MIGHT BE. A MORE SERIOUS AND GROWING CONCERN, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY SAID, RELATES TO INDICATIONS THAT A PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL HOULD SUGGEST A DE FACTO TO STAY. A PARTIAL SITHDRAWAL WOULD SUGGEST A DE FACTO DIVISION OF LEBANON AND WOULD LEAVE IN THE MINDS OF MANY THE IMPRESSION THAT A FULL SITHDRAWAL IS LESS SEGENT. THIS WOULD CREATE A GREAT DEAL OF CONCERN IN MANY QUARTERS.
- 7. ARENS SAID HE COULD UNDERSTAND THE DEPUTY SECRETARY'S POINT BUT HE FELT THAT THE REASONING IN THAT REGARD WAS SPECIOUS. IN HIS VIEW, ANY PROGRESS WOULD BE POSITIVE. THE EXTENSION OF LEBANESE CONTROL OVER A WIDER PART OF THE COUNTRY ALSO WOULD BE PISITIVE. ISRAEL WOULD CONTINUE PRESSING TO ASSURE CIRCUMSTANCES PERMITTING A FULL WITHDRAMAL. ARENS STRESSED THAT ISRAEL WANTS ITS SOLDIERS TO RETURN FROM LEBANON, AND WILL ENCOURAGE THE

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TANCE .

LEBANESE TO PUSH AMEAD.

PERLING OF THE LEGAMESE THAT PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL IS A FORMULA FOR PROTRACTED RESOTIATIONS. THEY WANT EARLY, QUICK AND TOTAL WITHDRAWAL. LEGAMON SOES NOT WANT THE CONTINUATION OF ISRAELI AND SYRIAN TROOPS ON ITS TERRITORY AND SEES PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL AS A FORMULA FOR PROTRACTED RESOTIATIONS AND CONTINUES OCCUPATION. THE LEGAMESE AROUE THAT ONE SHOULD RESOTIATE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL. MASIS SAID HE HAD EXPLAINED TO THE LEGAMESE THAT ONE RIGHT THIRK IN TERMS OF THE FIRST STAGE OF TOTAL WITHDRAWAL. THE W.F. FLWATZ ACSUMES TRAT TITHDRAWAL HOULD SE ACCORPLIBATE OR AS ASSPORDED. THEY ARE CLEARLY WORKIED ABOUT A CONTINUES SYRIAN PRESENCE.

J. HABIB ADDED THAT THE LEBANESE HAVE NOT REALLY DISCUSSED PRIOR WITHDRAWAL WITH THE PLO. WE HAVE URGED THEN TO DO SO. AND THEY ARE ATTEMPTING TO FOLLOW UP. WITH REGARD TO PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL, HABIS SAID HE THOUGHT ISRAEL HIGHT RECEIVE AN OFFICIAL RESPONSE FROM THE LEBANESE ON TUESDAY. FOR OUR PART, WE BELIEVE PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL SHOULD BE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF FULL WITHDRAWAL. WE BELIEVE IN EARLY WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANGN. IN RESPONSE TO A SUGGESTION BY ARENS SUGGESTING THAT THE W.S. HAD INFLWENCED LEBANESE THINKING IN THIS REGARD, HABIS SAID THAT THE W.S. HAS DONE NOTHING BUT WROSE THE LEBANESE TO NEGOTIATE.

io. WHEN MABIS SAID THAT THE ISRAELIS SHOULD BO FOR FULL WITHDRAWAL. ARENS SAID HE BELIEVED THE W.S. SHOULD CHANGE ITS POSITION. IN THE FIRST PLACE, IF PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL

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COULD BE IMPLEMENTED, IT WOULD MEAN THE DISENSAGEMENT OF ISRAELI AND SYRIAN FORCES. THAT WOULD BE A POSITIVE MOVE IN TERMS OF REDUCING THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ESCALATION OF MOSTILITIES IN THE AREA. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OBSERVED THAT IT WOULD NOT BE AN UNMITIGATED GOOD IF THE PROCESS WERE TO BE ON FOR A LONG TIME, AND HADIS GOSTRYED THAT THE W.S. HAD PROPOSED THE IDEA FOUR OR FIVE HORTHS AGG. AT THAT TIME, ISRAEL HAD NOT BEEN WILLING. NOW PARTIAL WITHOGRAPAL IS NOTHING BUT A FORMULA FOR PROTRACTED MEGOTIATIONS. ARENS WENT ON TO AROUT THAT PARTIAL WITHOGRAPAL MOULD BRIDG SOUTH A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE OF THE AREA OF JURISDICTION WHOER DIRECT CONTROL BY THE LEGARGE GOVERNMENT, AND THAT WOULD BE A GOOD THIRG.

11. AREMS SAID HE WAS NOT AROUING THAT THE PARTIES SHOULD CALL OFF THE RESOTIATIONS. THESE SHOULD CONTINUE IN PARALLEL. THE ONLY EFFECTIVE AROUNDED AGAINST PARTIAL WITHORAVAL IS, AS THE DEPUTY SECRETARY HAS SAID, THAT THE PRESSURE WOULD SE OFF. HOWEVER, AREMS ADDED, HE FOOM IT DIFFICULT TO AGREE WITH THAT DECAUSE ISRAEL DANTS TO DET OUT OF LEBARON, AND THE ISRAELI PEOPLE WART TO DET THE ARMY BACK. HE DELIEVED THAT PARTIAL WITHORAVAL DOULD INCREASE THE LEBARDES FPRITTE TO CONFISTE THE PROCESS.

12. IN RESPONSE, MAULE BUNDESTED THAT ALL AREAS HAD SALD

ARBUED FOR PRESSING FORWARD ON MEGOTIATIONS FOR IMMEDIATE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL. DAM OBSERVED THAT THE TRIPARTITE MEGOTIATIONS HAD NOT BEEN VERY VIGOROUS WHEN ONE CONSIDERED THE NUMBER OF MEETINGS THAT HAD BEEN HELD, AND HABIB ADDED THAT THE MEGOTIATIONS HAD NOT BEEN SERIOUS IN TERMS OF COMING TO GRIPS WITH AND SETTLING ISSUES. WE WANT RAPID MOVEMENT AND HAVE PROPOSED A FORMULA TO ISRAEL. WE HAVE NOT PROPOSED IT TO LEBANGN. THE TALKS ARE NOT PROCEEDING AT THE RATE THEY SHOULD AND THE GAPS ARE NOT BEING MARROWED. ISRAEL HAS NOT PUT ITS BOTTON LINE ON THE TABLE WITH THE LEBANESE. THE LEBANESE MUST

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HOW CONSIDER PROPOSALS SERIOUSLY. WHEN NESOTIATING WITH THEM ONE MUST MAKE THEM SIVE SERIOUS ATTENTION TO A PROPOSAL. UNTIL THEM, THEY WAFFLE.

13. DAM SAID THAT ONE REASON FOR THE DIFFICULTIES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IS THAT THE DEMANDS RADE BY ISRAEL CONTINUE TO ESCALATE IN TERMS OF MORNALIZATION AND THE SECURITY ZONE. ISRAEL IS NOW INTERESTED IN MILITARY BASES AND ACCESS ROADS AS WELL AS ASSURING THAT THE LEBANESE ARRY IS UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL. MADIS ABDED THAT THE LEBANESE SEE THE LATEST PROPOSALS AS BOING. FAR BEYOND EVEN WHAT HAD BEEN ENVISAGED IN THE WORKING PAPER AND THAT THEY FING THEMSELYES INCREASINGLY IN THE POSITION OF NAVING TO CONSIDER SOLUTIONS THAT BOULD IN EFFECT MAKE LEBANGE A DE FACTO PROTECTORATE OF ISRAEL. LEBANGE IS RESISTING THIS, THE LEBANESE PREQUENTLY DO NOT CORE TO ORIPE WITH THE CORE ISSUES, BUT THEY ARE NOW DOING DETTER ADOUT FOCUSSING ON THE SITUATION.

14. AREMS SAID ME WANTED TO CONVINCE THE W.S. TO TELL LESANON THAT THE W.S. POSITION IS THAT A PIRST STAGE WITHDRAWAL IS A GOOD THING. THIS LED TO A REVIEW BY THE DEPUTY SECRETARY AND ANDASSAGER HASIS OF RUCH THAT THEY HAD SAID TO AREMS IN THE PREVIOUS MALP HOUR AND DEBUTYALS BY AREMS ALONG PARILIAS LIRES. GAN ALSO SERIOSED AREMS THAT PROS THE PRESIDENT'S POINT OF VIEW A GREAT GEAL LESS PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE THAN HE HAD WANTED TO SEE ON THE PAST TRACK, AREMS STREETEN IS AREL IS NORE IMPATIENT THAN PRESIDENT ARE ALSO SHE THAT ISFAEL IS NORE IMPATIENT THAN PRESIDENT RESIDENT RESERVISTS SERVING IN LEGAMON. AREMS SAID THAT ISRAEL IS





AFTER THE SAME THING THAT THE U.S. SEEKS: ASSURANCE THAT WHEN THE FOREIGN FORCES ARE WITHDRAWN, THERE WILL BE NO

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REVERSAL OF THE SITUATION IN LEBANON. HABIB ARGUED THAT UNLESS THERE IS TOTAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, ONE CANNOT BET TOTAL WITHDRAWAL BY THE SYRIAMS, AND THE PLANS FOR EARLY WARNING STATIONS SUGGEST THAT WITHDRAWAL BY ISRAEL WOULD NOT BE TOTAL. HE TOLD ARENS THAT THE LEBANESE CANNOT ACCEPT A RESIDUAL PRESENCE. IT DOES NOT HATTER IF THERE ARE ONLY FIFTEEN ISRAELIS LEFT IN THE SECURITY ZONE. IT WOULD BE A RESIDUAL FORCE.

IS. IN CONCLUSION, ARENS REMINDED DAM AND HASIS THAT ISRAEL HAD SEEN THROUGH THIRTY YEARS OF MAR. HE STRESSED THAT FROM THE ISRAEL! PERSPECTIVE, THERE CAN NO LONGER SE A SITUATION IN WHICH ROCKETS FALL ON THE TOWNS OF MORTHERN ISRAEL. THIS MUST SE AVOIDED AT ALL COST. IT MUST SE PREVENTED. THAT, HE SAID, IS THE ISRAEL! OBJECTIVE. HASIS MOTED THAT THAT IS AN ISSUE FOR THE SECURITY SUSCOMMITTEE TO DISCUSS. THE QUESTION MUST SE SEEN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE RESTORATION OF LEBAMESE SOVERISHTY. ARENS CLOSED BY SAYING THAT ISRAEL DOES NOT WISH TO LEAVE ONE ISRAEL! SOLDIFR IN LEBAMON IN THE LONG RUN.

16. ALSO PRESENT AT THE MEETING WERE ISRAELI POLITICAL COUNSELOR SASEL. B EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT WALKER, AND MEA/IAI DIRECTOR PENDLETON. DAN



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E.O. 12366: DECL: GAOR tags: pots, pins, pogy, pnat, pael, is, le, us, sy SUBJECT: MABIO MISSION: MEETING WITH PRINE MINISTER BEBIN, JANUARY 21, 1963

(S - ENTIRE TEXT) SUMMARY: IN AN HOUR-LONG MEETING WITH BEGIN PRIOR TO HABIS'S DEPARTURE FOR DEIRUT JANUARY 21. HABIS SUMMED UP THE UNSATISFACTORY MATURE OF HIS HEETINGS THIS WEEK WITH SHAMER, SHARON, ET AL, AND STRESSED THAT HE COULD NOT IN SOOD CONSCIENCE SAY HE HAD REACHED ANY UNDERSTANDING WITH THE ISRAELIS ON KEY ELEMENTS OF THE APPROACH TOWARD AN APPRECIATION OF THE ISRAELIS OF KEY ELEMENTS OF THE APPROACH TOWARD AN APPRECIATION. HE STRESSED THAT THE ISRAELI DRAFT AGREEMENT WAS A MON-STARTER AND THAT HE COULD NOT AND WOULD NOT TAKE IT TO PREMENT TO THE ELEMENDE. HE WAGED DESIR, MHO HAD SUPPRISEDLY NOT THE BEDEVICE COME, TO STUDY THE U.S. DRAFT APPROACH PORTHER SETTERS NOW AND THE TIME HADIS HOULD RETURN TO JERUSALES ON SOURCE IN LEGAMON, HOULD RETURN CONTINUISM. ISRAELI HILLTARY PRESENCE IN LEGAMON, HOULTER SHALL, IN CROSS TO APOID BIVING THE STRIAMS ANY PRETEXT FOR MALL, IN CROSS TO APOID BIVING THE STRIAMS ANY PRETEXT FOR NOT WITHORAWING. MASIS WROED SESIN TO LEAVE OPEN THE

PAGE 02 question of the use of international forces

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TO REINFORCE LEBANESE FORCES IN THE SOUTH. ME STRESSED THE NEED TO SETTLE FOR THE DESIMINOS OF MORNALIZATION PLUS A CONTINUING RECHARISM TO EXPAND IT. RATHER THAN THE "QUANTUM JUMP- TO TRY TO MAIL DOWN EVERYTHING AT THE DESIMAING. ANY OTHER APPROACH, HADED SED, COULD BRING DOWN ARAB DOYCOTT AND OSTRACISM ON THE LEGAMESE GOVERNMENT AND UND HEME IT EMPEROCAGELY. MIEN IT DECAME APPARENT THAT SEGIN WAS LISTENING ENTENTLY OUT NOT PREPARED TO CHANGE IN ANY MENT AND UNDER-WAY THE BASIC RESPONSES HADIS HAD RECEIVED EARLIER FROM SHAMIR AND SHAMON, MAGIS AND LEWIS THEN OLUNTLY UNDERSCORES PRESIDENT REASON'S IMPATIENCE AND PRUSTRATION WITH THE NEGOTIATING SLUGGISHNESS AND PREDICTED THAT A DEEP, FUNDA-NENTAL CRISIS IN THE U.S.-ISRAELI RELATIONSHIP WAS NEAR UNLESS SOMETHING CHANGED—IN THE ISRAELI APPROACH. DEGIN WAS VISIBLY SOCRED BY THEIR PERVENT WARMINGS, BUT HADE NO COMMITMENT OTHER THAN TO SUGGEST THAT WE CONTINUE TO DIS-CUSS THE ISSUES TOGETHER, ALL THE WHILE INSISTING ON ISRAEL'S DESIRE TO UITHORAU ITS FORCES ALONG WITH ALL OTHER FOREIGN FORCES FROM LEBANON AS SOON AS SATISFACTORY SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AND A NORMAL RELATIONSHIP WITH Lebanon ha**g been agreed upon. Eng summary.** 3. AMBASSABORS MABIS AND LEWIS MET WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN FOR MEARLY AN HOUR ON FRIDAY, JANUARY 21, 1963, TO PERMIT MABIS TO SUN UP THE RESULTS OF HIS INTENSIVE MEETING DURING THE PAST WEEK WITH YUNEION MINISTER SMAMIR, DEFENSE HIMISTER SHARON, AND KEY MEMBERS OF THEIR STAFFS. SEGIN'S ASSISTANT, YEMBOA AVNER, ALSO WAS PRESENT AS A NOTETAKER. SEGIN SEEMED TO MAYE RECEIVED ONLY GRAL BRIEFINGS ON MABIS'S MEETINGS: UNCHARACTERISTICALLY. HE HAS NOT SEEN OR read the proposed U.S. Draft Adresment nor had he OVER IN DETAIL THE TRANSCRIPT OF MADIO'S SEVERAL MEETINGS. HE HAS RATHER PASSIVE AND ALHOST DETACHED IN HIS HARMEN

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WHENEYER BETAILS WERE RAISED. ALTHOUGH HE WAS CLEARLY VERY SOCKED BY STATEMENTS BOTH WASTS AND LEWIS MADE DORING THE DISCUSSION ABOUT THE DANGERS TO THE PURDAMENTAL ISRAEL-U.S. RELATIONSHIP WHICH LOOK IN THE ASSENCE OF A CLOSER U.S.-ISRAEL! UNDERSTANDING ON HOW TO PROCEED.

W. MARIN BERAN BIENING THE TENOR OF HIS MEETINGS BITH SHAMIR AND SHARON AND THE VERY THOROUGH NATURE OF THE EXCHANGES, WHICH, HE SAID, PRODUCED A GOOD DEAL OF AGREEMENT BUT THEN RAN INTO MAJOR DIFFICULTIES. MADIS SAID THAT IT

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MAS CLEAR THAT WE ARREE ON CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL ASPECTS AND PRINCIPLES, INCLUDING THE NEED FOR ADECMATE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF THE DESIMING OF A MORNAL RELATIONSHIP DETWEEN LEDANON AND ISRAEL, THE NEED FOR A WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FONCES FROM LEDANON, AN END TO THE STATE OF WAR, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ONCOING MECHANISMS TO DEVELOP FURTHER THE LEDANESE-ISRAELI RELATIONSHIP AND TO ASSUME IMPLEMENTATION OF ARREST THAT HE WAS NOW DEEPLY CONCERNED AT THE ISRAELI REPROACH TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. JUDGING FROM THE ISRAELI BRAFT WHICH HAD BEEN HADE AVAILABLE TO US, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE SOI DELIEVED A TOTALLY NEW MORNAL RELATIONSHIP MOST BE PUT IN PLACE AT THE SEGIMING. MEANWHILE, HOWEVER, WE KNOW THAT CERTAIN PRESSURES ARE BEING EXERTED ON THE LEDANESE OVERMENT TO AVOID HAKING SUCH A NOVE AND THE LEDANESE NUST WALK A VERY FINE LINE, NOT ONLY TO RETAIN INTERNAL CONSENSUS BUT ALSO TO DEAL WITH EXTERNAL ARAS PRESSURES IN A WAY WHICH WILL AVOID DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR LEDANON. HABIB SAID IT WAS HIS CONVICTION, DASED ON HIS PERCEPTION OF THESE VERY

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REAL DANGERS, THAT THE LEBANESE CANNOT MAKE THE "QUANTUM JUMP" WHICH THE ISRAELIS ARE DENANGING.

S. HABIS STRESSED THAT HIS PERCEPTION OF THE NARROW LIMITS WITHIN WHICH THE LEBANESE MUST OPERATE IS DRAWN FROM THE MANY PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS WE HAVE HELD WITH PRESIDENT GENAYEL AND OTHER LEBANESE LEADERS, AS WELL AS WITH OTHER LEADERS IN THE AREA. HOWEVER, HE NOW WANTES TO RETURN TO BEIRUT TO VERIFY VERY CAREFULLY WHETHER HIS PERCEPTION IS CORRECT. HE DID NOT WISH "TO BE MORE ROYAL THAN THE KING." BUT HIS CLEAR PERCEPTION HAS BEEN THAT SUCH PROPOSALS AS THAT TO HAINTAIN EARLY WARMING STATIONS IN LESANON MARKED BY ISRAELI PERSONNEL WENT NUCH TOO FAR. THIS KING OF BENAND, PLUS THE INSISTENCE ON ALMOST TOTALLY MORNAL RELATIONS ACROSS THE BORDER BY THE SESIMING, WILL PRODUCE A VERY REAL THREAT OF TOTAL OSTRACISE AND SOYCOTT FROM ARAB STATES WHICH WOULD SESTION THE LEBANESE ECONOMY. HOREOVER, THOUGH GRYBURLY WE CANNOT ALLOW THE RORE EXTREME ELEMENTS TO SETEMBER MARY IS POSSIBLE, BENANDS WITH SO BETOM ACCEPTABLE CAN PRODUCE A SITUATION IN WHICH SYRIA WOULD THEN REFUSE TO WITHORAW. "I HAD HOPED WE COULD AGREE ON ACCEPTABLE

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SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS UNION NEET YOUR MINIMUM RESURRENTS THAT I COULD TRY TO SELL TO THE LESANESE SAVERUMENT. BUT

THE ISRAELI BRAFT, EVEN IF AFTER A LENGTHY NEGOTIATION WERE FINALLY SOLD, COULD LEAD TO SYRIAM STONEWALLING. LEAVING BEHIND IN LEBANON EVEN VESTIGIAL ISRAELI FORCES AT THE WARNING STATIONS WOULD PRODUCE PARALLEL BEHANDS FROM SYRIA AND WOULD THEREBY UNDERNINE THE OBJECTIVE WE HAVE BOTH PUBLICLY ESPONSED: A TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FORCION FORCES AND A TRULY SOVEREIGN LEBANON, MASTER IN ITS OWN HOUSE."

MADIS THEN REMINORD DESIN THAT WE HAD PRESENTED A DRAFT 6. AGREEMENT FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE BASIC PRINCIPLES NECES-SARY IN IT TO SAFEGUARD ISRAEL'S SECURITY INTERESTS AND TO BESIN THE PROCESS OF MORNALIZATION IN A WAY WHICH WOULS ASSURE LATER ELABORATION AND EXPANSION. WE HAD OFFERED THIS DRAFT AND UNGED THE ISRAELIS TO PUT ASIDE THEIR OWN DRAFT, MAKING SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OR EMOROLOGRY ON OUR APPROACH, CONVINCED AS HE ARE THAT OUR BASIC APPROACH is as much as the traffic will bear at this time. praft agreement is just 'everkilli' it is nore than th TRAFFIC WILL BEAR. AND THERE ARE HARY SIGNS WHICH DENON-STRATE THIS TO US, REGARDLESS OF WAT SOME OF YOUR LEGAMESE FRIENDS MAY SAY. FOR THE LEGAMESE GOVERNMENT AS A WHOLE, I FRIENDS MAY SAY. FOR THE LEBANESE GOVERN DO NOT SEE THAT THEY COULD CONSIDER SERIOUSLY YOUR BRAFT. THIS IS WHY, MADIE SAID, HE HAD KEPT ON BROING ALL WEEK THAT THE ISRAELIS OPERATE ON THE BASIS OF OUR CONCEPT AND DRAFT AND PUT THEIR OWN MORE ELASORATE VERSION ASIDE.

7. -AS IT NOW STANDS, I COULD NOT IN GOOD FAITH TAKE THE ISRAELI BRAFT TO LEBANON AND SAY TO THE LEBANESE THAT 'YOU CAN DO THIS.'- HASIS SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT LEBANON COULD AFFORD TO GO AS FAR AS ISRAEL WAS PRESSING. HOWEVER,

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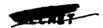
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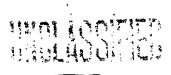
HE HOW INTENDED TO SO BACK TO DEIROT TO EXPLORE IN GREATER DEPTH WITH PRESIDENT GENATEL WHAT INDEED ARE HIS LINITS, THEN TO SO TO SAND! ARAD!A DEFORE RETURNING TO ISRAEL ON SUNDAY FOR A FINAL DISCUSSION WITH PRINE HIMISTER DEGIS AND HIS COLLEAGUES. AFTER THAT, HE HAS DEEN INSTRUCTED BY PRESIDENT REASAN TO RETURN TO WASHINGTON ON HORDAY TO CONSULT ABOUT MEXT STEPS. HAD!S SAID HE INTENDED TO METURN TO THE AREA FOLLOWING PRESIDENT MORRAR'S FISIT TO WASHINGTON AT THE SAW OF MEXT WEEK, AFTER A THOROWOOD MEYER OFFI

S. HABIS THEN STRESSED TO DESIN THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS HAD



OCEN TO SEEK ENOUGH AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL TO PERMIT THE ACCELERATION OF THE MESOTIATING PROCESS. WAFORTWATELY, AT THIS POINT, HE CANNOT SAY THAT HE MAS FOUND IT, AL-THOUGH PERHAPS WISER HEADS CAN STILL PREVAIL. HADIS SAID THAT HE WARTED TO SHARE FRANKLY WITH SEGIN THE MISH DEGREE OF IMPATIENCE AND FRUSTRATION IN WASHINGTON ABOUT THE PACE OF THESE MEGOTIATIONS, A FRUSTRATION WHICH CAN PRODUCE SAEAT NESATIVE IMPLUENCE ON THE OVERALL W.S.-ISRAELI RELATIONSHIP, HE HAD BONE HIS WITHOST THE PAST FEW DAYS TO RECREATE A MOOD OF COOPERATION AND TO REACH AGREEMENT ON HOW TO PURSUE CONMON OBJECTIVES WITH THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES, SINCE WASHINGTON SEES ISRAEL AS PULLING AWAY FROM ITS PREVIOUSLY STATED OBJECTIVES AND GOING NUCH TOO FAR BEYOND THEM. THE FACT IS, HADID SAID MEANINGFULLY, "THE BASIC RELATIONSHIP SETWEEN OUR SOVERNMENTS IS NOW COMING TO BE AT STAKE IN THIS PROCESS." TURNING TO LEWIS, HE ASKED HAD PUT INTO "MICE HORDS, "WHAT IS CLEARLY TENDING TOWARD "A TRAGICALLY DANGEROUS SITUATION BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES."





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9. AT THIS POINT, BESIN SAID WITH A RUEFUL SHILE, THAT HE DID NOT FIND HABIB'S REMARKS TO BE VERY "RICE WORDS." HE THEN RECALLED THAT HABIB HAD SAID BURING HIS VISIT IN DECEMBER THAT WE HAD AT LEAST AN EIGHTY PERCENT AGREEMENT WITH THE IMPORMAL ISRAELI-LEBAMESE WORKING PAPER. WHAT HAD HAPPENED TO CHARGE THAT? WARMING TO HIS SUBJECT, BEGIN ASKED RHETORICALLY WHAT IN THE WORLD IS WRONG FROM HORAL POINT OF VIEW HAT IS THE ESSENCE OF PEACE WITH LEBANON? HABIB INTERJECTED THAT THERE HAS NOTHING WRONG FROM A HORAL POINT OF VIEW, BUT RATHER FROM THE POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW OF WHAT IS POSSIBLE AT THIS HOMENT. THE ISRAELI DRAFT, HASIB SAID, IS A PEACE TREATY IN ALL BUT MAME. BEGIN SAID THAT HE WAS NOT NOW SPEAKING ABOUT THE TEXT. HE REMINDED HABIB THAT ISRAEL HAD AGREED TO SET ASIDE ITS DESIRE FOR A PEACE TREATY IN GROEE TO FIND A PRACTICAL EXPOSESSION OF THE MECESSARY RELATIONSHIP FOR THE NEW ERA BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LEBANON. ISRAEL HAD PROPPED ITS INSISTENCE ON THE WORD "NORMALIZATION" TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE LEBANGESE. BITH RESPECT TO THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, DESIR STRESSED THAT THE EARLY WARRING STATIONS TO BE RANGED BY ISRAELIS BOULD BE ONLY TEMPORARY. AND IN VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF SECURITY THREATS TO ISRAEL

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FROM THAT AREA WERE "THE HOST MODERATE DEHAND DE CAN MAKE." HE ALLUGEO TO THE FACT THAT ARAFAT HAD DECLARED ONLY TEN



pays ago that a**rked struccl**e against israel will bo on: THAT THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF PALESTINIANS RENAINING IN LEBANON UNO CAN BECOME MANPOUER FOR RENEWED PLO TERRORISM. AND THAT WHAT OCCURRED IN THE PAST CAN READILY REOCCUR UNLESS SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS ARE ADEQUATE. SESIM STRESSED THAT THE ISRAELS EARLY WARMING STATIONS WOULD HAVE ONLY A PEN TROOPS NAMEING THEN, AND WOULD BE THERE FOR A TEMPORA AGREED PERIOD OF TIME. HE INSISTED THAT THIS WAS NOT UN; REASONABLE. ATTEMPTING TO COUNTER THE ARGUMENT THAT SYRIA WOULD DEMAND SIMILAR CONTINUES PRESENCE IN LEBANON. SEGIN REPEATED THE ARGUMENT SHARON HAD MADE EARLIER IN THE HORNing that no armed bahos had ever been sext into syria from LEDANON. WHILE THERE HAD BEEN MARY YEARS OF SUCH INCURSIONS INTO ISRAEL. HE SAU NO REASON OR JUSTIFICATION THEREFORE FOR SUCH A SYRIAN COUNTERDENANG. HASIS RESPONDED THAT THE MORE SERIOUS DANGER FROM THE WARNING STATION PROPOSAL IS THAT SYRIA WILL THEN INSIST THAT ISRAEL HAS NOT WITHORAUM FROM LEBANON AND WILL YOLD ITS OWN COMMITMENT TO WITHORAW. THE PRINCIPLE OF SIMULTAMEOUS WITHORAWAL OF FOREIGH FORCES. ENDORSED BY BOTT ISSAEL AND THE UNITED STATES. WILL IMEVI-TABLY BREAK DOUN.

LA. DEGIN THEN TRIED, IN A CONCILIATORY TOME, TO PERSUADE HABIS THAT ALTHOUGH THERE ARE SOME DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN US HE SHOULD CONTINUE TO TRY 10 WORK THEN OUT. HE INSISTED THAT ISRAEL STANDS FOR A "TRULY COMPLETE WITH-DRAWAL." A FEW TEMPORARY OBSERVATION POINTS HAINTAINED IN THE SOUTH WOULD NOT REPRESENT A "CONTINUING HILITARY PRESENCE" IN THE MORMAL SENSE OF THE WORDS. "YOU SHOULD HELP US TO CONVINCE THE LEBANESE THAT OUR BEHANDS ARE TOTALLY LOGICAL IN LIGHT OF THE HISTORY AND OF OUR SEMUINE SECURITY

PAGE 45 TEL AV 41654 45 OF 45 2214492

CONCERNS." MASIS RESPONDED THAT HE WAS SURE PRESIDENT SEMAYEL AND HIS COLLEAGUES WOULD TAKE EXACTLY THE SAME TACT, ATTEMPTING TO GET HIM TO PERSUADE THE ISRAELIS TO SHOP THESE DEMARGS.

11. MABIS WENT ON TO SAY THE PROBLEM IN THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AREA IS MORE THAN JUST ISRAEL'S BEMAND FOR EARLY WARRING STATIONS. IT HAD BECOME CLEAR THIS MORNING FINALLY IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH SHARON THAT THERE BOULD DE CONTINUOUS MILITARY MOVEMENTS BACK AND FORTH TO THOSE WARRING STATIONS, JOINT PATROLS BY LAF AND 10F WHITE, AND



OTHER "COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS" WHICH WILL ENABLE THE 10F TO CONTINUE A SHALL BUT STILL SIGNIFICANT PRESENCE IN SOUTH LEGAMON. "LEGAMON SOES NOT WANT TO AND MUST NOT END UP WITH A DE FACTO SITUATION OF PARTITION, EVEN IF IT IS CALLED TEMPORARY." HAGIS STRESSED PRESIDENT GENAVEL'S GREAT WORRY THAT SOME EXCUSE WOULD BE GIVEN FOR SYRIA TO CONTINUE ITS OCCUPATION OVER PART OF HIS TERRITORY. HE CANNOT ACCEPT THE PROSPECT OF A SYRIAN PROTECTORATE OVER HORTH AND EAST LEDAMON, IN RESPONSE TO A CONTINUED ISRAELI PRESENCE IN THE SOUTH, EVEN IF RELATIVELY SHALL IN MUNGERS. THIS WOULD PRODUCE A TRUNCATED LEDAMON WHICH WOULD VIOLATE EVERY PRINCIPLE WE HAVE ALL AGREED ON DURING RECENT MONTHS.

12. MOREOVER, MADIS WENT ON, IT IS PERHAPS DESIRABLE FOR ISRAEL TO HAVE SOME OF THESE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS BUT THEY ARE NOT TRULY NECESSARY. FOR EXAMPLE, THE LEBANESE KEEP RETURNING TO THEIR NEED TO HAVE SOME INTERNATIONAL FORCES IN THE SOUTH ALONGSIDE THEIR OWN FORCES, WHETHER THEY ARE FROM UNIFIL OR FROM THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE. BUT "YOUR PEOPLE SAY ABSOLUTELY NOT: THERE MUST BE ONLY LEBANESE

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FORCES WITH WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED AN 10F STIFFENING OF THEIR RESOLVE AND CAPABILITIES." FOR EXAMPLE, THERE IS. MABIS REMINDED BEGIN, THE PROBLEM OF CONTINUINS PROTECTION FOR THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEE CAMPS IN THE MORTH AS WELL AS IN THE SOUTH, TODAY THE CAMPS IN THE SOUTH ARE PROTECTED BY THE ISRAELI FORCES. HOWEVER, WHEN ALL FOREIGN FORCES WITHDRAW, WHAT WILL THEN HAPPEN. SOME FORCE ALONGSIDE THE LAF WILL BE NEEDED TO BIYZ CONFIDENCE TO THE PALESTINIAN REFUGES, AND WRIFIL WOULD BE A LOGICAL CAMBIDATE. WHY THEN, HABIS ASKED, IS IT MECESSARY FOR YOUR MINISTERS TO REJECT TOTALLY WITHOUT BISCUSSION ANY POSSIBLE ROLE FOR ANY INTERNATIONAL FORCE IN THE SECURITY ZONE? I RECALL THAT YOU YOURSELF SUGGESTED LAST JUNE THE POSSIBILITY OF DEPLOYING A MULTINATIONAL FORCE IN THAT AREA.

13. SECTH RESPONDED THAT THE UNIFIL ISSUE IS ALL A RESULT OF ISRAEL'S PACT UMAPPY EXPERIENCE WITH UNIFIL. "SOME UNIFIL UNITS PERFORMES MARVELOUSLY WELL. OTHER UNITS PERMITED PLO INFILTRATORS TO PASS THEIR LINES AND TO ATTACK US. HE WANT HEW, BEAL GUARANTEES FOR OUR SECURITY UNICH ARE AS INGUILAD AS POSSIBLE, NOT TO RELY ON THE OLD, IMADEQUATE UNIFIL GUARANTEES. THIS IS A MATTER OF OUR LIVES,

PAGE 02 TEL AV 01054 04 OF 05 2119092

AND THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN THE SOUTH ARE VITAL TO US. STILL, LET US CONTINUE TO DISCUSS IT. - HABID BAID THAT HE

AGREED THAT FURTHER DISCUSSION WAS DESTRABLE; IN PARTICULAR ME MANTED TO SET "FURTHER INTO AMIN'S NIMO" DEFORE HE CANACK ON SUNDAY TO DISCUS "FRANKLY, HOWEVER, I WAS DEING TOLD THIS HORNING THAT I SHOULD EITHER TAKE THE ISRAELI DRAFT OR LEAVE IT, THAT THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE. THAT I SHOULD TAKE IT TO PRESIDENT OFMAYEL AND SELL IT. THAT I CANNOT AND WILL NOT DO."
DEGIN SAID "YOU KNOW TTAT I DON'T TAKE THAT WAY, BUT YOU ARE A PERSWASIVE SALESHAM." HAGES ARREED THAT THIS WAS NOT DEGIN'S OWN HOOSE OF EXPRESSION. BUT HE RETURNED TO THE BASIC FACT THAT THE LESAMESE ARE FRANCEL OF THE CONSCIUENCES OF SOING ANYWHERE HEAR AS FAR AS ISRAEL WOULD LIKE TO SEE THEN SO. FOR EXAMPLE, WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO LEBANON IF THE SYRIAMS CLOSED THEIR BORDERT SEGIN RESPONDED THAT THIS KIND OF ARGUMENT HAD NO EMO TO IT. WHO COULD ASSUME ISRAEL THAT SYRIA WOULD WITHDRAW IN ANY CASET MAGIS RESPONDED THAT THE STREET WAS WENT THE TIME IS RIPE WILL SET THE RECESSARY DINOING ASSURANCES. IT IS CLEAR TO ALL OF US THAT THE SYRIAMS HUST WITHDRAW AT THE SAME TIME THE ISRAELIS WITH-DRAW.

14. BESIN THEN RATHER FORMALLY RESTATED ISRAEL'S POSITION: "HE STAND BY THE PRINCIPLE THAT THERE HUST BE A TOTAL WITH-DRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES FRON LEBANON, INCLUDING ISRAELI. HE HANT A NORMAL CIVILIAN RELATIONSHIP WITH LEBANON, INITIALLY TO BE BESCRIBED DESCRIPTIVELY AND LATER AT SOME POINT HOPEFULLY THANGO INTO A FORMAL PEACE TREATY. AND HE WANT SENUINE SUARANTEES IN THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AREA THAT THERE CAN BE NO RECURRENCE OF THE PLO THREAT TO DUR CITIZENS FRON SOUTH LEBANON."

PAGE 05 TEL AT 0108% 04 0F 05 2119042

IS. MASIS THEN AGES SEGIN TO READ CAREFULLY THE TEXT OF THE U.S.-PROPOSES SEAFT WHICH HE HAD PROVIDED TO THE FOREIGN HINISTRY. (IT SECANE CLEAR IN THIS EXCHANGE THAT SEGIN HAD NOT SEEN THE U.S. SEAFT AND HAD APPARENTLY NOT READ THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE MEETINGS AT WHICH HADIS HAD READ OUT THE TEXT OF THIST FOR THE RECORD.) MASIS SECTO THE PRIME HINISTER TO EXAMINE IT CAREFULLY IN ORDER TO SEE THAT IT INDEED COVERS ALL OF ISRAEL'S FUNDAMENTAL CONCERNS IN WAYS WHICH CAN BE ACCEPTABLE, WE WOULD MOPE, TO LEBANDE AT THIS JUNCTURE. "THINK ABOUT HOW OUR BRAFT COULD DE IMPROVED OR EMPROJUERED; THAT'S WHAT WE ARE ASKING. WE CAMBOT DEAL

WITH YOUR BRAFT WHICH IS ALROST A PEACE TREATY IN ALL BUT MAME." SEGIN BRISTLED SLIGHTLY AT THIS CHARACTERIZATION AND SARCASTICALLY AGED MADIS TO GUIT REFERBING TO THE ISRAELI DRAFT AS IF IT WERE SOME KIND OF EVIL DOCUMENT. "AFTER ALL, WHAT IS SO HORRISLE ABOUT WANTING PEACE WITH OUR NEIGHBORT" THE DISCUSSION THEN CONTINUED FOR SOME MINUTES OVER THE SAME SMOUND, WITH DESIN INSISTING THAT ISRAEL COULD NOT ACCEPT "PAPER GUARANTEES," BUT MESSED REAL GUARANTEES ON THE GROUND IR SOUTH LEBANON FOR ITS SECURITY. HAD IS INSISTED THAT THERE WAS AN EXAGOGRATION ABOUT THE LIKELIHOOD OF A RETURN TO A SERIOUS PLO THREAT FROM SOUTH LEBANON. TOO NUCH HAD CHANGED SINCE LAST JUNE, INCLUDING THE COMING TO POWER OF A LEBANESE GOVERNMENT OF A FAR DIFFERENT ATTITUDE TOWARD ISRAEL AND TOWARD THESE PROGLEMS THAN ITS PREDECESSORS. HABES STRESSED IT IS IMPORTANT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS FAVORABLE SITUATION, THAT THERE IS A FINE OPPORTUNITY TO WORK OUT AN ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT WITH LEBANON, AND THAT IT WOULD BE TRAGEC TO PRESS SO FAR AS TO WHOERMINE GENAYEL'S GOVERNMENT. HE SAID AGAIN THAT WE CAN HELP TO PRODUCE SUCH AN AGREEMENT VERY BUICKLY IF

PAGE 01 TEL AV 01054 OS OF OS 2119082 ACTION NOOS-00

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ISRAEL WILL COME TO AN UNDERSTANDING WITH US ON REASONABLE TERMS. BEGIN REPLIED THAT HE BELIEVED WHAT ISRAEL HAS PROPOSAL." HE ASKED HASIS AGAIN TO HELP SELL THAT PROPOSAL.

16. AS THE CONVERSATION WAS NOW RUNNING DOWN, HASIS RETURNED TO THE THEME OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S IMPATIENCE AND THE GROWING FRUSTRATION IN WASHINGTON WITH THE ISRAELI APPROACH. HE STRESSED THAT OUR SOVERNMENT HOW BELIEVES THIS RESOTIATION HAS ALREADY GONE ON TOO LONG AND THAT WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO WAIT FOR WEEKS OR MONTHS TO SEE IT SPIN OUT AT ITS PRESENT PACE. HE SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD AUTHORIZED HIN TO COME OUT TO TRY TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING WITH ISRAEL ON HOW TO NOVE RAPIDLY TO A CONCLUSION! UNPORTUNATELY, HE HAS NOT DEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING AND TIME IS RUNNING OUT.

17. AT MADES'S REQUEST, LEWIS THEN REPEATED WHAT HE HAD SAID TO PORTION HIRISTER SHANIR AT THEIR LUNCHEON THE DAY DEPORE: "THE TREMD LINE IN U.S.-ISRAELI RELATIONS HAS SEEN STEADILY OCUMBAGO FOR THE PAST CIONTEEN HOUTHS, WITH ONLY A FEW TEMPORARY MOMENTS OF IMPROVEMENT. IN THE PAST

PAGE 02 TEL AV 01084 OF OF 2119052

SIX MORTHS THE DECLINE'HAS SOTTEN HORE AND HORE PRECIPITORS. WE MUST RESAIN AN UNDERSTANDING OF NOW TO PROCEED OR

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LEBANON TOWARD WHAT ARE OUR PROCLAIRES NOTWAL OBJECTIVES. IF WE CANNOT REGAIN THAT UNDERSTANDING VERY QUICKLY, I AN CONVINCED THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL RELATIONSHIP SETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES IS NEADED STRAIGHT FOR A TERRIBISIS." HABIS UNDERSCORES LEWIS' NORDS AND ON THIS SOMER NOTE THE HEETING ENDED. LEWIS



ORAL UNDERSTANDING TO REFLECT AGREEMENT

May 1, 1983

IN PRINCIPLE ON OVERFLIGHTS/NAVAL PURSUIT

"Lebanon affirms that it will not assert that a material breach of the Agreement has occurred in the event:

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- (a) that Israeli aircraft enter its airspace for purposes of reconnaissance or surveillance; or
- (b) that Israeli vessels enter its territorial waters when engaged in continuous pursuit of vessels which are reasonably believed to be engaging in actions directed against Israel in violation of the provisions of the Agreement, and which have fled into Lebanese waters.

It is understood that subparagraph (b) will apply only when Israeli authorities have made every reasonable effort to notify the Lebanese authorities of the situation and when the Lebanese authorities have been unable to intercept the vessel in question."

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LERANESE DRAFT (Submitted officially)

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There will be a movement of products and goods between Lebanon and Israel which will take into consideration the protection of their respective agriculture and industry as well as their production and consumption needs. It is understood — that Lebanon will not import from Israel products and goods that Lebanon produces for export.

The movement of the agreed products and goods will be on a non discriminatory basis.

Experts disignated by the two governments will meet on a regular basis and no less than once a month, within the framework of the Joint Liason Committee to adjust the flow and character of the trade accordingly.

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NEXT STEPS IN THE LEBANON NEGOTIATIONS

D Current Status: Habib believes we have reached a basic P decision point and argues that we can either push forward to bring negotiations to an early conclusion or accept the NEA S/S prospect of an impasse followed by protracted negotiations. s/sn His suggestion to move the talks along is to indicate our views S/S-I on reasonable solutions to the key problems -- Haddad, UNIFIL, mutual recognition, Israeli liaison officers, trade relations, joint supervisory centers -- and have the Lebanese table a package agreement, which the U.S. would support, at the tripartite talks on April 21. We would then consider whether to wait or escalate the level of persuasion.

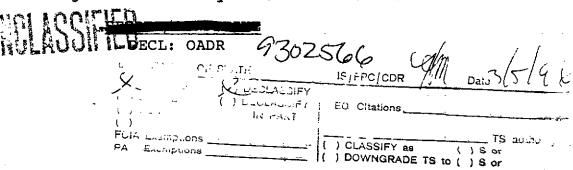
Can any more flexibility be wrung out of Lebanon or Israel? Is it time to lay down U.S. positions? What are the risks of pushing Lebanon to concede further? Are there risks to the U.S., including the Marines, that we are not fully considering?

Proposed U.S. Positions: The course Habib proposes will demand the most retreat from the Israelis. We will probably differ with Israel on Haddad, UNIFIL, mutual recognition, Israeli liaison officers, trade relations and joint supervisory centers, taking a position closer to the Lebanese view on each.

Are these reasonable U.S. positions? How do the proposals relate to our overall objective to achieve Syrian and PLO withdrawal? Can we really give up UNIFIL if necessary? How do we present this--as a Lebanese draft supported by the U.S. or as a U.S. draft aimed at bridging the gaps? Which course is better suited to the Israeli audience?

What Happens Afterwards?: Habib acknowledges that his strategy may not assure early agreement, but has the benefit of defining remaining issues and marking U.S. support. The implications are important for the next actions we could take, including a possible visit by the Secretary to the area.

At what point does a visit by the Secretary make sense in view of the status of the negotiation? Should we first move by escalating the level of persuasion, such as by Shultz calling Shamir or sending a letter from the President to Begin? Or, is the foundation sufficient now to make a visit productive in breaking the impasse? Are other direct actions possible, without using the visibility of a Shultz visit?



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NEA SUBJECT: S/S-I

NEA - Nicholas A Veliotes

Travel of Phil Habib and Morris Draper

FI September 2 and, after brief plans. He would leave Lebanon September 2 and, after brief stops in Rome and Paris, return to Washington in time to meet with the President September 9. 'Phil would return to Beirut for the inauguration of the new President on September 23 with a subsequent trip to Israel as a possibility. (Phil's cable is at Tab A.)

'Morris Draper plans to leave Beirut September 4 for talks with the Israelis on a pullback of Israeli forces from the environs of Beirut. He would then join Phil for the return to Washington. We envisage a need for Morris to tour various key capitals in the area in mid-September.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the cable at Tab B concurring in Phil's travel plans.

Attachments:

Tab A - Beirut 5814 Tab B - Cable to Beirut " * * * *

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HABIB

E 0 12356 TAGS PSDC CECL 8/29/88

SUBJ HABIE MISSION MESSAGE FOR THE SECRETARY

C-ENTIRE TEXT

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UNLESS YOU WISH OTHERWISE, I PLAN TO LEAVE BEIRUT ON SEPTEMBER 2 THE LAST FLO DEPARTURE IS NOW SCHEDULED FOR AUGUST 3: I DO NOT BELIEVE IT DESIRABLE FOR ME TO HANG AROUND BEIRUT AFTER THAT INSTEAD I WILL TAKE A FEW DAYS REST IN ROME AND POSSIBLY PARIS ON MY WAY HOME. AS INSTRUCTED, I WILL ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON THE AFTERNOON OF GEPTEMBER R SEPTEMBER 8

3. GIVEN THE SPATE OF VISITORS TO ISRAEL, IT WOULD APPEAR BETTER FOR ME TO LET DRAPER GO THERE FOR A FEW DAYS TO GIVE AN IMPETUS TO HIS NEXT MISSION AND TO ALLOW HIM TO BEGIN TO PREPARE THE WAY. HE CAN THEN JOIN ME ON THE WAY HOME SO THAT BOTH OF US ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON ON SEPTEMBER 8.

4 IF, AS I HOPE, DRAPER AND I WILL BE NAMED TO THE DELEGATION FOR GEMAYEL'S INAUGURATION ON SEPTEMBER 23, WE COULD AFTERWARD BOTH PROCEED TO ISRAEL TO MEET WITH BEGIN AND HIS SENIOR COLLEAGUES FROM WHAT I UNDERSTAND SAM LEVIS THINKS THIS WILL BE A GOOD PROCEDURE. 086 I UNDERSTAND,

IF YOU CONCUR. I WILL PROCEED AS PROPOSED DILLON

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LIMISON MEASURES IN THE SECURITY REGION

BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LEBANON

Security Arrangenents

-- The Military Committee is at the apex of the liaison arrangements and constitutes an umbrella whereby contact between the IDF and the LAF can be Security Array established as the need arises. The Military Committee itself, by frequent meetings, establishes liaison and contact at the senior military level.

-- Under the Military Committee, there will be two Supervisory Centers located in the Security Region. These Supervisory Centers by definition are joint. This means that IDF/LAF liaison will occur in these centers by direct contact between operational staffs and the communication links from the centers to IDF/LAF headquarters, major subordinate units with a capability to expand this radio and telephone contact to any organization in the Security Region that performs a security function. Face-to-face contact can be established in these centers as Lebanese forces provide liaison officers to the centers either permanently or on as-needed basis.

--Subordinate to these centers will be the Joint Supervisory Teams composed of an equal number of LAF/IDF personnel. Direct contact is thus established both face-to-face and by communications links, as these teams will report to the center and by virtuge of their verification mission will also have direct contact with Lebanese security units in the region.

--There will be periodic face-to-face meetings between the commanders of the LAF/IDF. As time goes on, these contacts will probably be expanded to include reciprocial staff visits by each side to discuss and work out areas of mutual concern.

-- In the border areas there will be face-toface meetings between the Commander of the Lebanese Territorial Brigade and the Commander of the IDF Morthern Area Command. There will also be direct radio and phone links between the commanders and most probably their operations centers. There will also be direct contact for coordination between subordinate commanders in the border areas when required.

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

SECRET

August 16, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

'IES TO:

George P. Shultz 48

Subject:

From:

Habib Mission: Close to Final Agreement

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Phil got major concessions from Begin yesterday: Israel agrees that the French may come in on the first day of PLO withdrawal; and Begin accepts the fact that the PLO will not give Israel a list of names of their departing personnel.

Phil is now in Beirut working on the three remaining problems:

- -- Israel insists there be some mechanism to verify that those who depart are the PLO fighters and not "substitutes." Phil will try to have this set up by the Lebanese government.
- -- Israel wants the Syrian forces who depart Beirut to go straight to Damasous rather than just redeploy to join Syrian forces albewhere in Lebanon. As a matter of principle Syria will not agree to this, as their troops are in Lebanon legally, under an Arab League Mandate. As a practical matter, however, the Syrian unit in Beirut is shattered and almost certainly will go home. Phil will have to convince Begin to realize this.
- -- Perhaps most important for Israel is the return of a pilot captured by the PLO and the remains of several Israelis killed in the fighting and buried in West Beirut. There is a good chance the PLO will agree to this.

Phil expects to be able to send a message to Begin Tuesday giving him the best deal possible on the above points. Phil also plans to present the final text of the departure plan to all the parties tomorrow. It is conceivable that we could have full agreement by Wednesday so that sometime that day you could issue a statement and I could follow up with a press conference.

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We are proceeding as though all will go according to this timetable. The first day of the evacuation under this schedule would be Saturday, August 21. We are arranging to have the French contingent of 350 prepared to enter Beirut at daybreak Saturday. We will also have two commercial ships in Beirut port then to take off the first PLO departees to Cyprus. They would then be flown from Cyprus to their destinations: probably Jordan and Iraq for the first group out.

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE

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Copies to:

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

S/S-S Team-B

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NEA

From:

Subject:

George P. Shultz

Habib Mission: Focus on Prisoners

August 17,

Phil is trying to produce what he hopes will be the final draft of the agreement by late evening our time today. He would then transmit it to all the parties. The Israeli Cabinet is scheduled to meet Wednesday morning to consider the plan for approval, but Begin has added a new requirement: Israel will not give its final approval to the plan until the Israeli pilot and the remains of nine Israeli soldiers buried inside West Beirut are physically handed over by the PLO.

The PLO, for its part, has been trying to trade the pilot and remains for the release of Palestinians captured by Israel. Phil has told them that it is too late for this and that they must turn over the pilot and remains unconditionally. To get a breakthrough we may have to give the Government of Lebanon a letter stating that the U.S. will remain concerned about Palestinian prisoners held by Israel and their treatment under conditions such as those envisioned by the Geneva Convention. We are low drafting this letter. In addition, Israel has asked us for a letter incorporating a long list of assurances they want from us (including a reaffirmation of the 1975 Kissinger commitment stating the conditions for U.S. recognition or negotiation with the PLO). Some of these assurances we can give; others are unrealistic. We will do our best, but Israeli complaints can be expected.

All this means that Phil is doing well and getting down to the wire. In Middle East negotiations we know we are close when the requests start pouring in for assurances. Phil is still setting Saturday as the day, but any announcement from here will have to await "all clear" signals both from Ambassador Lewis in Tel Aviv and from Phil in Beirut.

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PAGE 81 BEIRUT 1314217 ACTION NODS-RB

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BETRUT 5367

FROM HABIB

E.O 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PINT, PEPR, MILI, LE, IS, PLOS, /! SURJECT: HABIS MIXICO: PROPOJED NEXO STEPS AUGUST \$3-14

IN LIGHT OF THE LATEST PLO COMMUNICATION TO US, AS WELL AS THE CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS WE HAD THIS MORNING, AUGUST 13. WITH BARKIS, WAZZAN, AND BUTRUS (SEE SEPTELS), I SUSSEST WE TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OVER THE NEXT 48 HOURS OF THE PRESENTLY POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE. HE IS WHERE I BELIEVE WE STAND AND WHAT MY NEXT STEPS SHOULD BEE -- THE CEASE-FIRE IS VIRTUALY AIR-TIGHT. AN OCCASIONAL ISRAELI RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHT DOES NOT DRAW FIRE. -- THANKS TO DECISIVE AND TIMELY ACTIONS BY PRESIDENT REAGAN OVER THE PAST 24 HOURS, MUCH AMERICAN CREDIBIL

INCOMING TELEGRAM

PAGE 82

BEIRUT 95367 1314212

HAS BEEN RESTORED. -- I AM CONSIDERING GOING TO ISRAEL TOMORROW, SATURDAY, AUGUST 14, TO PRESENT TO BEGIN WHATEVER POSITION HAS DEVELOPED THROUGH THE PLO-LEBANESE NEGOTIATIONS TODAY AND TONIGHT. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT HAY BE PREFERABLE TO MAVE AMBASSADOR LEWIS PRESENT THE RESPONSE TO THE ISRAELI POSITION, AND KEEP ME IN RESERVE FOR A FINAL EFFORT. -- BEFORE REPORTING THE STATUS TO THE ISRAELIS, HON-EVER, HE NEED A SYRIAN COMMITMENT TO THE LEBANESE TO MITH-DRAW FROM BEIRUT THE SYRIAN AND SYRIAN-CONTROLLED FORCES SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE PALESTINIAN WITHORAWAL, AND AS EARLY IN THE PROCESS AS POSSIBLE. UNFORTUNATELY, WE HAVE LOST AT LEAST ONE DAY RECAUSE OF ISRAELI INTERFERENCE WITH THE TRAVEL OF THE LEMANESE EMISSARY, GENERAL SAMI KHATIB. KMATIB MAY RETURN TODAY TO LEBANON NOTHE SYRIAN ANSWER. -AS REGARDS THE TIMETABLE FOR THE ENTRY OF THE VARIOUS MNP ELEMENTS, IT IS ALREADY CLEAR THAT THE PLO HILL CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT THERE BE A FRENCH UN. " OF 358 MEN PRESENT ON D-DAY. THE SUNNI HUSLIM NOTABLES OF HEST BEIRUT MAY EVEN BE MORE INSISTENT THAN THE PALESTINIANS THAT THERE BE A FRENCH ELEMENT PRESENT AS PALESTINIAN WITHDRAWAL BEGINS. ISRAELI ACTION AGAINST HEST BEIRUT YESTERDAY HAS INCREASED SUSPICION AND CONCERN FOR SAFETY. -- IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH SARKIS AND WAZZAN THIS MORNING, HOMEYER, WE PLAYED AROUND WITH VARIATIONS ON THIS OPTION, SINCE WE CAN PRESUME CONTINUED ISRAELI OPPOSITION TO A FRENCH FORCE ON D-DAY. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE LAF IN ANY EVENT WILL HAVE TO BE PRESENT IN THE PORT AREA ON D-DAY, WITH THAT PREMISE ACCEPTED, WE CONJECTURED THAT POSSIBLY WE COULD EXPLORE THE LAP COMING IN ON D-DAY, WITH THE 350 MAN FRENCH ELEMENT A DAY OR THO LATER, AND THEN A LAPSE OF SOME DAYS BEFORE THE BULK OF THE US, ITALIAN, AND REMAINING FRENCH FORCES ENTER BEIRUT. WE SHALL HAVE



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INCOMING TELEGRAM

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PAGE 83

BEIRUT 85367 131421Z

TO SEE.
--I STILL CONSIDER ISRAELI OPPOSITION TO A 358 MAN
FRENCH DETACHMENT AS MISPLACED AND MISBUIDED. THE PLO MAS
NOW AGREED TO DEPLOYMENT OF THE FRENCH ELEMENT IN THE
INITIAL DAYS EXCLUSIVELY TO THE PORT AREA AND ITS APPROACHES
FROM WEST BEIRUT. AS A RESULT, THE ISRAELI ARGUMENT THAT
THE FRENCH CONSTITUTE A "SMELTER" FOR THE PLO IS LESS AND
LESS VALID.

--THUS, IF WE COULD COME UP WITH A REASONABLE AND IMAGINATIVE ARRANGEMENT THAT ADDRESSES IN PART ISRAELI CON-CERNS, WE WOULD HAVE A GOOD BASIS ON WHICH TO URGE THEIR ACQUIESCENCE IN THE NEW DEPLOYMENTS AND TIMETABLE. (AS NOTED ABOVE, WE WILL ALSO NEED A FIRM SYRIAN COMMITMENT TO LEAVE BEIRUT.)

--IF, MOWEVER, WE DO NOT MAKE HEADWAY WITH BEGIN, WE COULD CONSIDER AND EXPLORE AS A FINAL FALLBACK THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERIM AND UNARMED US-FRENCH-ITALIAN MENTORINGH GROUP FROM THE MMF--OF PERHAPS 28-25 MEN FROM EACH COUNTRY, MAKING A TOTAL OF 68-75 MEN--TO MONITOR THE DEPARTURE BY SEA OF THE PALESTINIANS DURING THE PERIOD UP TO THE ENTRY INTO BEIRUT OF THE BULK OF THE MMF (IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO MAVE SUCH AN INTERIM OBSERVER GROUP ALSO MONITOR THE INITIAL DEPARTURES OVERLAND TO SYRIA, IF THE PLO ACCELERATES ITS DEPARTURE SCHEDULE AS NOW SEEMS POSSIBLE). THE GROUP COULD BE PROPOSED AS AN ADVANCE PARTY OF THE MMF, IF NECESSARY.

3. ACTION RECOMMENDED! I HOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE THE DEPARTMENT!S REACTION TO THE FORESOING SCENARIO AND TO THE CONCEPT--AS A FALLBACK--OF PUTTING TOGETHER A 28-25 MAN US DETACHMENT INTO AN INTERIM DESERVER GROUP. (THESE NEED NOT ALL BE MILITARY MEN; HE COULD PERHAPS INCLUDE A FEW ARABIC AND FRENCH-SPEAKING PSO VOLUNTEERS.) THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR HAS INFORMALLY INDICATED THAT PRENCH PARTICIPATION IN SUCH A GROUP WOULD NOT POSE MAPPEDLEM. MEANWHILE, NO ACTION NEED BE TAKEN WITH RESPECT

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

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PAGE 44

BEIRUT \$5367 131421Z

TO ISRAEL, AND AMBASSADOR LEWIS CAN GIVE THEM AN INTERIM REPORT STATING THAT I AM ENGAGED IN ACTIVE EXCHANGES THROUGH THE LEBANESE INTERMEDIARIES AND WOULD MOPE TO HAVE A DEFINITIVE RESPONSE BY TOMORROW.

Tecata

10:00 a.m. 8/12/82

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Talking Points
for use with
The President

ES SENSITIVE 8224185

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- O I HAVE JUST TALKED TO PHIL HABIB ON THE RADIO.

 AFTER GOOD MEETINGS WITH BEGIN IN JERUSALEM YESTERDAY, HE HAD INTENDED TO GO TO WORK IN BEIRUT TODAY TO NEGOTIATE THE LAST DETAILS OF THE PACKAGE.
 - -- TIMING OF THE ENTRY OF THE MNF
 - -- LISTS OF NAMES AND DESTINATIONS FOR THE PLO
 - -- GETTING AGREEMENT THAT SYRIA WOULD WITHDRAW

 ITS FORCES FROM BEIRUT
- O PHIL HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO PROCEED, HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF LARGE SCALE BOMBING AND ARTILLERY ATTACKS ON THE CITY.

 WHILE PALESTINIAN DIEHARDS MAY HAVE INITIATED THE FIRING,

 THE ISRAELI RESPONSE HAS BEEN ALL OUT OF PROPORTION. THERE

 HAVE BEEN 8 CONSECUTIVE HOURS OF AIRSTRIKES.
- O PHIL'S LEBANESE INTERMEDIARIES WITH THE PLO HAVE
 NOT BEEN ABLE TO GET TO THE PALESTINIANS TO NEGOTIATE UNDER
 THESE CONDITIONS. MORE DISTURBINGLY, THEY ARE SHOWING
 SIGNS OF LOSING HOPE. PRESIDENT SARKIS AND PRIME MINISTER
 WAZZAN WERE UNPRECEDENTEDLY EMOTIONAL THIS MORNING. THE
 LEBANESE FEAR THAT THERE SOON MAY BE NOTHING TO NEGOTIATE
 FOR, AS THE CITY IS BEING PROGRESSIVELY DESTROYED.

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- O EVEN WORSE, IMPORTANT LEBANESE FIGURES WHO HAVE TRUSTED AND WORKED WITH US ARE SAYING THAT THIS ISRAELI BOMBARDMENT COULD NOT CONTINUE WERE IT NOT FOR AMERICAN COLLUSION. THEY CANNOT BELIEVE WE CANNOT CONTROL THE ISRAELIS.
 - o THERE ARE OTHER DISTURBING ISRAELI ACTIONS.
 - -- THERE HAS BEEN A GENERAL BUILDUP OF FORCES
 AROUND BEIRUT.
 - THEY HAVE MOVED UP THE COAST NORTH OF BEIRUT TOWARD TRIPOLI, PERHAPS WITH THE INTENTION OF STRIKING AT PALESTINIAN POSITIONS THERE.

 (THIS COULD OPEN A NEW, NORTHERN PHASE OF THE WAR.)
 - -- DESPITE POSITIVE ORAL RESPONSES TO TWO

 REQUESTS BY US, THE ISRAELIS HAVE REFUSED TO

 LET PRESIDENT SARKIS' REPRESENTATIVE TRAVEL TO

 DAMASCUS. THIS IS NOT UNDERSTANDABLE, AS HIS

 MISSION IS TO CONVEY A LEBANESE REQUEST THAT

 SYRIA WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS FROM BEIRUT.
- O THIS PATTERN OF ISRAELI BEHAVIOR RAISES QUESTIONS
 ONCE AGAIN ABOUT WHETHER THEY REALLY WANT A NEGOTIATED
 SETTLEMENT -- OR AT LEAST WHETHER SHARON DOES.

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- O PHIL'S PLEA IS THAT WE INSIST ON A STRICT THREEDAY CEASEFIRE TO ENABLE HIM TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY ON
 THE FINAL DETAILS. IF THE ISRAELIS ARE FIRED UPON, WE
 WOULD RECOGNIZE THEIR RIGHT TO FIRE BACK IN SELF DEFENSE,
 BUT WE MUST INSIST ON THE UTMOST RESTRAINT AND THAT
 IF A RESPONSE IS NECESSARY IT SHOULD BE LOCAL AND
 PROPORTIONATE. NO AIRSTRIKES.
- O I HAVE HERE A DRAFT MESSAGE FROM YOU TO BEGIN THAT:
 - -- EXPRESSES PROFOUND CONCERN
 - -- INSISTS ON A THREE-DAY CEASEFIRE
 - -- SUPPORTS PHIL'S PACKAGE AND INDICATES THAT

 SOME POINTS ISRAEL WANTS (NO EARLY FRENCH MNF

 ENTRY) MAY NOT BE REASONABLE UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES.
 - O AMBASSADOR LEWIS SENT HIS PERSONAL MESSAGE TO BEGIN
 TWO HOURS AGO (BEGIN WAS ON THE KNESSET FLOOR) SAYING,
 IN EFFECT, "YOUR FRIENDS CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHAT ISRAEL
 IS UP TO. YOU MUST STOP IT RIGHT THIS MINUTE."

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August 13, 1982

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Department of State



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ACTION MEMORANDUM

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Nodis File (jab) TO:

The Secretary

FROM:

NEA - Nicholas Velinte

PM - Jonathan T. Howers
L - James H. Michel, Acting

SUBJECT:

Habib Fallback

Upon receiving Phil's cable concerning an alternative fallback to use with the Israelis concerning MNF deployments on D Day, we have confirmed that:

-- He does not consider the use of US military personnel a viable option.

-- He would only use the 75-man "monitoring force", with a 25-man US component, as a last resort after first trying options such as 100 French on D Day building up gradually to 350, combinations of French and Italian personnel, etc.

While expressing reluctance to involve US civilians in such a risky operation, the proposed reply suggests that you will consult with the President if Phil believes this is the only alternative available for selling the plan. The only other alternative would appear to be to significantly escalate pressures on Israel.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the attached cable to Phil Habib,

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Attachment: As stated

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Memo to the Secretary

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Habib Fallback

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Drafted:PM:JTHowe:oc ext. 29022, 8/13/82

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Talking Points for use with Esmeli Charge

(Hebito has cleared)

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<u>51</u>: S

Minister Sharon is always welcome in Washington.

We believe, however, that this would not be an opportune moment for such a visit. The President has the fullest confidence in his personal emissary, Ambassador Habib, who will remain in the area, where he can be in instant contact with the parties concerned, to pursue his mission to achieve a negotiated peaceful solution to the problem of West Beirut. Ambassador Habib speaks for American policy in this regard and communicates information and views of the parties involved to the President rapidly and accurately. Therefore, the U.S. continues to take up any matter pertaining to West Beirut through Ambassador At this particular moment, when time is of the essence, and momentum toward the outcome we seek needs to be maintained and built upon, it would not in our view be wise to try to shift the focus of the negotiations away from Ambassador Habib's effort on the scene. We do not want anything to delay us in these crucial final days. Ambassador Habib now has produced a negotiated package arrangement that is reasonable and capable of being put into effect as early as the end of this week. We hope that Israel will give its cooperation to this package arrangement as quickly as possible. Ambassador Habib and Ambassador Lewis are ready to answer whatever questions Israel may have and to transmit messages as may be desired.

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DECLAS. OADR



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WASHINGTON

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BEST CONTINUALLABLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE

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RF (SHM)

MEMORANDUM FOR:

From:

*82 AUS -6 P2:10

THE PRESIDENT

August 6, 1982

Subject:

George P. Shultz

West Beirut Situation Looking Better

Phil Habib reports today that the PLO have virtually accepted all his terms for their departure. They have dropped their insistence on taking their heavy weapons with them. The PLO say they are in touch with the Egyptians to ask that Egypt stop trying to link acceptance of a PLO contingent to a major political concession by the U.S.

The major issue <u>now_remaining</u> is when the multinational force (MNF) would arrive. The PLO. apparently fearing attacks by the Phalange and the Israelis, want it to come early. Israel believes that early MNF arriva' would provide a protective screen for the PLC was would then refuse to budge. Phil is trying to bridge the gap by proposing that the French force arrive on the morning of D-day and the PLO start to depart that same afternoon.

Here is the rough schedule Phil has in mind:

first joint session of the liaison August 8:

officers of the MNF (U.S., French, Italian) with the Lebanese Military

and Habib

get agreement of the PLO to the August 9:

"Final Plan"

Aug. 10 : start to urge Israeli acceptance of

the Plan

Aug. 10-

Processing of PLO personnel by unit, destination, and preferred route

Drafted: NEA: CH11100

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Aug. 12-15 : Day selected as "D-day". French

MNP arrives, first PLO units

depart by sea

August 18 : U.S. and Italian MNF arrives. UN

observers deployed

August 25 : final PLO unit departs, PLG leader-

ship leaves by airplane

Obviously there are many pitfalls ahead and we cannot expect it to be smooth going. If the PNO gets Egyptian agreement to receive them, our major problems will be with Israel. We must continue to use every occasion to impress upon Israel the necessity of keeping the level of hostilities down. We are doing this both here and in Jerusalem. It is clear that the Israelis are on a different wavelength from us: they are totally skeptical that the PLO will actually leave. To overcome this we have begun to tell the Israelis about the practical progress Phil has been making in Beirut. While this may help contain Israeli military actions, it will soon lead to strong protests from Sharon about the terms of the package Phil is negotiating. Sharon will complain about the arrival time of the MNF, about the employment of UN observers, about when heavy weapons will be handed over, and so on.

In my meeting today with Israeli Ambassador Arens, I briefed him on the current status of negotiations, the French desire to begin deploying their MNF unit simultaneously with the PLO departure and Phil's endorsement of this position. Arens' response was strongly negative on any MNF deployment before PLO evacuation was well underway. He refused to accept that the PLO had any reason to worry about the security of departing forces or of families left behind.

We will have to be ready to back up Phil in the strongest terms because his package as it is now shaping up will be a totally reasonable and honorable solution for all involved.

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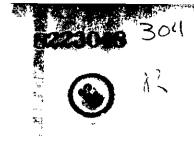
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM BZ AUG -3, P5:58



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SECRET

August 3, 1982

TO:

The Secretary

FROM:

NEA - Nicholas A. Veliotes

SUBJECT:

Phil Habib's Views at End of Day August 3

Phil, over the radio to Charlie Hill a short while ago, asked that we give you his thoughts of the moment:

First, Phil is even more convinced than he was this morning that the negotiations have entered a crucially important testing phase. The PLO appear to be serious. If this turns out to be false, Phil feels his mission will be close to having run its course. If the present trend continues, however, we may be on the road to success.

Phil says that if our effort fails because the PLO is lying, or because the Egyptians won't take them, that is one thing. It will be something else, however, if failure is caused by Israel's reliable to keep a strict ceasefire. Phil wants the Israelis to know that their present small-scale activity around the southern edges of the city is not providing useful pressure. To the contrary, it is making the U.S. appear to have no control over the Israelis at the very time Phil needs to give credible assurances of safe conduct for the other side. In addition, current Israeli behavior appears to threaten Palestinian non-combatants in the camps and raises the danger that PLO fighters will lash out in an attempt to preserve their honor as protectors of their families.

Second, Phil wants you to be aware that even is successful, he will surely emerge with a package which is far from what the Palestinians want, but also will contain elements Israel rejects. Sharon is making daily pronouncements about such matters. If Phil can deliver the Palestinians, it will be largely up to us to deliver the Israelis. At present, Phil foresees at least three difficult issues on the horizon:

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- 1. Time of entry of the international force: Sharon says it cannot come in until all the PLO have departed. We will have to work on Israel, the PLO, and DOD to get agreement to a compromise, e.g., the French enter on the day the PLO starts to move out, and the U.S. enters on the third or fourth day after that. Total withdrawal time could take two weeks or so.
- 2. The kind of weapons the PLO takes with them: We have been saying only "personal" weapons. Phil says he may have to acquiesce in allowing them to take selected heavy weapons, such as rocket launchers.
- 3. The "visibility" of the Israelis as the PLO moves out:
 The Israelis gave a commitment to Phil that their forces
 would pull back so they could not be seen by the departing
 Palestinians. Sharon and Begin later reneged, saying this
 would be shameful. Phil thinks we may have to hold them to
 their initial commitment.

(Points 1 and 3 were raised by Ambassador Ghorbal today following his telephone discussion with PLO representative Khalid al-Hassan.)

These points do not require action now, but Phil wanted you to be aware of them. With regard to Israel's current abuse of the ceasefire, especially around the camps, Phil hopes we can keep reitera .ng our views to the Israelis, and perhaps to Shamir again before he leaves Washington Wednesday morning.

Finally, at Phil's request, we followed up his talk today with the French Ambassador in Beirut by pressing the Frenchman here to convey to Paris the urgency of their making a clear and final commitment to participate with us in the international force. Phil may want French (and U.S.) military liaison officers to join him in Beirut for planning talks as early as Friday.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520



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June 29, 1982

6/29

MEMORANDUM TO: S/S - Mr. L. Paul Bremer III

S D P

FROM NEA - Nicholas A. Veliotes

s/s

S/S-I SUBJECT : Message from Habib 0500 June 29: s/d

Activities, June 29

NSC

CIA e.o.

Casey

It is 0900 Tuesday, June 29. I have here in touch this morning with Abdu to find out what happened in the meetings last night in Israel with Sharon. (Report by septel.) Sarkis is sick. I am seeing Wazzan later this morning. I am, however, unable to go very far with him in the absence of clear instructions on show to comment one way or the other on the GOL proposals given to me yesterday.

When I do meet with Wazzan, "I will, as I have been doing all along, convey our strong desire for significant and clear-cut progress on an urgent basis and a sense that there will be serious trouble otherwise.

However, what I need more than anything else at this juncture are instructions on how to deal with the solution shaping up, as outlined in my meetings with Sarkis and Wazzan yesterday. Let continues to be my strong conviction that we must move in tandem with the GOL at this important juncture; which should incidentally insure Saudi and, I hope, Egyptian support for the outcome. Moreover, I find the general thrust of the package plan discussed with the GOL yesterday to be a sound basis for exploration and further discussion toward an acceptable solution. That is why I wish to have the Department views in hand before I continue the discussions on a more detailed pasis. In the course of such discussions, we will be able to determine whether the proposals have a truly valid basis or whether the GOL is being strung along by the PLO. II am not unaware of the possibility that the GOL does not have a clear idea of what the PLO will agree to, or that they may be putting the best interpretation on their discussions with the PLO. But they are the ones doing the negotiations with the PLO. We will do our best to verify and strengthen the direction and content of the GOL position in these negotiations.

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Another reason for instructions is that I would be reluctant to see Sharon today or tonight to confront his simplistic, bulldozing tactics without quidance. In my view, talks with the Israelis on the political solution shaping up should be with Begin, not with Sharon, since Begin would be a lot better equipped to foresee the advantages and better placed to put Israel's military objectives into perspective. Nevertheless, I am quite prepared to argue with Sharon if I know what we are prepared to accept in the way of a solution on the ground, beyond the general statements which we have been making so far.

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June 27, 1982

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TO:

S/S - L. Paul Bremer, III

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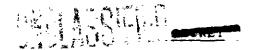
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NEA - Nicholas A. Veliotes

Recorded Radio Report from Habib, 0430 A.M., June 27, 1982

File: mSUBJECT:

- Israeli Cabinet is meeting today presumably to debate and decide Witheir next steps in Lebanon: The political question of the moment centers upon Israeli intentions with regard to West Beirut. The GCI N faces a basic choice -- whether to resume the onslaught against the remaining PLO forces, by bombing and shelling with or without a ground attack, or whether to hold off and let the political-diplomatic effort deal with the situation.
 - In my view it is absolutely necessary that the United States assure that there be no repeat no further attacks on West Beirut and its immediate populated suburbs. The situation in Beirut has become a symbol of this war, and it is widely believed that the survival of a large part of the city and its people has become the responsibility of the United States. There is no way that official and public opinion in the Middle East and elsewhere will lot us escape that responsibility. It will not devolve on to Israel, which is expected to behave ruthlessly, nor will PLO intransigence and lack of concern for their host nation be blamed.
- I cannot believe that we will sacrifice our interest by standing by -- as our failure to act will be viewed -- and letting West Beirut suffer further. No matter that some Lebanese are bloody minded in their hatred for Palestinians, no matter that some Israelis believe that the PLO can and must be totally and visibly smashed into oblivion --we will pay a great price in terms of our broad interest and international image. Moreover, in my mind further pillaging of Beirut, by air, land or sea -with or without a ground attack -- will be a monumental obscenity with which we must not be seen to be associated.
 - 5. I understand that we have urged Prime Minister Begin not to attack West Beirut. I suggest that persuasion and a strong message need to be reinforced in a way which makes clear that we mean what we say and will brook no defiance. My specific recommendations are as follows:
 - [1] We should request of Prime Minister Begin today, following the cabinet meeting, a flat and unequivocal pledge that there will be no attack on Beirut. A ceasefire in place is to be maintained, with atrength and proportionality will be the practice even junder the kind of mild provocation that has led to massive retaliation hitherto. In place of withence Israel would now eccept the continuation of the political-diplomatic effort without a deadline



[2] We must insist on a reply, if we get the kind of equivocation that has frequently been the case in the past.

[3] If he is not prepared to give the assurances we seek, our answer should be brief but telling as follows: Israel is an independent country which has a right to make its own decisions and follow its own interests as it sees them. The United States has the same right. If Israel pensists and attacks West Beirut despite our position, the United States wishes to inform Israel what will happen when the attack begins. At that point the President will call a halt, under U.S. law, to all military shipments to Israel; we shall also be prepared to go immediately to the UN Security Council to seek a binding resolution calling on Israel to stop its military actions and withdraw from Lebanon; we are prepared to vote for or at any rate not veto any move to impose Chapter VII Sanctions. Mr. Begin must be left under no illusion that our action will be anything but immediate and unrelenting.

6. In sum, I believe we are at a crucial point where for the sake of our interests, and in the broadest consideration of the traditional American concern for what is decent, that we must bring an end to needless killing. Otherwise we face an immense human tragedy in West Beirut. I could list many more arguments in favor of the position I have set forth but I do not want to belabor the issues any further.

Desired Distribution: ONLY

The Secretary
Under Secretary Eagleburger
Executive Secretary Bremer
Assistant Secretary Veliotes
The White House





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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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June 27, 1982

MEMOPANDUM TO: S/S - L. Paul Bremer III

FROM

: NEA - Nicholas A. Veliotes

SUBJECT : Radio Message from Amb. Habib, 6/27/82, 11:30

Englie-lexe.

Grand Mufti Hassan Khalid, Sunni spiritual leader of Lebanon phoned me this afternoon with an urgent message. The Israeli's are dropping leaflets on West Beirut urging the entire population to leave the city, either north to Tripoli or East to Damascus. As a result, thousands of people were now trying to flee the city which in turn has spread panic and terror through the entire population. The Mufti said that he was also informed today that the roads south of Beirut are jammed with Israeli troops and military equipment heading north.

The Mufti recalled the terrible damage done to West Reirut and the southern suburbs during the intensive Israeli hombardment of Thursday and Friday which had hardly a single building untouched in some areas and said, that as a result of the Israeli leaflets and troop movements, he feared that even worse is still to come. He called on me to take urgent action to forestall an Israeli attack against the city. It is unthinkable, he said, that the entire population of West Beirut should pay the price of Israeli military ambitions. He warned that Islamin thought in Lebanon holds the United States accountable for what has already happened. A new enslaught against predominantly Moslem West Beirut would result in the United States being held responsible by Lebanon's Moslems.

I told the Mufti that I would transmit his message and his appeal immediately to Washington and that I would do everything possible on my part to avoid such a tragedy. He thanked me and said that he and Lebanon's Moslems were hopeful that I could bring an end to the danger that threatened Beirut.

Comment: In our first meeting June 25, the Mufti warned that continued Israeli attacks on Lebanon would transform Moslem opinion in the country, which is basically favorable to the United States, into hostility against us. He repeated that warning to lay but in considerably stronger and more urgent



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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520 June 22, 1982/

T0:

The Secretary

FROM:

NEA - Nicholas A.

SUBJECT: Habib Moves Over Next 24 Hours

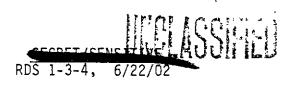
We went over the situation in great depth with Phil at 1500-1600 Tuesday. Phil fully understands the need to get specific undertakings out of the PLO fast. Here are Phil's proposed plans for tonight and tomorrow:

- -- Tonight he probably will have to meet with Sharon, who has just arrived at Bashir's HQ. Phil hoped to avoid encountering Sharon in the Beirut area, but cannot avoid a meeting. We expect Sharon will refer to the Thursday morning Cabinet meeting in Jerusalem and tell Phil that he must produce something concrete from the PLO if there is to be any hope of Cabinet agreement to a disengagement.
- -- Tomorrow morning Phil intends to go to the Salvation Council and put "precise demands" to them to pass to the PLO. He will also "squeeze the timeframe" on the PLO, stressing that the IDF has them by the throat. In the course of the day he will work to get specific commitments from the PLO on the leadership's departure, stacking arms, Syrian withdrawal, etc.
- Tomorrow afternoon at 1630 Lebanon time Phil plans to go by USN helicopter to Israel to meet Sharon (and possibly Begin as well) with something specific from the PLO in hand. Phil does not expect the Cabinet to agree to any 5km withdrawal (in fact Phil himself now seems to agree with the Israelis that such a disengagement is not achievable either practically, on the ground, or politically). Phil will, however, try to get some further cosmetic steps from the Israelis--particularly in the areas of the airport and the palace.
 - Phil would then return by helicopter to our residence in Yarze that same evening (Wednesday, June 23). On Thursday, the combination of a basically positive outcome in the Israeli Cabinet, together with some ominous warnings to the PLO (our Thursday evacuation should have a strong impact in this regard) could bring about the breakthrough we want.

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Habib -

Begin says he issued the order last night but somehow or mother, I didn't realize his orders aren't carried out these days. Now we're told maybe by 5:00 this afternoon the water and electricity will be on, that there are technical difficulties. The technical difficulties are that the Israeli guys down at the end of the line don't want to do it, that's what the technical difficulties are, they just want to squeeze the people a little bit more. As far as I'm concerned those are the technical difficulties. I don't buy that in other words. Secondly. There is no way, absolutely no way in which I can move the negotiations along under the present conditions. I've got one telephone that's always busy, goes into the Prime Minister. All the other telephones are down and I can only get him on that phone once in awhile because he doesn't always stay sitting on the telephone. He can't come out. But he can go in. It's just, there is no way. They keep talking about I have to move in a hurry, they have lost two days by virtue of their refusing to do what I asked them to do. Two days of negotiation have been lost. I want them to understand that. I want you to understand it. I want the President to understand it, I want everybody in the country to understand it. I'm getting sick and tired. We get somewhere and then it all dissipates because somehow or another things go wrong. Most of the things that have gone wrong have gone wrong because of Israeli action in my opinion. I've been screaming for three weeks now about the importance of cease-fire in place. You want to know why they got into a fire fight the day before yesterday? Which set everything back another two days, that's four days? It's because the Israeli forces moved in. Under cover of a so-called cease-fire. They moved in closer and closer to the city. They kept moving. All right. Now maybe I've got them stopped once again. Meanwhile, I can't do anything because I can't talk to anybody. Now that's just the beginning. Now if you can make people begin to understand that. You understand what I'm talking about?

Hill:

Yes, I understand very clearly. We'll go get Aarons up and I'll be back to see him. I presume that somebody here has been talking to Sam in the early hours already. We'll get back on it. Over.

Habib

They've been talking. There's no question they've been talking. Well they're not getting. They're giving this line well, there's technical difficulties, but on Gary's demand you know what the latest line is? Oh, well, when they talk to / Abdu yesterday, it was

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agreed they would stay in one place, Abdu would stay in one place, and that's Nonsense I want them off. Off. Out. That was my request. It wasn't that they stay in one place these days another place. I want them out of that crossroad. No ifs, ands buts. That's one thing. I haven't been able to get a hold of Abdu the last half hour or so, I don't know what his latest The other thing is that there are some other (static) . problems I want to raise with you now. Now for one thing, Wazzan (static). the question. He says the PLO will not accept our participation in the MNF. I said is that right. I said the Israelis and don't want to accept the French position (static) don't want to accept our role so there isn't going to be any MNF. I said they asked for our guarantee, we're giving them the best guarantee possible, the answer is it's not negotiable. That is the MNF. That's the MNF that the government of Lebanon asked for. And it's up to him to go back and tell them so. And if they don't like it they know what they can do. All right. In addition, of course, the work of the so-called (static) is still supposedly being conducted. It is not being conducted very efficiently. They have this problem of communication. Over.

- Hill: Phil, I lost you on both those transmissions a little bit. Let me just repeat if you understand me. You said that Wazzan said the PLO won't accept US participation. You told them that maybe the Israelis wouldn't accept the French but he should go back and tell them that was what the MNF was going to be. Then you said that the military commission was not proceeding well. Did I miss something? There's been a lot of static. Over.
- Habib:

 One of the reasons that the Military commission is proceeding well is because I can't get at people because of the closed roads and also because of the lack of electricity which affects the telephone service too. (static) approach that the Israelis are using. Now in addition. I want to make sure that Howeisn't going too far with certain things. We have got now a revised version of the Lebanese so-called plan. It's not substantially changed in any real way. The important thing is that we're still going to have to negotiate things out. For example, the Lebanese prefer to use the Bain Militaire to take them out rather than the port. And that suits me as well for a number of reasons. Over.
 - Hill: Could you repeat that? The Lebanese prefer what? Instead of what to take them out? Over.
- Habib They prefer a place called the Ben Militaire, the military bath rather than the port, and that would mean they'd have to be lightered (?) out to the freighters. There are good reasons for that. I'm not altogether

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opposed to them. But these are things that are going to be negotiated out over the next few days if we ever get to where we can negotiate. Over.

Hill: Give me a general idea where the Ban Militaire is.

Is that over on the west coast part of the city? Over.

Habib

Yes, it's on what they call the southern end of Ras Beirut. It's where we took people out in 1976. We evacuated. Anybody in the Working Group will show you where it is on the map. It's in west Beirut. Just on the south-west edge of Beirut. All right. Now. There are a number of other things that have to be worked out on an ad hoc basis and I'll just work them out. I don't need any advice or instructions, I'll just do the best I can. But I want you to understand that we're still hung up on this business of the Israelis, the Christians moaning about nos PLO presence. Now if that isn't clear, then you know, our negotiations, we don't have a package. And I'm negotiating a package. I'm not negotiating pieces of a package. Over.

Hill: Yes. That's very clear. The situation here on that is that everybody, Secretary and so on, White House, say we will deliver on that, but we're not engaging the Israelis in negotiations on it now. Do you think that's the right way to proceed, or do you think we ought to start talking to them, and fighting with them, another set of talks, about these two points? 'Over.

Habib

I talked to Sharon about it yesterday. He knows exactly where I stand. And he said they stand and I said I'm not arguing with it. I'm just telling you that's the way it's going to be. Now I have to be backed up. That's all. You have to make sure I'm backed up. Now we've just sent you in a cable which looks forward to the near term. You know, the next few weeks. So that you can start working, thinking about some of those things. Because if you think we're just going to (static). We've got to talk about disengagements, (static) we've got to get them out of this country. Now you have to start thinking about those things. They don't come to you, and say we're going to stay there for another two months, while we run Lebanon. No way. Now I've told you this before and nobody listens. Now maybe some of you think it's a good idea they stay here and run this country the next two months. I'm telling you it is not a good idea. There's going to be trouble



all along. There's going to be no cease-fire that way. There's going to be killing, there's going to be all sorts of trouble. Now. Three weeks or a month ago I told you we're going to have trouble with all the Arabs if we don't move, move, and we've gotten ourselves in this position and it's getting worse. My reading the cables, we're in, we're getting in a worse mess every day. They're introducing new things every day. All of a sudden now we gotta deal with the compehensive peace settlement before we can deal with anything else. Three weeks ago nobody even mentioned (static). You wait another three weeks you'll have more things to think about. It is getting ridiculous. It has to end. (static)

Habib Charlie, are you still there.

static

Hill: Phil, I lost you for a minute there. Can you read me now. Over.

Habib static

Hill: Sorry, Phil, we're getting sunspots or something. I can tell you're transmitting, but I can't pick it up. Over.

Habib noise

Hill: Yes, you're a little bit clearer. Go ahead and try it. Over.

Habib We've got to look ahead a few weeks now. Even if we get this one thing done we've got to make sure we understand where we're going next. We cannot just let the Israelis sit. All over Lebanon where they are and let the Syrians stay where they are for that matter either. We have to start looking ahead. There's no way which they can stay here for the next several months and run this country. Is that understood. Over.

Hill: Yes, I think that's very well understood. Once we get the PLO out of there I think we'll be in a good postion to really turn on the Israelis and make them do something. Over.

Habib Frankly, Charlie, I don't believe you. I mean, I believe you would love to, but I don't think that anybody back there has thought about it or is ready to do it. Maybe you have. But the important thing is that we don't even have them or board forthe things I have to have for the package yet. And we've been talking about that now for several days. Now if I get squared away

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and get some contact with these people in the next 24 hours, which I have not had for four or five days, and I can get the negotiations moving quickly, I can close this thing out in the next three days. That's presuming I get some decent contact if the Israelis will allow me to have it.

Hill Okay, we're having trouble with transmission again. I understand. I'll go down and talk to Larry and we'll step up the pressure to get you the things you need to day. To get the services back on, not any excuses, and to quit screwing around with the check point problem. Over.

Habib The galeries static I cannot move the way they've got me boxed in now. They've been telling me about how little time I had and I've ...4 days by virtue of the actions over the last four days. Over.

Hill Okay. Let me collar Larry and we'll talk to and I'll get to Sam Lewis on this and make it very clear what you're thinking about all of this. Over.

I'm going to have enough trouble with the Lebanese, the by the way, the Katea are going to Syrians, the cause us trouble. They say they don't want the French now. And the Katea are saying they don't care whether the Israelis agree to a matter of fact, they didn't even want a multilateral force. Now only did they not want the French in it, they say they don't want a multilateral force. They say the Israelis agreed to it. They don't like it. They don't want it. They want to go in and kill all those people that's what they want to do. And the other thing is, they don't want a token force here. Symbolic force. And of course the Israelis don't want it either. I said to them, I don't give a damn what you want, this is a package. I don't accept what you say. And we still got this age-old problem of the cease-fire. Every time there's a cease-fire they move in another quarter of a mile around the city. What kind of a cease-fireis that? That's why the firing started two days ago. Does anybody understand that? Over.

Hill Phil, one problem we're really going to have is that if these guys, if the Phalange, Katea, say this kind of thing publicly we're never going to get the US Navy in there. They're going to be just too frightened

Habib



to do it. You know, they want assurances from every-body that nothing's going to happen to their boys. I just got a note here saying that we have two TV channels this morning reporting that there's going to be 1600 Marines coming in as part of an international force. And I heard on the radio a little while ago speculation that it would be a US-French force. Over.

- Habib How long did you think it was going to be kept secret? What radio is this? Is it Radio Israel? Where is it coming from? Over.
- Hill Phil, it sounds like it's Guli Zahal, out of Israel. the Israeli military radio. Over.
- Habib We crossed Charlie, did you really think we were going to keep that secret? I mean, where's the story come from? Over.
- Hill No. We were sitting around here yesterday, amazed that it still hadn't come out. That we got through the weekend on it. But it apparently comes originally leaked by IDF Radio, Guli Zahal. Over.
- Habib The Israelis leak any thing they wish. Now listen. A s far as and all that, don't worry. I have told everybody that when they come in nobody shoots at them. I'm not going to worry about the Katea shooting at them. The Katea aren't going to shoot at them. And neither are the Israelis. But you know, anything that happened, every kid over the age of 12 has a gun, you understand that? They better have their bullet-proof vests on. Over.
- Hill Yeah, they understand that they can't control everything. But if any major faction sounds like they are opposed to it or can't be willing to hold their fire, it's going to be a real problem getting Congress or anybody else to let these guys go in. Over.
- Habib static. And if we don't get all the guarantees that you need you still bring them in. Over.
- Hill Phil, I don't think we're in a very productive radio time here. It's very hard to get you. I'm losing you from time to time. I think we just better use the time to go get Larry and start to go to work, unless you have something other vital we better wait for a better atmospheric condition. Over.
- Habib Okay. static. You get working on it so we can see what we can clear up. Maybe we can clear it up with a different channel. Over and out.

TAPEL PHONE COMMERSATION BETWEEN HARIB AND Charles Hill/Adm. Howe

12:07 p.m., July 3, 1982

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HABIB *

...final agreement, I keep talking about alleged agreement, suspicion whether or not these things will really be carried out. I am still uncertain about where we are going to come out that the remaining critical issues are the question of the heavy weapons. He doesn't like them taking the heavy weapons with them so we are going to get static on that. David talked about less limited numbers and terrorism and that sort of thing and I said "Look, () said he would probably be back around () said that didn't sound like a bad idea () are you getting me, over ()

One point which I stress very hard () if it meant that we had to have a few hundred men here that would be sufficient to take on a () Anyway whatsoever is a threat to Israel. I have mentioned it to David, I told them we would not bring the men until we () I told them as far as the heavy weapons are concerned we would see what we can do but (officer in charge of the war () they don't want them to stay, they . of the token force the symbolic force, that was not too much trouble () the question of timing, and I said to him that I was willing () arms in place that in other words, it was a package deal () a place to put them that much depended on our ability to get the place to put them) he said he didn't like the idea of them going to Libya) because we were not going to put the King in that kind of spot. () not at all ah, now () you better make sure we can follow through on that I will get to Sam who is going to be off to see the Prime Minister very shortly and get him to make a very strong point about the importance of cutting it out, especially tonight, but keep the place quiet because it is getting too sensitive now.

HILL: Let me tell you () they would right away make a common cause with his domestic opposition and he just can't stand that kind of a problem now. He did not say "no" finally. He is going to put it to his adviser and give us

*N.B. This tape starts after the conversation started and contains numerous blank spots--as indicated throughout the text by spaces.

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a formal answer tonight but we are () as the answer and trying to come up with something else.

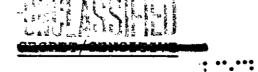
HABIB: Well we can't dump the bastards into the sea and there is no way we can put that many of them into Syria. They will be back here inside of a week or they will be in Jordan. just don't know why the hell we can't use, well I presume you are trying your best, I don't know. If you can't get them there, how about taking half of them there and half of them in 'Saudi Arabia, or Oman or, I don't know, Christ I am not saying I'm kidding Oman. Somehow or another you have got to get them out of here. Otherwise, this whole thing falls apart because the whole thing is based on getting them out of here. I mean if we don't get them out of here, we don't have anything going for us. What are you thinking of? () Get Mubarak to take them for 30 days and parcel them out after that. We'll work on it for 30 days and we'll let them go to hell or something. I don't know. Somehow or another you have got to get them out of here,

HILL: Yeah, we are very aware of that and that is now our first focus but only other thing we have working at this moment is the French told us that they would approach the Libyans about this but they have not done so yet so the French Ambassador is coming into to talk to Larry in a few minutes so we may get more then. But now it looks very, very bleak.

HABIB: Well, you know, that is just going to throw the whole thing about. You got to work on Mubarak, even if it is temporary. Would he rather have them in Libya? Christ, they would be sitting on his border next and then what will the Libyans do with them, then it'll really become a center of terrorism. And then what the hell are you going to do, the Israelis bombing Libya? It's ridiculous. Well, hell, it'll be Mubarak's ticket back into the arab world for Christ sake and he can control them. He can control them. These guys have been whipped. Okay, you go to work Charlie, I've given you all you need now. Make sure Sam goes over the whole thing. You can't go any less than what we went with Kimche.

DRAPER: Let's go over the four points.

HABIB: What four points? I told you already the four points that he () Morrie is sitting here. Do you understand where the sensitive points are or don't you?



HILL: I have three sensitive points. One, the PLO political office, the second is the heavy weapons and the third is the token force. What is the fourth?

HABIB: The fourth is the timing. When all this kicks off. I told them we could get, technically we should not see any problem in getting them out within ten days to two weeks after the beginning of D day and I wan't D day to be as soon as possible, as soon as we have them nailed down and we had a place to send them, that was D day and that in terms of their readjustment was after their withdrawal began. In terms of the MNF coming in, that was after they started to pull down and we didn't want to get sucked in and having our force as a hostage.

HILL: Okay, Phil, Admiral Howe is here and he has been working on this morning with a team on the details of this situation. He would like to talk to you now and ask a few questions. Just a minute.

HABIB: Okay, but Charlie you go on down and get onto Sam. Morris is just what I told you awhile ago. We want a PLO declaration. This is very important. That starts the process and that could be D day or the day before D day. That's the way we are thinking in the way of timing. Once we get things nailed down, we want to move right away.

HILL: Roger, we've got that Phil.

HABIB: Okay, who's coming on now? Charlie, you can go and leave us. Anybody coming on, come on.

HOWE: Roger, Phil, John Howe on the line and he got your last message. In working the mechanics of this and I'm going to go off to a White House meeting shortly that involves OSD and others and some of the the congressional and public affairs aspects, and military aspects, the thing we need to know the most is just what your concept is for the use of U.S. forces. I can tell you what they have in mind which is as limited as possible. But we need to know what you need to have the Marines do when they are in there and how expensive it is?

HABIB: Well, what we have counted on is a total force of two battalions, about 1,600 men, half French, half American. Our concept is that they should come in a few days or after the beginning of the departure of the PLO and position themselves as, in effect, a sanitary belt, that would be somewhere between the Israelis and the Lebanese army force. My thought is that

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they would go down mostly toward the airport area and so we can start using the airport. Get the airport in good hands, in friendly hands, or non-combative hands. Also we would undoubtedly have to have some kind of liaison set up with the Lebanese and the French and our thought there was that they would be up in the Ministry of Defense which is right above here. What I would really like to do is to think in terms of those numbers with a 48 hour triger on it. In other words, 48 hours after the Lebanese tell us they want us to come in, they , will come. So you would have to position them about 48 hours off the coast. It would by that time things would be in fairly good order for them to come in. After they come in and at the time they come in, the presumption would be we would get some readjustment from the Israeli lines about that time. what I suggest is that you get a couple liaison officers, staff men, to come early when I give you signal. Once we get this thing when it looks like it's in its final stages, we could give you a signal. Send me a couple of staff quys, we'll put them, hopefully we'll get the French to come in at the same I want French speakers. At least those staff guys have to be French speakers. As many French-speaking officers as we can put the better off we are. Now we wanted, when the PLO starts moving out to the ships, our guys ought to be around as part of the guarantee that nobody is going to try and kill them, either Israeli or Phalange. So really the deal has to start, if we call D day the day the PLO announce they have accepted the agreement and everything is going to happen and we have it all in hand, then presumably about, if we have a place to go. Hold on. If we a place for them to go, we start moving. If we don't have a place for them to go, we ain't going to do a God damned thing. We just going to sit on our ass. But if we have a place for them to go, we then have the commercial ships off-shore, we start moving them and we think we ought to be able to move them within ten days, shorter if possible, maybe only three days for all I know, but certainly within ten days. Remember, they have to be assembled, they have to be basically, basically we will have to settle the arms problem by then as to what they take with them. At this point we have just got small arms but there is now alot of debate around here as to whether they are going to take heavy arms with them too. We haven't settled that finally but the boys in Washington are giving me some ideas. At that point, our boys get in position, we'll probably want them, them and the French, in, as I said, in that area around the airport and coming up this way toward Baabda maybe and the Ministry of Defense. Lebanese army is going to put about 4,000 men in the same operation with them so that you are going to have 1600 American

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and Frenchmen, 4,000 Lebanese troops and then, presumably, the process just continues until it is cleared out and the Lebanese troops take over. I told them we are counting on a less then 30 day operation as far as we are concerned. Maximum, 30 days for our forces. I am not so sure the French are that limited although the French don't want to stay here forever either. So that they may not be limited to the 30 days that I've set. Now it may be that the MNF might have to monitor the inventory of heavy weapons and spare arms, and the transfers whether we put them on ships or put them in depots. In that case I would hope to use the French with some American presence. I want to maximize the use of the French if I can on the internal stuff. Keep our guys out on the fringes because it is easier to deal with the Isrealis at that stage.

HOWE: Roger, Phil, that all tracks pretty well with the thinking that is going here which from the Pentagon standpoint is minimize direct U.S. contact. One specific question. have a preference here for working with the airport as a priority way of getting out. What they have in mind because of the geography and closeness of the camp, is to have the U.S. presence primarily in the airport area to charter commercial aircraft even though that seems to be impractical to some of us and to try to get these guys out commercially that way with the U.S. being around the airport and the Israelis back a little bit and some French involvement there as well. If that's not politically 'doable', we need to know because the port or even an over the beach thing is also feasible and we either need to rule that out or say that's okay and you can start planning along those lines. With regard to liaison they have already started to identify some people that will be able to fly in as . soon as you say 'go'. We will also get sorted out that EUCOM can, at least, start talking to the French military to start out what units and how they might work together. Secretary Haig has the thought that the U.S. should do as much as the French and the U.S. should not simply be transporters, communicators, but should be there in some force. And if you kind of concur in that, we'll kind of beat down the Pentagon who would like not to have such a substantial force although I think it makes sense that they keep their units together basically and either do the airport or do the seaport and provide some security there and help in the checking out. other issue is if our forces, if we should want to bring in a few more. Does that make sense to you? The Marines have 1,200 off shore right now, within 24 hours. When their other ships get linked up, they'll have about 1800 other fully capable marines.

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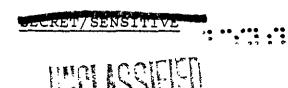
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In terms of the numbers, if you want to bring in a few more, nobody is going to object. In my opinion, as I said, it should be 50/50 French and American. I don't want our troops cannot be just the communicators and the water carriers and the transporters. We have got to have our troops, Al is absolutely right. We have got to do our share. There is no way we can just dump the load on the French. On the other hand, I think the way the thing is going to work out. They are not going to use the airport to transport 5,000, 6/7,000 PLO out of here. don't know how many we are going to end up with. We don't really know. It may be up to 10,000. Remember, some of them are going to have their families. We may run up to 15,000-20,2000 people. We ain't going to take them out in a god damned airplane. We'll take them out by boat. The port area is easy to get at. You can dock right in there. Obviously, we'll have to control the port area while we are doing this. If you are going to go over the beach in a landing craft you might be able to use the Banmilitair area, our people know where that is, but don't worry about things like that. seems to me, for one thing, we've got to get our planning synchronized with the Lebanese. Remember, we are going to be depending alot on 4,000 Lebanese troops to be in the confrontation areas. They are going to be doing the street to street stuff.

HOWE: Roger, Phil, that makes good sense and that's what everybody wants here. But if we have this argument about the airport and certainly topically in terms of numbers, what you say makes sense to me and the port makes alot more sense, but politically do you think the PLO would even agree to go out by air or by perhaps the combined operation of going out by air and out by port. Over.

HABIB: Well, it is possible you could use air. But remember it is going to take three or four days after this thing starts and after you are on the ground before the airport is going to be in shape to take 747s or 707s or something like that. Now there may be, you may be able to do something with the air but I'm more interested, the important thing is they've got to start moving before our guys even come. I'm going to get them started simultaneously so it is not like, you know, we want them assembled and ready to go and our guys come in and monitor it and see that they don't get hurt. Now the reason for that is very simple. Let me explain it to you but it'll scare some of your guys. I don't want our guys in position between the Israelis and them and then the guys decide not to go. Then



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what'll we do? Then if we pull out, we say, what are we doing, opening the door for the Israelis to come in, that is why it has got to be very carefully syncronized and it has got to be very carefully timed. That's is why I want to get some staff back here working with the people who are on the ground. This is not going to be an easy operation but it should not involved any of our guys getting into trouble. I can't see that. But, you know, there is always the risk that something is going to go wrong. Every kid over the age of 14 in this god damned country has got an automatic rifle.

HOWE: Roger, Phil, and that, of course, is one of their other concerns that the Pentagon is laying on us is what kind of insurances we are gong to have from the various factions. That they are under control and that the risk is minimized. Do you have any comments on that? Over.

HABIB: By the time they start getting here, the factions will be under control. The Phalange is not going to go after our guys. We can take care of it. The Israelis are not going to go after our guys. I doubt whether the PLO is going to go after them because the PLO wants them there. If the PLO agrees to their coming, it is because they want them. For one of the reasons they are worried about what is going to happen to them and to the people they leave behind if they don't have some protection after they take off. So I think the Lebanese army is going to take care of the factions, the remaining factions. Obviously, all of this depends upon a certain degree of agreement and it's got to be getting underway when our guys get here. So, what you guys ought to think of when I give the signal, when I know that we have got enough that we are really going to start moving, then I'll signal you to send some staff guys, not too many. In the first place there is no place to put these people. Second place is we don't want them all over the god damned place. The minimum amount of staff, responsible guys who can give an order and have it carried out, who know what the hell they are doing. Then we'll bring them, talk it over, put them in touch, get a wheels and command group It is not going to be anything of joint command or anything like that. The Lebanese don't want to command them in any way whatsoever. They are not going to be under Lebanese command. I doubt whether the French will put you under their command, take you under your command or vice versa. would seem to me we would have to have proper liaison and coordination. That is the important thing. Now we can handle two or three liaison officers but I don't them to come until I know that we have something. That may be tomorrow, it may be the next day. So have them ready to come.

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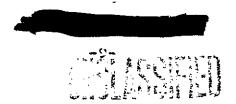
HOWE: Okay, Phil, the other question concerns this commercial shipping and if you envision the commercial shipping being there, we will need your advice on what the timing is in regard to contacting them and whether you want us to do it here or you want the ICRC to start talking to shipping companies and going through the problems that that might raise. They have identified some U.S. shipping that's in the area but it may take some heavy persuasion and also the question of arms looms up again. These guys can't be armed when they go aboard ships. Over.

HABIB: I think it would be better to get something like a Greek ship, very frankly, because you think () ground before they go on board, you are not dealing with reality. told them they could take their individual arms and they are going to take them. Now it seems to me I told the boys earlier in the department they got to start working on the question of ships and I would expect that we'll know two or three days ahead of time when we should start thinking of gettin the ships in. I don't think we'll get more notice that that very frankly. We could have longer notice if we need it. It is just that I don't want to wait that long. Once we get agreement, I want to start moving because otherwise these things have a tendency to move away from you. Next thing you know there are six more conditions that we've got from the Israelis and the Lebansese, the PLO, everybody and his brother has another condition out here that they want them to negotiate for them and I told them I ain't negotiating any more conditions. Over.

HOWE: Roger, Phil, well we will have to stay in sync in terms of timing and public awareness, but you are probably right, earlier rather than later, we need to get off the dime and move out on that. Larry is here and he has a couple of things he wants to pass on so I'm going to pass him over to you now.

HABIB: Hold on, John, one further thing, when I said I take it you have French-speaking people with these units. Hell, these guys have been in the area. Someone suggested former army attaches. I don't think that's the answer. I want them from the units so that the liaison is proper. Do you have french-speaking officers who speak french with the units that are on board ships or who are in the headquarters that are associated with them? Over.



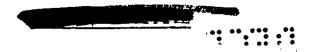


HOWE: We still have to determine that, Phil. I'm sure that in EUCOM who will want to send some of the people, they have a good french speaker. Whether they have got a Marine, Navy french speaker there, I don't know but we'll try to address that problem and take care of it for you and keep the presence small with () END OF SIDE A.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE Wushington, O.C. 20520

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June 29,

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MEMORANDUM TO: S/S - Mr. L. Paul Bremer III

p FROM 5/8

NEA - Charles Hill

S/S-0 NEA

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SUBJECT: Radio Telecon Draper/Hill, 0130 June 29, 1982

Hill explained that he was calling pursuant to a phone call from Eagleburger who had received call from Secretary asking that following message be passed to Habib:

- Secretary has received a message from Israel that Habib is getting a deliberately inaccurate reading out of his meetings with Lebanese and that information is being distorted to imply impression of progress but there κ is actually nothing but stalling. Secretary had asked that this message be passed as soon as possible.
 - 2) Secretary also asked that Habib arrange to meet with Sharon today (June 29).
 - Secretary also asked that Habib tell people that, if nothing clear-cut emerges today we are in trouble.

Draper responded that he understood message but had some questions as follows:

- 1) Where is Sharon? Hill replied that we presume instruction to contact him implies he will be at the front at some point during the day. Draper replied that they would check but that Washington should understand that Habib might not be able to arrange such a session until evening simply because of logistics of other scheduled sessions.
- 2) Draper asked if Hill could provide further definition of clear-cut. Hill replied that he couldn't provide any definite guidance on that subject and was unable to pass on any information re the scenario paper that had been worked on during the day because the Secretary had not yet had time to study it.

Draper then requested help to clarify Israeli radio reports being received in Beirut to the effect that the Israelis had passed to Habib some clarification of the Israeli position. Hill replied that based on available information he could only conclude that reports referred to Ambassador Lewis' conversations of 6/28 in which Israelis conveyed information that cabinet communique of 6/27 was not intended as an ultrmatum but as a bargaining position.

> SENSITIVE RDS-3, 6/29/02

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June 27, 1982

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NEA TO:

S/S - L. Paul Bremer, III

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S/S-I FROM:

NEA - Nicholas A. Veliotes

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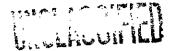
Recorded Radio Report from Habib, 0430 A.M., June 27, 1982

- 1. SECRET Entire Text.
- 2. Israeli Cabinet is meeting today presumably to debate and decide their next steps in Lebanon. The political question of the moment centers upon Israeli intentions with regard to West Beirut. The GOI faces a basic choice -- whether to resume the onslaught against the remaining PLO forces, by bombing and shelling with or without a ground attack, or whether to hold off and let the political-diplomatic effort deal with the situation.
- 3. In my view it is absolutely necessary that the United States assure that there be no repeat no further attacks on West Beirut and its immediate populated suburbs. The situation in Beirut has become a symbol of this war, and it is widely believed that the survival of a large part of the city and its people has become the responsibility of the United States. There is no way that official and public opinion in the Middle East and elsewhere will let us escape that responsibility. It will not devolve on to Israel, which is expected to behave ruthlessly, nor will PLO intransigence and lack of concern for their host nation be blamed.
- 4. I cannot believe that we will sacrifice our interest by standing by -- as our failure to act will be viewed -- and letting West Beirut suffer further. No matter that some Lebanese are bloody minded in their hatred for Palestinians, no matter that some Israelis believe that the PLO can and must be totally and visibly smashed into oblivion --we will pay a great price in terms of our broad interest and international image. Moreover, in my mind further pillaging of Beirut, by air, land or sea -- with or without a ground attack -- will be a monumental obscenity with which we must not be seen to be associated.
- 5. I understand that we have urged Prime Minister Begin not to attack West Beirut. I suggest that persuasion and a strong message need to be reinforced in a way which makes clear that we mean what we say and will brook no defiance. My specific recommendations are as follows:

[1] We should request of Prime Minister Begin today, following the cabinet meeting, a flat and unequivocal pledge that there will be no attack on Beirut. A ceasefire in place is to be maintained, with strength and proportionality will be the practice even under the kind of mild provocation that has led to massive retaliation hitheric. In place of violence Israel would now eccept the continuation of the political diplomatic effort without a deadline.

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- [2] We must insist on a reply, if we get the kind of equivocation that has frequently been the case in the past.
- [3] If he is not prepared to give the assurances we seek, our answer should be brief but telling as follows: Israel is an independent country which has a right to make its own decisions and follow its own interests as it sees them. The United States has the same right. If Israel persists and attacks West Beirut despite our position, the United States wishes to inform Israel what will happen when the attack begins. At that point the President will call a halt, under U.S. law, to all military shipments to Israel; we shall also be prepared to go immediately to the UN Security Council to seek a binding resolution calling on Israel to stop its military actions and withdraw from Lebanon; we are prepared to vote for or at any rate not veto any move to impose Chapter VII Sanctions. Mr. Begin must be left under no illusion that our action will be anything but immediate and unrelenting.
- 6. In sum, I believe we are at a crucial point where for the sake of our interests, and in the broadest consideration of the traditional American concern for what is decent, that we must bring an end to needless killing. Otherwise we face an immense human tragedy in West Beirut. I could list many more arguments in favor of the position I have set forth but I do not want to belabor the issues any further.

Desired Distribution: ONLY

The Secretary
Under Secretary Eagleburger
Executive Secretary Bremer
Assistant Secretary Veliotes
The White House





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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520



DIST:

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NEA S/S

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RADIO TELECON FROM HABIB 2130, JUNE 22, 1982

TO:

The Secretary

P - Ambassador Eagleburger S/S - L. Paul Bremer III NEA - Nicholas A. Veliotes

FROM:

NEA - Charles HillCH

SUBJECT:

Habib/Draper Meeting with Sharon in Beirut,

2300 Lebanon Time, June 22, 1982

Habib said that he met with Sharon for 1-1/4 hours. Lebanese were present. Sharon said he would keep the meeting confidential. Sharon expressed the view that the near-term outcome should be as follows:

- Israel will hold the ceasefire unless fired upon. Habib insisted that the ceasefire must be "in place." Sharon did not argue against this point, nor did he swear to uphold At the moment of this call Habib said the situation was entirely quiet.
- (2) Sharon said that all PLO fighters (estimated by the Israelis at 10,000) should leave Lebanon. They should not be permitted to stay even if they accept the authority of the Sharon said they would be given safe conduct out of the country to any destination and of course they would be disarmed.
- (3) Sharon said he would not agree to any disengagement or pullback of the IDF. Habib said that he could not live with that approach. Habib was aware that the current disposition of $\mathfrak Q$ the IDF makes a 5km pullback an impossibility. Nonetheless, he told Sharon that he must have something in the way of a symbolic withdrawal. As a result of this conversation Habib thinks he might achieve some kind of Israeli withdrawal in the vicinity of the airport.
- (4) More immediately, however, Habib said that Sharon agrees to remove four IDF posts around Baabda that have been a real irritant. Habib will be meeting with the Lebanese in the palace at 1100, June 23. He asked Sharon to have the four posts evacuated by then. Sharon indicated that he would do so.

Habib arranged to meet Sharon on the evening of June 23 in Jerusalem. He presumes that it will be a meeting with the Prime Minister and Shamir present as well.

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

TO:

The Secretary

FROM:

NEA - Nicholas A.

SUBJECT: Habib Moves Over Next 24 Hours

We went over the situation in great depth with Phil at 1500-1600 Tuesday. Phil fully understands the need to get specific undertakings out of the PLO fast. Here are Phil's proposed plans for tonight and tomorrow:

- -- Tonight he probably will have to meet with Sharon, who has just arrived at Bashir's HQ. Phil hoped to avoid encountering Sharon in the Beirut area, but cannot avoid a meeting. We expect Sharon will refer to the Thursday morning Cabinet meeting in Jerusalem and tell Phil that he must produce something concrete from the PLO if there is to be any hope of Cabinet agreement to a disengagement.
- -- Tomorrow morning Phil intends to go to the Salvation Council and put "precise demands" to them to pass to the PLO. He will also "squeeze the timeframe" on the PLO, stressing that the IDF has them by the throat. In the course of the day he will work to get specific commitments from the PLO on the leadership's departure, stacking arms, Syrian withdrawal, etc.
- -- Tomorrow afternoon at 1630 Lebanon time Phil plans to go by USN helicopter to Israel to meet Sharon (and possibly Begin as well) with something specific from the PLO in hand. Phil does not expect the Cabinet to agree to any 5km withdrawal (in fact Phil himself now seems to agree with the Israelis that such a disengagement is not achievable either practically, on the ground, or politically). Phil will, however, try to get some further cosmetic steps from the Israelis--particularly in the areas of the airport and the palace.
- -- Phil would then return by halicopter to our residence in Yarze that same evening (Wednesday, June 23). On Thursday, the combination of a basically positive outcome in the Israeli Cabinet, together with some ominous warnings to the PLO (our Thursday evacuation should have a strong impact in this regard) could bring about the breakthrough we want.



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PRINCE SULTAN'S HEETING WITH SECRETARY WEINBERGER

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FO'A Exemptions

2. REFTEL IS BEING REPEATED TO YOU. IT REPORTS ON SUGGESTION MADE TO SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WEIMBERGER BY PRINCE SULTAN MAY 12 CONCERNING DELAY IN FORMAL NEGO-TIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LEBANON ON THE MOVEMENT OF GOODS AND PERSONS. OF COURSE, UNDER ARTICLE EIGHT SECTION THO. LEBANON AND ISRAEL HOULD NOT BEGIN MEGO-TIATIONS ON MOVEMENT OF GOODS AND PERSONS UNTIL AFTER SECRET SECRET

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WOULD BE MET IN PART IN ANY EVENT. MOVEMENT WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE INTERIM BASED ON INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS AND THIS OF COURSE COULD NOT BE DELAYED OR STOPPED. WE BELIEVE IT BEST TO RESPOND TO PRINCE SULTAN IN PERSON. IN THE CONTEXT OF A FULL BRIEFING FOR SAG ON THE AGREEMENT. AND THIS POINT SHOULD BE ON PHIL'S AGENDA FOR HIS TRIP TO SAUDI ARABIA NEXT WEEK.

3. COMMENT: ADDRESSEES WILL NOTE IN READING REFTEL.
PARTICULARLY PARAS FIVE AND SIX. THAT AT TIMES IN THE
CONVERSATION SULTAN PRESENTED HIS VIEWS IN A WAY MMICH
COULD BE INTERPRETED TO MEAN THAT THE LEBANON-ISRAEL
AGREEMENT ITSELF NOT BE SIGNED UNTIL SIX MONTHS AFTER
WITHDRAWAL. THIS OF COURSE WOULD BE NONSENSICAL POSITION-SINCE THERE THEN WOULD BE NO WITHDRAWAL--AND AMBASSADOR
MURPHY IN SECURE TELECON TO DAS CLUVERIUS MAY 12 SAID IT
WAS CLEAR THAT SULTAN WAS REFERRING TO REGOTIATION AND
FORMALIZATION OF AGREEMENT ON ELEMENTS OF MORMALIZATION
(MOVEMENT OF GOODS AND PERSONS). EAGLEBURGER

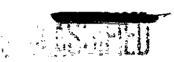
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, HOPS, MARR, LE, US, IS, XF

SUBJECT: HABIB/DRAPER MISSION: ISRAEL INTEREST IN A U.S.-ISRAEL UNDERSTANDING ON FUTURE CONTINGENCIES IN LEGANON

REF: BEIRUT 3191

2. WE CONCUR FULLY IN WHAT YOU HAVE TOLD ARERS--THAT WE CANNOT AGREE TO ANY UNDERSTANDING PROVIDING FOR ISRAELI MILITARY REENTRY. WE ALSO ARE CONFIDENT THAT LEBANESE ARE NOT LIKELY LET MATTERS RETURN TO A POINT WHERE CONDITIONS WOULD JUSTIFY SUCH A STEP.

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J. HE ALSO SUPPORT POSITION YOU HAVE ALREADY TAKEN IN

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PREL. IS. LE. US

ORAL MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY TO ISRAELI SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER SHAMIR

(SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT) THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE IS TO BE CONVEYED GRALLY TO MINISTER SHAMIR BY THE AMBASSADOR WHEN HE DELTVERS THE TEXT OF OUR NON-PAPER ON ENHANCED SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS FOR SOUTHERN LEBANON (BEING TRANSMITTED SEPTEL). J. BEGIN TEXT: I WISH TO REPEAT. MR. MINISTER, HOW WORTHWHILE I FOUND OWN DISCUSSIONS WHICH STARTED ON SUNDAY. THEY PROVIDED HE WITH FRESH INSIGHTS INTO THE THINKING OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL. AS I PROMISED WHEN

PAGE 62

WE MET ON THESDAY AFTERNOON, AMBRICAN LEWIS IT

DELIVERING TO YOU THE TEXT OF A NON-PAPER ON ENHANCED SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN SOUTHERN LEBANGN. FIE HAVE REFINED IT SOMEWHAT FOLLOWING YOUR DEPARTURE—AND HAVE DISCUSSED THE VARIOUS PROPOSALS WITH THE LEBAMESE FOREIGN MINISTER AND HIS DELEGATION. I AN COMPIDENT THAT YOU WILL CONTINUE TO AGREE THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THIS DOCUMENT BE TREATED WITH THE STRICTEST CONFIDENCIALITY.

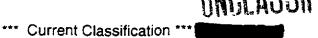
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3. CONSISTENT WITH WHAT HE SAID TO YOU ON MONDAY. THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED AMBASSADORS HABID AND DRAPER TO RETURN TO THE REGION THIS WEEKEND TO LEND THEIR ASSISTANCE FOR THE COMPLETION OF AN AGREEHENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LEBANON IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. THEY ARE AS DETERMINED AS ARE THE PRESIDENT AND I THAT WE MUST DO ALL WE CAN TO MOVE AHEAD IN THE FULLEST SPIRIT OF COOPERATION. THEY WILL BE AVAILABLE TO RECEIVE YOUR REACTIONS TO THE IDEAS IN OUR MON-PAPER AND TO DISCUSS ANY ADDITIONAL POINTS YOU MAY WISH TO RAISE.

FOR AMBASSADOR LEWIS: MEITHER IN THIS ORAL MESSAGE REINFORCED HEASURES REPRESENT ALTERNATIVES AND SUBSTITUTES ISRAELI PROPOSALS WHICH ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO LEBANON. THIS POSITION IS IMPLICIT IN OUR MON-PAPER. AT YOUR DISCRETION YOU SHOULD MAKE THIS CLEAR TO SMANIR WHEN DELIVERY TAKES PLACE!

SHULTZ

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SUBJECT= "DEATH SQUADS:" FINANCIAL TIMES REPORTER COMMENTS

REFERENCE= 88 TEL AVIV 15542

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= DEATH SQUAD, REPORT, JOURNALIST, GOVERNMENT REACTION, POLICE F.

TAGS= PHUM, PGOV, IS, US

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SUBJECT: "DEATH SQUADS:"

COMMENTS

REF: TEL AVIV 15542

2. OCTOBER 31, WE SPOKE WITH

PRESS CARD WAS WITHDRAWN AT THE SAME TIME THAT ISRAELI AUTHORITIES WITHDREW PRESS CREDENTIALS FROM REUTERS FOR NOT OBSERVING CENSORSHIP REQUIREMENTS BEFORE FILING THE STORY ABOUT IDF "DEATH SQUADS" OPERATING IN THE TERRITORIES.

EXPLAINED HE THOUGHT HIS PRESS CARD WAS WITHDRAWN TEMPORARILY AS A RESULT OF HAVING BEEN CITED BY REUTERS AS REUTERS SOUGHT TO DEFEND ITSELF. WHITLEY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED A STORY TWELVE DAYS EARLIER ABOUT LINDERCOVER UNITS IN THE TERRITORIES KILLING PEOPLE.

SAID "NO ONE HAS DENIED THE FACTS I CITED IN MY STORY."

PAGE 02

TEL AV 15646 311600Z

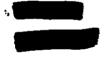
SAID THAT GO! ANGER WAS PRIMARILY AIMED AT REUTERS, AND HE THOUGHT HIS PRESS CARD WOULD BE RETURNED WITHIN A MATTER OF DAYS. HE SAID INITIALLY RABIN WAS PERSONALLY FURIOUS WITH THE REUTERS REPORT, "AND HE WANTED TO HAVE REUTERS THROWN OUT AND SHUT

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DOWN COMPLETELY." SAID THE MOST OFFENSIVE ASPECT OF THE REUTERS REPORT WAS IN REFERRING TO THE SECRET UNIT AS "DEATH SQUADS." THE TERM EVOKED UNSAVORY PARALLELS WITH UNITS ACTIVE IN CENTRAL AMERICA, AND THOUGHT IT WAS AN UNFORTUNATE AND INACCURATE TERM FOR REUTERS TO HAVE EMPLOYED. (COMMENT: WE UNDERSTAND OTHER PRESS SOURCES HAVE AGREED THAT THE USE OF THE TERM "DEATH SQUADS" WAS ILL-ADVISED IN THIS CIRCUMSTANCE. YET ANOTHER INTERNATIONAL JOURNALIST TOLD US HE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED TO SAY "HIT TEAMS," AND SAID HE HAD INDEPENDENT INFORMATION WHICH TRACKED WITH THE REUTERS AND FINANCIAL TIMES VERSIONS. END COMMENT)

4. NOTED "IT IS ONE OF THE MOST SECRET UNITS," BUT HE WAS PERSONALLY AWARE OF AT LEAST SIX PEOPLE WHO KNEW OF THE EXISTENCE OF UNITS OF ISRAELIS IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES "KILLING PEOPLE IN COLD BLOOD" IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES., HE RECALLED AGAIN THAT HIS STORY WAS PUBLISHED WITHOUT DENIAL OR IDF COMMENT.

5. OCTOBER 31, THE CHIEF MILITARY CENSOR, BRIG. GEN. SHANI, REPORTEDLY FILED A COMPLAINT WITH THE JERUSALEM POLICE AGAINST TWO CORRESPONDENTS OF THE REUTER NEWS AGENCY AND THE FINANCIAL TIMES CORRESPONDENT. THE DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT ALSO HAS DECIDED TO INVESTIGATE THE LEGAL ASPECTS OF



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CANCELLING THE VISAS AND WORK PERMITS OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS IN ISRAEL WHEN THEY FAIL TO SUBMIT MATERIAL TO THE MILITARY CENSOR. WE NOTE THAT THE ACCURACY OF A STORY IS IRRELEVANT TO THE LEGAL REQUIREMENT TO SUBMIT MATERIAL TO THE CENSOR.

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ISRAEL/THTERMAL: ATTENTION IN ISRAEL BENAINS RIVETED NOW THE BESTA COVERNMENT WILL REACT TO THE COMMISSION INCOTES FINE CARRIES NET FOR THREE HOURS TOORY OUT FAILED TO REACH & DESTRICT. THE MINISTERS WILL RESUME THEIR BELIDERATIONS TOMORROW AT 5:40 P.M. LOCAL AMB REPORTEDLY HAVE REQUESTED THE LOC OFFICERS SINGLED SOLIBLY IN PAYOR OF ACCEPTING THE COMMISSION'S REPORT AND secret SECRET

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ON SHARON, MOMEYER, IT IS UNCLEAR NOW OR WHETHER THESE MECOMMENDATIONS CAN BE CARRIED OUT. SHARON, FOR HIS PART, HAS LET IT DE KNOWN THAT IF DEOTH WERE TO DISSOLVE THE GOVERNMENT AND ATTEMPT TO FORM A HEW ONE, SHARON AND HIS BACKERS IN THE KNESSET WOULD WITHHOLD THEIR SUPPORT--ENSURING FAILURE. AGAINST THIS BACKEROUND, THE FOCUS IS INCREASINGLY ON THE MATTONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY, WHICH MAY DE WAVERING ON ITS INITIAL OPPOSITION TO EARLY ELECTIONS. THE MAP MINISTERS REMAIN ADARANT THAT SHARON HUST BE DISHISSED OR FORCED TO STEP DOWN. THE LABOR OPPOSITION, MEANWHILE, IS STICKING BY ITS POSITION THAT THE COMMISSION'S REPORT SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED IN FULL. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS KEEPING A LOW PROFILE SO AS NOT TO GIVE THE LIKUD A REASON TO PULL TOOSTHER. IN THIS CONTEXT, LABOR LEADERS ARE UPSET BY EFFORTS OF THE SHALL COMMUNIST (HADASH) FACTION TO TABLE AN EARLY NO-CONFIDENCE MOTION.

- 3. HABIB MEETING: AT HIS MEETING WITH PHIL HABIB TODAY, BESIN SAID HE WAS WILLING TO HOVE AMEAD IN THE DISCUSSIONS ON THE WITHORAWAL ISSUE BUT WOULD BE THOROUGHLY OCCUPIED WITH INTERNAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS FOR THE MEXT FEW DAYS. HE SUGGESTED THAT PHIL BE PREPARED TO STAND BY WITIL THE DOMESTIC SITUATION IN ISRAEL IS SORTED OUT.
- 4. LEBANON-ISRAEL MEGOTIATIONS: THE MEGOTIATING SUBCOMMITTEES MET YESTERDAY IN KHALDEN. BUT, BECAUSE BOTH DELEGATIONS WERE DISTRACTED BY THE RESULTS OF THE COMMISSION OF INCUIRY, THE SUBCOMMITTEES ADJOURNED EARLY. IN THE ABBREVIATED DISCUSSIONS, THE LEBANESE MEGOTIATOR STATED, FOR THE FIRST TIME, THAT HE BELIEVES OCCURET.

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LEBANON HOULD HITHORAW FROM THE ARAB DEFENSE PACT AS PART OF 178 HADERTAGING TO TERMINATE THE STATE OF HAR WITH ISRAEL. THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS SDECOMITTEE DECIDED THAT HAIFIL, HATSO, AND THE "ANTI-TERMORIST STATIONS". ISSUES ARE TOO CONTENTIOUS FOR THE SUBCOMITTEE TO HABOLE, AND MUST BE ADORESSED AT MORE SENIOR LEVELS. THERE HAS NO CIVE ON EITHER SIDE ON THE HORTHERN LIMIT OF THE SECURITY ZORE: ISRAEL INSISTS ON 48 ER AND LEBANON ON THE AUGUST RIVER LIME. THE MEXT MEETINGS ARE SCHEDULED FOR FERRMARY 10.

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- S. CHRISTIAN-DRUZE PEACE AGREEMENT: CONTRARY TO LEGAMESE FORCES EXPECTATIONS, A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE JUNGLATT DRUZE FACTION JOINED THE AGGALAN FACTION IN SIGNING THE FEDRUARY T PEACE AGREEMENT SPONGORED BY ISRAEL. THE AGREEMENT CALLS FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE WITH A SERIES OF STEPS, INCLUDTING THE DISMANTLING OF GARGICAGES AND RELEASE OF ALL KIGNAPPES PERSONS. THE CEASEFIRE WAS VIOLATED THE EVENING OF FEDRUARY T, BUT THE MOUNTAINS WERE GUIET THROUGH FEDRUARY S.
- 6. IRAMIAN OFFENSIVE: IRAM LAUNCHED AN ATTACK AGAINST TRAG OPPOSITE THE IRAMI TOWN OF AL-AMARAM ON THE EVENING OF FEDRUARY 6. IRAM MAG RECLAIMED SOME BROWND, ALL OF WHICH WAS PREVIOUSLY A NO-MAN'S-LAND SETURES THE OPPOSING LINES, IRAMI LINES MAVE MELD OUT THE GATTLE MAS DEEN SLOW TO BEVELOP AND THE BULK OF IRAMIAN FORCES, INCLUDING ARMORD UNITS, MAS YET TO BE ENGAGED. IN RESPONSE TO THE NEW OFFENSIVE, IRAM'S MFA CALLED IN THE DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES, INCLUDING OUR OWN, TO SUGGEST IMPOSING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAM.
- 7. CHEYSSON VISIT TO IRAG AND SYRIA: THE PRENCH EMBASSY HAS ADVISED US ON INSTRUCTIONS THAT FORETON MINISTER CHEYSSON WILL VISIT DACHOAD FEBRUARY 12-13 VIA AMAN. HE WILL RETURN VIA DAMASCUS AT THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF IRAG.

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FRANCE IS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED WITH THE CONTINUATION OF THE IRAN-IRAG WAR. AND HAS DECODED IT HUST DO WHAT IT CAN TO AVOID IRAG'S DEPEAT AND TO KEEP IRAN'S SHTITE NEVOLUTION FROM SPREADING. IN DAMASCUS CHEYSSON WILL RAISE THE ISSUE OF THE IRAG-SYRIA PIPELINE, BUT ME DOES NOT EXPECT TO SECURE THE REOPENING OF THE PIPELINE.

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